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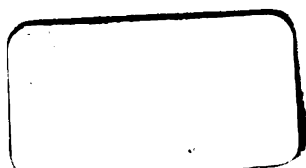
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THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH POETRY.



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HISTORY OF ENGLISH POETRY

FROM THE TWELFTH TO THE CLOSE
OF THE SIXTEENTH
CENTURY.

BY THOMAS WARTON, B.D.

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POETRY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

WITH A PREFACE BY RICHARD PRICE, AND NOTES VARIORUM.

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History of English Poetry.

SECTION XXXVI.



SOON after the year 1500, Lilly, the famous grammarian, who had learned Greek at Rhodes, and had afterwards acquired a polished Latinity at Rome under Johannes Sulpicius and Pomponius Sabinus, became the first teacher of Greek at any public school in England. This was at Saint Paul's school in London, then newly established by Dean Colet, and celebrated by Erasmus; and of which Lilly, as one of the most exact and accomplished scholars of his age, was appointed the first master.¹ And that ancient prejudices were now gradually wearing off, and a national taste for critical studies and the graces of composition began to be diffused, appears from this circumstance alone: that from the year 1503 to the Reformation, there were more grammar schools, most of which at present are perhaps of little use and importance, founded and endowed in England, than had been for three hundred years before. The practice of educating our youth in the monasteries growing into disuse, near twenty new grammar schools were established within this period: and among these, Wolfsey's school at Ipswich, which soon fell a sacrifice to the resentment or the avarice of Henry the Eighth, deserves particular notice, as it rivalled those of Winchester and Eton. To give splendour to the institution, beside the scholars, it consisted of a dean, twelve canons, and a numerous

¹ Knight, *Life of Colet*, p. 19. Pace, above mentioned, in the Epistle Dedicatory to Colet, before his Treatise *De fructu qui ex Doctrina percipitur*, thus compliments Lilly, edit. Basil. *ut sup.* 1517, p. 13. "Ut politioem Latinitatem, et ipsam Romanam linguam, in Britanniam nostram introduxisse videatur.—Tanta [ei] eruditio, ut extrusa barbarie, in qua nostri adolescentes solebant fere ætatem consumere," &c. Erasmus says, in 1514, that he had taught a youth, in three years, more Latin than he could have acquired in any school in England, *ne Liliانا quidem excepta*, not even Lilly's excepted. *Epistol.* 165, p. 140, tom. iii.

choir.¹ So attached was Wolsey to the new modes of instruction, that he did not think it inconsistent with his high office and rank to publish a general address to the schoolmasters of England, in which he orders them to institute their youth in the most elegant literature.² It is to be wished that all his edicts had been employed to so liberal and useful a purpose. There is an anecdote on record, which strongly marks Wolsey's character in this point of view. Notwithstanding his habits of pomp, he once condescended to be a spectator of a Latin tragedy of *Dido*, from Virgil, acted by the scholars of Saint Paul's school, and written by John Rightwile, the master, an eminent grammarian.³ But Wolsey might have pleaded the authority of Pope Leo the Tenth, who more than once had been present at one of these classical spectacles.

It does not however appear that the cardinal's liberal sentiments were in general adopted by his brother prelates. At the foundation of Saint Paul's school above mentioned, one of the bishops, eminent for his wisdom and gravity, at a public assembly, severely censured Colet the founder for suffering the Latin poets to be taught in the new structure, which he therefore styled a house of pagan idolatry.⁴

In the year 1517, Fox, Bishop of Winchester, founded a college at Oxford, in which he constituted, with competent stipends, two professors for the Greek and Latin languages.⁵ Although some slight idea of a classical lecture had already appeared at Cambridge in the system of collegiate discipline,⁶ this philological establishment may justly be looked upon as the first conspicuous instance of an attempt to depart from the narrow plan of education which had hitherto been held sacred in the universities of England. The course of the Latin professor, who is expressly directed to extirpate barbarism from the new society,⁷ is not confined to the private limits of the college, but open to the students of Oxford in general. The Greek lecturer is ordered to explain the best Greek classics; and the poets, historians, and orators, in that language, which the judicious founder, who seems to have consulted the most intelligent scholars of the times,

¹ Tanner, *Notit. Mon.* p. 520.

² "Elegantissima literatura." Fiddes' *Wolsey*, p. 105.

³ Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* i. 15. See what is said of this practice, *supra*.

⁴ "Episcopum quendam, et eum qui habetur a Sapientioribus, in magno hominum Conventu, nostram scholam blasphemasse, dixisseque, me crexisse rem inutilem, imo malam, imo etiam, ut illius verbis utar, *Domum Idololatriæ*," &c. [*Coletus Erasmus*, Lond. 1517.]—Knight's *Life of Colet*, p. 319.

⁵ *Statut. C.C.C. Oxon.* dat. Jun. 20, 1517, cap. xx. fol. 51. Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Laud. I. 56.

⁶ At Christ's College in Cambridge, where, in the statutes given in 1506, a lecturer is established who, together with logic and philosophy, is ordered to read, "vel ex poetarum, vel ex oratorum operibus." Cap. xxxvii. In the statutes of King's at Cambridge, and New College at Oxford, both much more ancient, an instructor is appointed with the general name of Informator only, who taught all the learning then in vogue. *Ratul. Comput. vet. Coll. Nov. Oxon.* "Solut. Informatoribus sociorum et scolarium, ivl. xii s. ii d."

⁷ "Lector seu professor artium humaniorum . . . Barbariem a nostro alveario extirpet."—*Statut.* ut *supra*.

recommends by name on this occasion, are the purest, and such as are most esteemed, even in the present improved state of ancient learning. And it is at the same time worthy of remark, that this liberal prelate, in forming his plan of study, does not appoint a philosophy-lecturer in his college, as had been the constant practice in most of the previous foundations: perhaps suspecting that such an endowment would not have coincided with his new course of erudition, and would have only served to encourage that species of doctrine, which had so long choked the paths of science, and obstructed the progress of useful knowledge.

These happy beginnings in favour of a new and rational system of academical education, were seconded by the auspicious munificence of Cardinal Wolsey. About the year 1519, he founded a public chair at Oxford for rhetoric and humanity, and soon afterwards another for teaching the Greek language; endowing both with ample salaries.¹ About the year 1524, King Henry the Eighth, who destroyed or advanced literary institutions from caprice, called Robert Wakefield, originally a student of Cambridge, but now a professor of humanity at Tübingen in Germany, into England, that one of his own subjects, a linguist of so much celebrity, might no longer teach the Greek and oriental languages abroad: and when Wakefield appeared before the king, his majesty lamented, in the strongest expressions of concern, the total ignorance of his clergy and the universities in the learned tongues; and immediately assigned him a competent stipend for opening a lecture at Cambridge in this necessary and neglected department of letters.² Wakefield was afterwards a preserver of many copies of the Greek classics, in the havock of the religious houses. It is recorded by Fox, the martyrologist, as a memorable occurrence,³ and very deservedly, that about the same time, Robert Barnes, prior of the Augustines at Cambridge and educated at Louvain, with the assistance of his scholar Thomas Parnell, explained within the walls of his own monastery, Plautus, Terence, and Cicero, to those academics who saw the utility of philology, and were desirous of deserting the Gothic philosophy. It may seem at first surprising that Fox, a weak and prejudiced writer, should allow any merit to a catholic: but Barnes afterwards appears to have been one of Fox's martyrs, and was executed at the stake in Smithfield for a defence of Lutheranism.

But these innovations in the system of study were greatly discouraged and opposed by the friends of the old scholastic circle of sciences, and the bigoted partisans of the Catholic communion, who stigmatised the Greek language by the name of heresy. Even Bishop Fox, when he founded the Greek lecture above mentioned, that he might not appear to countenance a dangerous novelty, was obliged to cover

¹ Wood, *Hist. Univ. Oxon* i. 245, 246. But see Fiddes' *Wolsey*, p. 197.

² Wakefield's *Oratio de Laudibus trium Linguarum*, &c. Dated at Cambridge, 1524. Printed [by] W. de Worde, 4to. Signat. C ii. See also *Fast. Acad. Louan.* by Val. Andreas, p. 284, edit. 1650.

³ *AB. Mon.* fol. 1192, edit. 1583.

his excellent institution under the venerable mantle of the authority of the church. For as a seeming apology for what he had done, he refers to a canonical decree of Pope Clement the Fifth, promulged in the year 1311, at Vienne in Dauphiné, which enjoined that professors of Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic should be instituted in the universities of Oxford, Paris, [Bologna,] Salamanca, and in the court of Rome.¹ It was under the force of this ecclesiastical constitution, that Gregory Typhernas, one of the learned Greek exiles, had the address to claim a stipend for teaching Greek in the university of Paris.² We cannot but wonder at the strange disagreement in human affairs between cause and effect, when we consider, that this edict of Pope Clement, which originated from a superstitious reverence annexed to two of these languages, because they composed part of the superscription on the cross of Christ, should have so strongly counteracted its own principles, and proved an instrument in the reformation of religion.

The university of Oxford was rent into factions on account of these bold attempts; and the advocates of the recent improvements, when the gentler weapons of persuasion could not prevail, often proceeded to blows with the rigid champions of the schools. But the facetious disposition of Sir Thomas More had no small share in deciding this singular controversy, which he treated with much ingenious ridicule.³ Erasmus, about the same time, was engaged in attempting these reformations at Cambridge; in which, notwithstanding the mildness of his temper and conduct, and the general lustre of his literary character, he met with the most obstinate opposition. He expounded the Greek grammar of Chrysoloras in the public schools without an audience:⁴ and having, with a view to present the Grecian literature in the most specious and agreeable form by a piece of pleasantry, translated Lucian's lively dialogue called *Icaromenippus*, he could find no student in the university capable of transcribing the Greek with the Latin.⁵ His edition of the Greek Testament, the most commo-

¹ "Quem præterea in nostro Alveario collocavimus, quod sacrosancti Canones commodissime pro bonis literis, et imprimis christianis, instituerunt ac jusserunt, eum in hac universitate Oxoniensi, perinde ac paucis aliis celeberrimis gymnasiis, nunquam desiderari."—*Statut. C.C.C. Oxon.* ut supr. The words of this statute which immediately follow, deserve notice here, and require explanation. "Nec tamen Eos hac ratione excusatos volumus, qui Græcam lectionem in eo suis impensis sustentare debent." By Eos, he means the bishops and abbots of England, who are the persons particularly ordered in Pope Clement's injunction to sustain these lectures in the university of Oxford. Bishop Fox, therefore, in founding a Greek lecture, would be understood, that he does not mean to absolve or excuse the other prelates of England from doing their proper duty in this necessary business. At the same time a charge on their negligence seems to be implied.

² *Naud.* i. 3, p. 234. This was in 1472.

³ See, among other proofs, his *Epistola Scholasticis quibusdam Trojanos se appellantis*, published by Hearne, 1716, 8vo.

⁴ *Erasmi Epist. Ammonio*, dat. 1512. Ep. 123, Op. tom. iii. p. 110.

⁵ *Ibid.* 139, dat. 1512, p. 120. Henry Bullock, called Bovillus, one of Erasmus's friends, and much patronised by Wolfey, printed a Latin translation of Lucian, *πρὸς Δικαστὴν*, at Cambridge, 1521, quarto. [The same person published in

dious that had yet appeared, was absolutely proscribed at Cambridge: and a programma was issued in one of the most ample colleges, threatening a severe fine to any member of the society who should be detected in having so fantastic and impious a book in his possession.¹ One Henry Standish, a doctor in divinity and a mendicant friar, afterwards bishop of St. Asaph, was a vehement adversary of Erasmus in the promotion of this heretical literature; whom he called in a declamation, by way of reproach, *Græculus iste*, which soon became a synonymous appellation for an heretic.² Yet it should be remembered that many English prelates patronised Erasmus; and that one of our archbishops was at this time ambitious of learning Greek.³

Even the public diversions of the court took a tincture from this growing attention to the languages, and assumed a classical air. We have before seen, that a comedy of Plautus [in the original Latin, probably,] was acted at the royal palace of Greenwich in the year 1520. And when the French ambassadors with a most splendid suite of the French nobility were in England, for the ratification of peace in the year 1514, amid the most magnificent banquets, tournaments and masques exhibited at the same palace, they were entertained with a Latin interlude; or, to use the words of a contemporary writer, with such an "excellent Interlude made in Latin, that I never heard the like; the actors apparel being so gorgeous and of such strange devices, that it passes my capacitie to relate them."⁴

Nor was the protection of King Henry the Eighth who, notwithstanding he had attacked the opinions of Luther, yet from his natural liveliness of temper and a love of novelty thought favourably of the new improvements, of inconsiderable influence in supporting the restoration of the Greek language. In 1519, a preacher at the public church of the University of Oxford harangued with much violence, and in the true spirit of the ancient orthodoxy, against the doctrines inculcated by the new professors: and his arguments were canvassed among the students with the greatest animosity. But Henry, being resident at the neighbouring royal manor of Woodstock, and having received a just detail of the merits of this dispute from Pace and More, interposed his uncontrovertible authority; and transmitting a royal mandate to the university, commanded that the study of the Scriptures in their original languages should not only be permitted for the future, but received as a branch of the academical institution.⁵ Soon afterwards, one of the king's chaplains preaching at court took an opportunity to censure the genuine interpretations

the same year, at Cambridge, a quarto tract of eight leaves, dedicated to Wolsey, being a copy of his oration delivered there in public session.]

¹ *Erasmi Epist.* 148, dat. 1513, p. 126.

² See *Erasmi Opera*, tom. ix. p. 1440. Even the priests, in their confessions of young scholars, cautioned against this growing evil. "Cave a *Græcis* ne fias *hereticus*."—*Erasmi. Adag. Op.* ii. 993.

³ *Erasmi Epist.* 301.

⁴ Cavendish, *Mem. Card. Wolsey*, p. 94, edit. 1708, 8vo.

⁵ *Erasmi Epist.* 380, tom. iii.

of the Scriptures, which the Grecian learning had introduced. The king, when the sermon was ended, to which he had listened with a smile of contempt, ordered a solemn disputation to be held in his own presence: at which the unfortunate preacher opposed, and Sir Thomas More with his usual dexterity defended, the utility and excellence of the Greek language. The divine, who at least was a good courtier, instead of vindicating his opinion, instantly fell on his knees, and begged pardon for having given any offence in the pulpit before his majesty. However, after some slight altercation, the preacher, by way of making some sort of concession in form, ingeniously declared, that he was now better reconciled to the Greek tongue, because it was derived from the Hebrew. The king, astonished at his ridiculous ignorance, dismissed the chaplain with a charge that he should never again presume to preach at court.¹ In the grammatical schools established in all the new cathedral foundations of this king, a master is appointed with the uncommon qualification of a competent skill in both the learned languages.² In the year 1523, Ludovicus Vives, having dedicated his commentary on Austin's *De Civitate Dei* to Henry the Eighth, was invited into England, and read lectures at Oxford in jurisprudence and humanity; which were countenanced by the presence, not only of Henry, but of Queen Catharine and some of the principal nobility.³ At length ancient absurdities universally gave way to these encouragements. Even the vernacular language began to be cultivated by the more ingenious clergy. Colet, dean of Saint Paul's, a divine of profound learning, with a view to adorn and improve the style of his discourses, and to acquire the graces of an elegant preacher, employed much time in reading Gower, Chaucer, Lydgate, and other English poets, whose compositions had embellished the popular diction.⁴ The practice of frequenting Italy, for the purpose of acquiring the last polish to a Latin style both in eloquence and poetry, still continued in vogue, and was greatly promoted by the connections, authority, and good taste of Cardinal Pole, who constantly resided at the court of Rome in a high character. At Oxford, in particular, these united endeavours for establishing a new course of liberal and manly science were finally consummated in the magnificent foundation of Wolfey's college, to which all the accomplished scholars of every country in Europe were invited; and for whose library transcripts of all the valuable manuscripts, which now fill the Vatican, were designed.⁵

¹ *Erasmi Epist.* p. 408.

² Statuimus præterea, ut per Decanum, etc. unus [Archidiaconus] "eligatur, Latine et Græce doctus, bonæ famæ," &c.—*Statut. Eccles. Rossens.* cap. xxv. They were given Jun. 30, 1545. In the same statute the second master is required to be only *Latine doctus*. All the statutes of the new cathedrals are alike. It is remarkable that Wolfey does not order Greek to be taught in his school at Ipswich, founded 1528. See Strype, *Eccl. Mem.* i. Append. xxxv. p. 94, seq.

³ Twyne, *Apol.* lib. ii. § 210, seq. Probably he was patronised by Catharine as a Spaniard.

⁴ *Erasmi Epistol.* Jodoco Jonæ. Ibid. Jun. 1521.

⁵ Wood, *Hist. Univ. Oxon.* i. 249.

But the progress of these prosperous beginnings was soon obstructed. The first obstacle I shall mention was, indeed, but of short duration. It was however an unfavourable circumstance, that in the midst of this career of science, Henry, who had ever been accustomed to gratify his passions at any rate, sued for a divorce against his queen Catharine. The legality of this violent measure, being agitated with much deliberation and solemnity, wholly engrossed the attention of many able philologists, whose genius and acquisitions were destined to a much nobler employment, and tended to revive for a time the frivolous subtleties of casuistry and theology.

But another cause which suspended the progression of these letters, of much more importance and extent, ultimately most happy in its consequences, remains to be mentioned. The enlarged conceptions acquired by the study of the Greek and Roman writers seem to have restored to the human mind a free exertion of its native operations, and to have communicated a certain spirit of enterprise in examining every subject; and at length to have released the intellectual capacity of mankind from that habitual subjection and that servility to system, which had hitherto prevented it from advancing any new principle, or adopting any new opinion. Hence, under the concurrent assistance of a preparation of circumstances, all centring in the same period, arose the reformation of religion. But this defection from the catholic communion alienated the thoughts of the learned from those pursuits by which it was produced, and diverted the studies of the most accomplished scholars to inquiries into the practices and maxims of the primitive ages, the nature of civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction, the authority of Scripture and tradition, of popes, councils and schoolmen: topics, which men were not yet qualified to treat with any degree of penetration, and on which the ideas of the times unenlightened by philosophy, or warped by prejudice and passion, were not calculated to throw just and rational illustrations. When the bonds of spiritual unity were once broken, this separation from an established faith ended in a variety of subordinate sects, each of which called forth its respective champions into the field of religious contention. The several princes of christendom were politically concerned in these disputes; and the courts in which poets and orators had been recently caressed and rewarded, were now filled with that most deplorable species of philosophers, polemical metaphysicians. The public entry of Luther into Worms, when he had been summoned before the diet of that city, was equally splendid with that of the Emperor Charles the Fifth.¹ Rome in return, roused from her deep repose of ten centuries, was compelled to vindicate her insulted doctrines with reasoning and argument. The profound investigations of Aquinas once more triumphed over the graces of the Ciceronian urbanity; and endless volumes were written on the expediency of auricular confession and the existence of purgatory. Thus the

¹ Luther, Op. ii. 412, 414.

cause of polite literature was for a while abandoned; while the noblest abilities of Europe were wasted in theological speculation, and absorbed in the abyss of controversy. Yet it must not be forgotten that wit and raillery, drawn from the sources of elegant erudition, were sometimes applied, and with the greatest success, in this important dispute. The lively colloquies of Erasmus, which exposed the superstitious practices of the papists with much humour and in pure Latinity, made more protestants than the ten tomes of John Calvin. A work of ridicule was now a new attempt: and it should be here observed to the honour of Erasmus, that he was the first of the literary reformers who tried that species of composition, at least with any degree of popularity. The polite scholars of Italy had no notion that the German theologists were capable of making their readers laugh: they were now convinced of their mistake, and soon found that the German pleasantry prepared the way for a revolution, which proved of the most serious consequence to Italy.

Another great temporary check given to the general state of letters in England at this period, was the dissolution of the monasteries. Many of the abuses in civil society are attended with some advantages. In the beginnings of reformation, the loss of these advantages is always felt very sensibly: while the benefit arising from the change is the slow effect of time, and not immediately perceived or enjoyed. Scarcely any institution can be imagined less favourable to the interests of mankind than the monastic. Yet these seminaries, although they were in a general view the nurseries of illiterate indolence, and undoubtedly deserved to be suppressed under proper restrictions, contained invitations and opportunities to studious leisure and literary pursuits. On this event, therefore, a visible revolution and decline in the national state of learning succeeded. Most of the youth of the kingdom betook themselves to mechanical or other illiberal employments, the profession of letters being now supposed to be without support and reward. By the abolition of the religious houses, many towns and their adjacent villages were utterly deprived of their only means of instruction. At the beginning of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, Williams, speaker of the House of Commons, complained to her majesty, that more than a hundred flourishing schools were destroyed in the demolition of the monasteries, and that ignorance had prevailed ever since.¹ Provincial ignorance, at least, became universal, in consequence of this hasty

¹ Strype, *Ann. Ref.* p. 212, sub ann. 1562. The greater abbeys appear to have had the direction of other schools in their neighbourhood. In an abbatial Register of Bury Abbey there is this entry: "Memorandum, quod A.D. 1418, 28 Jul. Gulielmus abbas contulit regimen et magisterium scholarum grammaticalium in villa de Bury S. Edmundi magistro Johanni Somerset, artium et grammaticæ professori, et baccalaureo in medicina, cum annua pensione xl. solidorum." MS. Cotton. *Tiber.* B. ix. 2. This John Somerset was tutor and physician to king Henry the Sixth, and a man of eminent learning. He was instrumental in procuring duke Humphrey's books to be conveyed to Oxford. *Registr. Acad. Oxon. Epist.* F. 179, 202, 218, 220. And in the foundation of King's College at Cambridge. MSS. Cott. *Julius*, F. vii. 43.

measure of a rapacious and arbitrary prince. What was taught in the monasteries was not always perhaps of the greatest importance, but still it served to keep up a certain degree of necessary knowledge.¹ Nor should it be forgotten, that many of the abbots were learned, and patrons of literature; men of public spirit and liberal views. By their connections with parliament and the frequent embassies to foreign courts in which they were employed, they became acquainted with the world and the improvements of life, and knowing where to choose proper objects, and having no other use for the superfluities of their vast revenues, encouraged in their respective circles many learned young men. It appears to have been customary for the governors of the most considerable convents, especially those that were honoured with the mitre, to receive into their own private lodgings the sons of the principal families of the neighbourhood for education. About the year 1450, Thomas Bro-mele, abbot of the mitred monastery of Hyde near Winchester, entertained in his own abbatial house within that monastery eight young gentlemen, or *gentiles pueri*, who were placed there for the purpose of literary instruction, and constantly dined at the abbot's table. I will not scruple to give the original words, which are more particular and expressive, of the obscure record which preserves this curious anecdote of monastic life. "Pro octo gentilibus pueris apud dominum abbatem studii causa perhendinantibus, et ad mensam domini victitantibus, cum garcionibus suis ipsos comitantibus, hoc anno, xvii l. ix s. Capiendo pro . . ." This, by the way, was more extraordinary, as William of Wykeham's celebrated seminary was so near. And this seems to have been an established practice of the abbot of Glastonbury: "whose apartment in the abbey was a kind of well disciplined court, where the sons of noblemen and young gentlemen were wont to be sent for virtuous education, who returned thence home excellently accomplished."² Richard Whiting, the last abbot of Glastonbury, who was cruelly executed by the king during the course of his government, educated near three hundred ingenious youths, who constituted a part of his family: beside many others whom he liberally supported at the universities.³ Whitgift, the most excellent and learned archbishop of Canterbury in the reign

¹ I do not, however, lay great stress on the following passage, which yet deserves attention, in Rous of Warwickshire, who wrote about the year 1480: "To this day, in the cathedrals and some of the greater collegiate churches, or monasteries, [quibusdam nobilibus collegiis,] and in the houses of the four mendicant orders, useful lectures and disputations are kept up; and such of their members as are thought capable of degrees, are sent to the universities. And in towns where there are two or more fraternities of mendicants, in each of these are held, every week by turns, proper exercises of scholars in disputation."—*Hist. Reg. Angl.* edit. Hearne, p. 74.

² From a fragment of the *Computus Camerarii* Abbat. Hidens. in Archiv. Wulves. apud Winton, *ut sup.*

³ *Hist. and Antiq. of Glastonbury*, Oxon. 1722, 8vo. p. 98.

⁴ Reyner, *Apostolat. Benedict.* Tract. i. sect. ii. p. 224. Sanders *De Schism.* pag. 176.

of queen Elizabeth, was educated under Robert Whitgift his uncle, abbot of the Augustine monastery of black canons at Wellhow in Lincolnshire: "who," says Strype, "had several other young gentlemen under his care for education."¹ That, at the restoration of literature, many of these dignitaries were eminently learned and even zealous promoters of the new improvements, I could bring various instances. Hugh Farringdon, the last abbot of Reading, was a polite scholar, as his Latin epistles, addressed to the university of Oxford, abundantly testify.² Nor was he less a patron of critical studies. Leonard Cox, a popular philological writer in the reign of Henry the Eighth both in Latin and English, and a great traveller, highly celebrated by the judicious Leland for his elegant accomplishments in letters, and honoured with the affectionate correspondence of Erasmus, dedicates to this abbot his *Arte or Crafte of Rhetoricke*, printed in the year 1524 [1532], at that time a work of an unusual nature.³ Wakefield above mentioned, a very capital Greek and oriental scholar, in his *Discourse on the Excellency and Utility of the three Languages*, written in the year 1524, celebrates William Frysiell, prior of the cathedral Benedictine convent at Rochester, as a distinguished judge and encourager of critical literature. Robert Shirwoode, an Englishman, but a professor of Greek and Hebrew at Louvaine, published a new Latin translation of *Ecclesiastes*, with critical annotations on the Hebrew text, printed at Antwerp in 1523.⁴ This, in an elegant Latin epistle, he dedicates to John Webbe, prior of the Benedictine cathedral convent at Coventry, whom he styles, for his singular learning and attention to the general cause of letters, *Monachorum Decus*. John Batmanson, prior of the Carthusians in London, controverted Erasmus's commentary on the New Testament with a degree of spirit and erudition, which was unhappily misapplied, and would have done honour to the cause of his antagonist.⁵ He wrote many other pieces, and was patronised by Lee, a learned archbishop of York who opposed Erasmus, but allowed Ascham a pension.⁶ Kederminster, abbot of Winchcombe in Gloucestershire, a traveller to Rome, and a celebrated preacher before King Henry the Eighth, established regular lectures in his monastery for explaining both scriptures in their original languages; which were so generally frequented that his little cloister acquired the name and reputation of

¹ Strype's *Whitgift*, b. i. ch. i. p. 3.

² *Registr. Univ. Oxon.* F. F. fol. 101—125.

³ See Leland, *Collectan.* vol. v. p. 118; vol. vi. p. 187; and *Encom.* p. 50, edit. 1589; *Erasmi Epistol.* p. 886.

⁴ [He was perhaps related to Johannes de Shirwoode, Bishop of Durham, the author of a treatise *De Ludo Arithmomachia* (1482), 4to.]

⁵ Theodor. Petreus, *Bibl. Carthus.* edit. Col. 1609, p. 157.

⁶ Ascham, *Epistol.* lib. ii. p. 77, a, edit. 1581. On the death of the archbishop, in 1544, Ascham desires that a part of his pension then due might be paid out of some of the archbishop's Greek books: one of these he wishes may be Aldus's *Decem Rhetores Græci*, a book which he could not purchase or procure at Cambridge.

a new univerſity.¹ He was maſter of a terſe and perſpicuous Latin ſtyle, as appears from a fragment of the *Hiſtory of Wynchcomb Abbey*, written by himſelf.² His erudition is atteſted in an epiſtle from the univerſity to King Henry the Eighth.³ Longland, Biſhop of Lincoln, the moſt eloquent preacher of his time, in the dedication to Kederminſter, of five quadrageſimal ſermons, delivered at court and printed in 1517,⁴ inſiſts largely on his *ſingularis eruditio* and other ſhining qualifications.

Before we quit the reign of Henry the Eighth, in this review of the riſe of modern letters, let us turn our eyes once more on the univerſities, which yet do not always give the tone to the learning of a nation.⁵ In the year 1531, the learned Simon Grynaeus viſited

¹ "Non aliter quam ſi fuiſſet altera nova univerſitas, tametiſi exigua, clauſtrum Wynchelcombenſe tunc temporis ſe haberet." From his own *Hiſtoria*, as below. Wood, *Hiſt. Univ. Oxon.* i. p. 248. There is an Epiſtle from Colet, the learned dean of St. Paul's, to this abbot, concerning a paſſage in Saint Paul's Epiſtles, firſt printed by Knight from the original manuſcript at Cambridge. Knight's *Liſt*, p. 311.

² Printed by Dugdale, before the whole of the original was deſtroyed in the fire of London. *Monaſt.* i. p. 188. But a tranſcript of a part remains in Dodſworth, MSS. Bibl. Bodl. lxx. 1. Compare A. Wood, ut ſupr. and *Athen. Oxon.* i. 28.

³ *Regiſtr. Univ. Oxon.* F. F. fol. 46.

⁴ [But ſee Herbert's *Ames*, pp. 294-5.]

⁵ It ought not here to be unnoticed, that the royal library of the kings of England, originally ſubſiſting in the old palace at Weſtminſter, and [eventually, with a few reſervations,] transferred to the Britiſh Muſeum, received great improvements under the reign of Henry the Eighth, who conſtituted that elegant and judicious ſcholar, John Leland, his librarian, about the year 1530. Tanner, *Bibl.* pag. 475. Leland, at the diſſolution of the monaſteries, removed to this royal repository a great number of valuable manuſcripts, particularly from Saint Auſtin's abbey at Canterbury. *Script. Brit.* p. 299. One of theſe was a manuſcript given by Athelſtan to that convent, a *Harmony of the Four Goſpels*. Bibl. Reg. MSS. i. A. xviii. See the hexaſthic of Leland prefixed. See alſo *Script. Brit.* ut ſupra, V. Athelſtanus. Leland ſays, that he placed in the Palatine Library of Henry the Eighth the *Commentarii in Mattheum* of Claudius, Bede's diſciple. Ibid. V. Claudius. Many of the manuſcripts of this library appear to have belonged to Henry's predeceſſors; and, if we may judge from the ſplendour of the decorations, were preſents. Some of them bear the name of Humphrey, Duke of Glouceſter; others were written at the command of Edward the Fourth. I have already mentioned the librarian of Henry the Seventh. Bartholomew Traheron, a learned divine, was appointed the keeper of this library by Edward the Sixth, with a ſalary of twenty marks, in the year 1549. See Rymer's *Fœd.* xv. p. 351. Under the reign of Elizabeth, Heintzner, a German traveller, who ſaw this library at Whitehall in 1598, ſays that it was well furniſhed with Greek, Latin, Italian, and French books, all bound in velvet of different colours, yet chiefly red, with claſps of gold and ſilver; and that the covers of ſome were adorned with pearls and precious ſtones. *Itinerar. Germaniæ, Angliæ*, &c. Noringb. 1629, 8vo. p. 188. It is a great miſtake, that James the Firſt was the firſt of our kings who founded a library in any of the royal palaces, and that this eſtabliſhment commenced at St. James's Palace under the patronage of that monarch. This notion was firſt propagated by Smith in his life of *Patrick Junius*: Vit. Quorund. &c. Lond. 1707, 4to. pp. 12, 13, 34, 35. Great part of the royal library, which indeed migrated to St. James's under James the Firſt, was partly ſold and diſperſed at Cromwell's acceſſion, together with another ineſtimable part of its furniture, 12,000 medals, rings, and gems, the entire collection of Goryſeus's Daſtylotheca, purchaſed by Prince Henry and Charles the Firſt. It muſt

Oxford. By the interest of Claymund, president of Corpus Christi College, an admirable scholar, a critical writer, and the general friend and correspondent of the literary reformers, he was admitted to all the libraries of the university which, he says, were about twenty in number, and amply furnished with the books of antiquity. Among these he found numerous manuscripts of Proclus on Plato, many of which he was easily permitted to carry abroad by the governors of the colleges, who did not know the value of these treasures.¹ In the year 1535, the king ordered lectures in humanity, institutions which have their use for a time and while the novelty lasts, to be founded in those colleges of the university where they were yet wanting: and these injunctions were so warmly approved by the scholars in the largest societies, that they seized on the venerable volumes of Duns Scotus and other irrefragable logicians, in which they had so long toiled without the attainment of knowledge, and, tearing them in pieces, dispersed them in great triumph about their quadrangles, or gave them away as useless lumber.² The king himself also established some public lectures with large endowments.³ Notwithstanding, the number of students at Oxford daily decreased: inasmuch that in 1546, not because a general cultivation of the new species of literature was increased, there were only ten inceptors in arts, and three in theology and jurisprudence.⁴

As all novelties are pursued to excess, and the most beneficial improvements often introduce new inconveniencies, so this universal attention to polite literature destroyed philosophy. The old philosophy was abolished, but a new one was not adopted in its stead. At Cambridge we now however find the ancient scientific learning in some degree reformed by the admission of better systems.

In the injunctions given by Henry to that university in the year 1535 for the reformation of study, the dialectics of Rodolphus Agricola, the great favourite of Erasmus, and the genuine logic of Aristotle are prescribed to be taught, instead of the barren problems of Scotus and Burleaus.⁵ By the same edict, theology and casuistry were freed from many of their old incumbrances and perplexities;

be allowed that James the First greatly enriched this library with the books of Lord Lumley and Casaubon, and Sir Thomas Roe's manuscripts brought from Constantinople. Lord Lumley's chiefly consisted of Lord Arundel's, his father-in-law, a great collector at the dissolution of monasteries. James had previously granted a warrant to Sir Thomas Bodley, in 1613, to choose any books from the royal library at Whitehall, over the *Queen's Chamber*. *Reliq. Bodl.* ed. Hearne, pp. 205, 286, 320.

¹ During his abode in England, having largely experienced the bounty and advice of Sir Thomas More, he returned home, fraught with materials which he had long sought in vain, and published his Plato, viz. *Platonis Opera, cum commentariis Procli in Timeum et Politicam*, Basil. 1534, fol. See the Epistle Dedicatory to Sir Thomas More. He there mentions other pieces of Proclus, which he saw at Oxford.

² See Dr. Layton's letter to Cromwell. *Strype's Eccl. Mem.* i. p. 210.

³ Wood, *Hist. Univ. Oxon.* i. p. 26; ii. p. 36.

⁴ Wood, *ibid.* *sub anno*.

⁵ [Duns Scotus and Walter Burley.] Collier, *Eccles. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 110.

degrees in the canon law were forbidden ; and heavy penalties were imposed on those academics who relinquished the sacred text to explain the tedious and unedifying commentaries on Peter Lombard's scholastic cyclopede of divinity, called the *Sentences*, which alone were sufficient to constitute a moderate library [and of which the MSS. copies are still very abundant]. Classical lectures were also directed, the study of words was enforced, and the books of Melancthon and other solid and elegant writers of the reformed party recommended. The politer studies, soon afterwards, seem to have risen into a flourishing state at Cambridge. Bishop Latimer complains, that there were now but few who studied divinity in that university.¹ But this is no proof of a decline of learning in that seminary. Other pursuits were now gaining ground there ; and such as in fact were subservient to theological truth and to the propagation of the reformed religion. Latimer himself, whose discourses from the royal pulpit appear to be barbarous beyond their age in style, manner and argument, is an example of the necessity of the ornamental studies to a writer in divinity. The Greek language was now making considerable advances at Cambridge, under the instruction of Cheke and Smith, notwithstanding the interruptions and oppositions of Bishop Gardiner, chancellor of the university, who loved learning but hated novelties, about the proprieties of pronunciation. But the controversy which was agitated on both sides with much erudition, and produced letters between Cheke and Gardiner equal to large treatises, had the good effect of more fully illustrating the point in debate, and of drawing the general attention to the subject of the Greek literature.² Perhaps bishop Gardiner's intolerance in this respect was like his persecuting spirit in religion, which only made more heretics. Ascham observes with no small degree of triumph, that instead of Plautus, Cicero, Terence and Livy, almost the only classics hitherto known at Cambridge, a more extensive field was opened ; and that Homer, Sophocles, Euripides, Herodotus, Thucydides, Demosthenes, Xenophon, and Isocrates, were universally and critically studied.³ But Cheke being soon called away to the court, his auditors relapsed into dissertations on the doctrines of original sin and predestination ; and it was debated with great obstinacy and acrimony, whether those topics had been most successfully handled by some modern German divines or Saint Austin.⁴ Ascham

¹ His words are, " It woulde pytye a mans hert to heare that I heare of the state of Cambrige: what it is in Oxforde I can not tell. Ther be few do study diuinitie but so many as of necessitie must furnysh y^e colledges." [*The fyfte sermon before the Kynges Maestye*, 5 Apr. 1549. Lond. 1549, 8vo.]

² Ascham. *Epistol.* ut modo infr. p. 65, a. Ascham calls Gardiner, " omnibus literarum, prudentie, consilii, autoritatis, presidii ornatissimus, absque hac una re esset, literarum et academice nostre patronus amplissimus." But he says that Gardiner took this measure, " quorundam invidorum hominum precibus victus."—*Ibid.* p. 64, b.

³ Strype's *Cranmer*, p. 170. Ascham. *Epistol.* l. ii. p. 64, b, 1581.

⁴ Ascham. *Epist.* lib. ii.

observes, that at Oxford a decline of taste in both languages was indicated by a preference of Lucian, Plutarch and Herodian, in Greek, and of Seneca, Gellius and Apuleius, in Latin, to the more pure, ancient, and original writers of Greece and Rome.¹ At length, both universities seem to have been reduced to the same deplorable condition of indigence and illiteracy.

It is generally believed, that the reformation of religion in England, the most happy and important event of our annals, was immediately succeeded by a flourishing state of letters. But this was by no means the case. For a long time afterwards an effect quite contrary was produced. The reformation in England was completed under the reign of Edward the Sixth. The rapacious courtiers of this young prince were perpetually grasping at the rewards of literature which, being discouraged or despised by the rich, was neglected by those of moderate fortunes. Avarice and zeal were at once gratified in robbing the clergy of their revenues, and in reducing the church to its primitive apostolical state of purity and poverty.² The opulent see of Winchester was lowered to a bare title: its amplest estates were portioned out to the laity; and the bishop, a creature of the Protector Somerset, was contented to receive an inconsiderable annual stipend from the exchequer. The bishopric of Durham, almost equally rich, was entirely dissolved. A favourite nobleman of the court occupied the deanery and treasurer'ship of a cathedral with some of its best canonries.³ The ministers of this abused monarch, by these arbitrary, dishonest and imprudent measures, only provided instruments and furnished arguments for restoring, in the succeeding reign, that superstitious religion which they professed to destroy. By thus impoverishing the ecclesiastical dignities, they countenanced the clamours of the Catholics, who declared, that the reformation was apparently founded on temporal views, and that the Protestants pretended to oppose the doctrines of the church, solely with a view that they might share in the plunder of its revenues. In every one of these sacrilegious robberies the interest of learning also suffered. Exhibitions and pensions were, in the mean time, subtracted from the students in the universities.⁴ Ascham, in a letter to the Marquis of Northampton, dated 1550, laments the ruin of grammar schools throughout England, and predicts the speedy extinction of the universities from this growing calamity.⁵ At Oxford the public schools were neglected by the professors and pupils, and allotted to the lowest purposes.⁶ Academical

¹ *Epistol.* lib. i. p. 18, b. Dat. 1550, ed. 1581.

² See Collier's *Eccles. Hist.* Records, lxvii. p. 80.

³ Burnet, *Ref.* P. ii. p. 8.

⁴ Wood, *sub ann.* 1550. See also Strype's *Cranmer*, Append. N. xciii. p. 220, viz. A letter to secretary Cecil, dat. 1552.

⁵ *Epistol.* lib. un. *Commendat.* p. 194, a, Lond. 1581, "Ruinam et interitum publicarum scholarum," &c.—"Quam gravis hæc universa scholarum calamitas," &c. See p. 62, b, p. 210, a.

⁶ Wood, *ut sup.* p. 273.

degrees were abrogated as anti-Christian.¹ Reformation was soon turned into fanaticism. Absurd refinements concerning the inutility of human learning were superadded to the just and rational purgation of Christianity from the papal corruptions. The spiritual reformers of these enlightened days, at a visitation of the last-mentioned university, proceeded so far in their ideas of a superior rectitude as totally to strip the public library, established by that munificent patron Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, of all its books and manuscripts.

I must not, however, forget, as a remarkable symptom of an attempt now circulating to give a more general and unreserved diffusion of science, that in this reign, Thomas Wilson, originally a fellow of King's College in Cambridge, preceptor to Charles and Henry Brandon Dukes of Suffolk, Dean of Durham, and chief secretary to the king, published a system of logic and of rhetoric in English² [in 1551 and 1553]. This display of the venerable mysteries of the former of these arts in a vernacular language, which had hitherto been confined within the sacred pale of the learned tongues, was esteemed an innovation almost equally daring with that of permitting the service of the church to be celebrated in English; and accordingly the author, soon afterwards happening to visit Rome, was incarcerated by the inquisitors of the holy see as a presumptuous and dangerous heretic.

It is with reluctance I enter on the bloody reign of the relentless and unamiable Mary, whose many dreadful martyrdoms of men eminent for learning and piety shock our sensibility with a double degree of horror in the present softened state of manners, at a period of society when no potentate would inflict executions of so severe a nature, and when it would be difficult to find devotees hardy enough to die for difference of opinion. We must, however, acknowledge that she enriched both universities with some considerable benefactions; yet these donations seem to have been made, not from any general or liberal principle of advancing knowledge, but to repair the breaches of reformation, and to strengthen the return of superstition. It is certain that her restoration of popery, together with the monastic institution, its proper appendage, must have been highly pernicious to the growth of polite erudition. Yet although the elegant studies were now beginning to suffer a new relapse, in the midst of this reign, under the discouragement of all these inauspicious and unfriendly circumstances, a college was established at Oxford, in the constitution of which the founder principally inculcates the use and necessity of classical literature, and recommends it as the most important and leading object in that system of academical study, which he prescribes to the youth of the new society.³

¹ *Catal. MSS. Angl.* fol. edit. 1697, in Hist. Bibl. Bodl. *Præfat.*

² [First printed in January, 1553-4, during the reign of Mary, who succeeded on the 6th July, 1553.] See Preface to the second edition of the *Rhetoric*, in 1560. He translated the three Olynthiads and the four Philippics of Demosthenes from the Greek into English. Lond. 1570. 4to.

³ In the year 1554 [by Sir Thomas Pope.]

For, beside a lecturer in philosophy appointed for the ordinary purpose of teaching the scholastic sciences, he establishes in this seminary a teacher of humanity. The business of this preceptor is described with a particularity not usual in the constitutions given to collegiate bodies of this kind, and he is directed to exert his utmost diligence in tincturing his auditors with a just relish for the graces and purity of the Latin language:¹ and to explain critically, in the public hall, for the space of two hours every day, the Offices, De Oratore, and rhetorical treatises, of Cicero, the institutes of Quintilian, Aulus Gellius, Plautus, Terence, Virgil, Horace, Livy, and Lucan; together with the most excellent modern philological treatises then in vogue, such as the *Elegancies* of Laurentius Valla, and the *Miscellanies* of Politian, or any other approved critical tract on oratory or versification.² In the meantime, the founder permits it to the discretion of the lecturer occasionally to substitute Greek authors in the place of these.³ He moreover requires, that the candidates for admission into the college be completely skilled in Latin poetry and in writing epistles, then a favourite mode of composition,⁴ and on which Erasmus⁵ and Conradus Celtæ the restorer of letters in Germany had each recently published a distinct systematical work. He enjoins that the students shall be exercised every day, in the intervals of vacation, in composing declamations, and Latin verses both lyric and heroic:⁶ and in his prefatory statute, where he describes the nature and design of his foundation, he declares that he destines the younger part of his establishment, not only to dialectics and philosophy, but to the more polite literature.⁷ The statutes of this college were submitted to the inspection of Cardinal Pole, one of the chief protectors of the revival of polite letters in England, as appears from a curious passage in a letter written by the founder, now remaining;

¹ "Latini sermonis ornatu et elegantia imbuendos diligenter curabit," &c.—*Statut. Coll. Trin. Oxon.* cap. iv. Again, "Cupiens et ego Collegii mei juventutem in primis Latini sermonis Puritate ac ingenuarum artium rudimentis, convenienter erudiri," &c.—*Ibid.* cap. xv.

² *Ibid.* cap. xv. A modern writer in dialectics, Rodolphus Agricola, is also recommended to be explained by the reader in philosophy, together with Aristotle.

³ *Ibid.* cap. xv. It may be also observed here, that the philosophy reader is not only ordered to explain Aristotle, but Plato. *Ibid.* cap. xv. It appears by implication in the close of this statute, that the public lectures of the university were now growing useless, and dwindling into mere matters of form, viz.: "Ad hunc modum Domi meos Lectionibus erudiri cupiens, eos a publicis in Academia lectionibus avocare nolui.—Verum, si temporis tractu, et magistratum incuria, adeo a primario instituto degenerent Magistrorum regentium Lectiones ordinariæ, ut inde nulla, aut admodum exigua, auditoribus accedat utilitas," &c.—*Ibid.* cap. xv.

⁴ *Ibid.* cap. vii.

⁵ [*Libellus de conscribendis Epistolis*, first printed] about the year 1500. At Basil, 1522. It was reprinted at Cambridge by Siberch, and dedicated to Fisher, [Bishop of Rochester,] 1521. 4to.

⁶ *Ibid.* cap. xv. Every day after dinner "Aliquis scholarium, a Præsidente aut Lectore Rhetorico iussus, de themate quodam proposito, ad edendum ingenii ac profectus sui specimen, diligenter, ornate, ac breviter, dicat," &c. *Ibid.* cap. x.

⁷ "Cæteri autem, scholares nuncupati, politioribus Literis," &c. *Ibid.* cap. i.

which not only displays the cardinal's ideas of the new erudition, but shews the state of the Greek language at this period. "My lord Cardinalls grace has had the overseinge of my statutes. He muche lykes well, that I have therein ordered the Latin tonge [Latin classics] to be redde to my schollers. But he advyfes me to order the Greeke to be more taught there than I have provyded. This purpose I well lyke : but I fear *the tymes will not bear it now*. I remember when I was a young scholler at Eton,¹ the Greeke tonge was growing apace ; the studie of which is now alate much decayd."² Queen Mary was herself eminently learned. But her accomplishments in letters were darkened or impeded by religious prejudices. At the desire of Queen Catharine Parr, she translated in her youth Erasmus's paraphrase on Saint John. The preface is written by Udall, master of Eton school : in which he much extols her distinguished proficiencie in literature.³ It would have been fortunate, if Mary's attention to this work had softened her temper, and enlightened her understanding. She frequently spoke in public with propriety, and always with prudence and dignity.

In the beginning of the reign of queen Elizabeth, which soon followed, when the return of Protestantism might have been expected to produce a speedy change for the better, Puritanism began to prevail, and, as the first fervours of a new sect are always violent, retarded for some time the progress of ingenuous and useful knowledge. The Scriptures being translated into English, and every man assuming a right to dictate in matters of faith, and to choose his own principles, weak heads drew false conclusions, and erected an infinite variety of petty religions. Such is the abuse which attends the best designs, that the meanest reader of the New Testament thought he had a full comprehension of the most mysterious metaphysical doctrines in the Christian faith ; and scorned to acquiesce in the sober and rational expositions of such difficult subjects, which he might have received from a competent and intelligent teacher, whom it was his duty to follow. The bulk of the people, who now possessed the means of discussing all theological topics, from their situation and circumstances in life, were naturally averse to the splendour, the dominion, and the opulence of an hierarchy, and disclaimed the yoke of episcopal jurisdiction. The new deliverance from the numerous and burthensome superstitions of the papal communion drove many pious reformers into the contrary extreme, and the rage of opposition ended in a devotion entirely spiritual and abstracted. External forms were abolished, as impediments to the visionary reveries of a mental intercourse with heaven ; and because the Church of Rome had carried ceremonies to an absurd excess, the use of any ceremonies was deemed unlawful. The love of

¹ About the year 1520.

² Dated 1556. See *Life of Sir Thomas Pope*, p. 226.

³ Lond. 1548, fol. [See a Latin epistle from Mary, when princess, to Cardinal Pole, dated from Hartlebury, and subscribed "Tua spiritalis filia, Maria princeps," in *Reliquiæ Hearnianæ*, 103-4.]

new doctrines and a new worship, the triumph of gaining profelytes, and the persecutions which accompanied these licentious zealots, all contributed to fan the flame of enthusiasm. The genius of this refined and false species of religion, which defied the salutary checks of all human authority, when operating in its full force, was attended with consequences not less pernicious to society, although less likely to last, than those which flowed from the establishment of the ancient superstitions. During this unsettled state of things, the English reformed clergy, who had fled into Germany from the menaces of Queen Mary, returned home in great numbers; and in consideration of their sufferings and learning, and their abilities to vindicate the principles of a national church erected in opposition to that of Rome, many of them were preferred to bishoprics and other eminent ecclesiastical stations. These divines brought back with them into England those narrow principles concerning church-government and ceremonies, which they had imbibed in the petty states and republics abroad, where the Calvinistic discipline was adopted, and where they had lived like a society of philosophers; but which were totally inconsistent with the nature of a more extended church, established in a great and magnificent nation, and requiring an uniform system of policy, a regular subordination of officers, a solemnity of public worship, and an observance of exterior institutions. They were, however, in the present circumstances thought to be the most proper instruments to be employed at the head of ecclesiastical affairs, not only for the purpose of vindicating the new establishment by argument and authority, but of eradicating every trace of the papal corruptions by their practice and example, and of effectually fixing the reformation embraced by the Church of England on a durable basis. But unfortunately this measure, specious and expedient as it appeared at first, tended to destroy that constitution which it was designed to support, and to counteract those principles which had been implanted by Cranmer in the reformed system of our religion. Their reluctance or refusal to conform, in a variety of instances, to the established ceremonies, and their refinements in theological discipline filled the church with the most violent divisions, and introduced endless intricate disputations, not on fundamental doctrines of solid importance to the real interests of Christianity, but on positive points of idle and empty speculation which, admitting no elegance of composition and calling forth no vigour of abilities, exercised the learning of the clergy in the most barbarous and barren field of controversial divinity, and obstructed every pursuit of polite or manly erudition. Even the conforming clergy, from their want of penetration and from their attachment to authorities, contributed to protract these frivolous and unbecoming controversies: for if, in their vindication of the sacerdotal vestments and of the cross of baptism, instead of arguing from the Jews, the primitive Christians, the fathers, councils, and customs, they had only appealed to common sense and the nature of things, the propriety and expediency of those formalities would have been much more easily and more clearly demonstrated. To these incon-

veniences we must add, that the common ecclesiastical preferments were so much diminished by the seizure and alienation of impropriations in the late depredations of the church, and which continued to be carried on with the same spirit of rapacity in the reign of Elizabeth, that few persons were regularly bred to the church, or, in other words, received a learned education. Hence, almost any that offered themselves were, without distinction or examination, admitted to the sacred function. Infomuch that, in the year 1560, an injunction was directed to the Bishop of London from his metropolitan, requiring him to forbear ordaining any more artificers and other illiterate persons who exercised secular occupations.¹ But as the evil was unavoidable, this caution took but little effect.² About the year 1563, there were only two divines, and those of higher rank, the President of Magdalen college³ and the Dean of Christ Church, who were capable of preaching the public sermons before the University of Oxford.⁴ I will mention one instance of the extreme ignorance of our inferior clergy about the middle of the sixteenth century. In the year 1570, Horne, bishop of Winchester, enjoined the minor canons of his cathedral to get by memory, every week, one chapter of Saint Paul's epistles in Latin: and this formidable task, almost beneath the abilities of an ordinary school-boy, was actually repeated by some of them before the bishop, dean, and prebendaries at a public episcopal visitation of that church.⁵ It is well known that a set of homilies was published to supply their incapacity in composing sermons: but it should be remembered, that one reason for prescribing this authorized system of doctrine was to prevent preachers from disturbing the peace of the church by disseminating their own novel and indigested opinions.

[Hearne, in his Diary, under Sept. 19, 1708, notices "Some manuscripts I saw in Mr. Cherry's hands." No. 2 is "a quarto book, written neatly in vellum by Queen Elizabeth's own hand, being a translation out of French verse into English prose of a book called *The Glasse of the Sinfull Soul*. The author of this translation was Queen

¹ Strype's *Grindal*, B. i. ch. iv. b. 40.

² Numerous illuminated artificers began early to preach and write in defence of the reformed religion. The first mechanic who left his lawful calling to vindicate the cause of the Catholics was one Miles Hoggard, a shoe-maker or hosier, of London who, in the reign of queen Mary, wrote a pamphlet entitled, *The Displaying of the Protestantes, and sundry their praesises, &c.* Lond. 1556. 12mo. This piece soon acquired importance by being answered by Lawrence Humphrey and other eminent reformers. He printed other pieces of the same tendency. He was likewise an English poet; and I am glad of this opportunity of mentioning him in that character, as I could not have ventured to give him a place in the series of our poetry. [As complete a list of his works as could be found is given in *Handb. of E. E. Lit.* art. HUGGARD.]

³ Doctor Lawrence Humphrey, mentioned in the last note. Of whom it will not be improper to observe further in this place, that about the year 1553, he wrote an *Epistola de Græcis literis et Homerî lectione et imitatione ad præsidem et socios collegii Magdalene, Oxon.* In the *Cornucopia* of Hadrian Junius, Basil. 1558. fol.

⁴ Wood, *ut supra* i. 285.

⁵ *Registr. Horne Episc. Winton.* fol. 80, b.

Elizabeth herself, as she has dedicated it to her mother Queen Catharine, which epistle ded. is dated in 1544." "At the end," adds he, "is a prayer, written in another hand, but the author of it was queen Elizabeth. The cover is neatly wrought with a needle by the queen herself; in the middle of either side K. P." The MS. is now in the Bodleian Library, to which it was given, the late Dr. Bliss seems to have thought, by Mr. Cherry's widow.]¹

The taste for Latin composition in the reign of Elizabeth, notwithstanding it was fashionable both to write and speak in that language, was much worse than in the reign of Henry the Eighth, when juster models were studied, and when the novelty of classical literature excited a general emulation to imitate the Roman authors. The Latinity of Ascham's prose has little elegance. The versification and phraseology of Buchanan's Latin poetry are splendid and sonorous, but not marked with the chaste graces and simple ornaments of the Augustan age. One is surprised to find the learned Archbishop Grindal, in the statutes of a school which he founded and amply endowed, recommending such barbarous and degenerate classics as Sedulius and Prudentius to be taught in his new foundation.² These, indeed, were the classics of a reforming bishop: but the well-meaning prelate would have contributed much more to the success of his intended reformation by directing books of better taste and less piety. That classical literature and the public instruction of youth were now in the lowest state, we may collect from a provision in Archbishop Parker's foundation of three scholarships at Cambridge, in the year 1567. He orders that the scholars, who are appointed to be elected from three the most considerable schools in Kent and Norfolk, shall be "the best and aptest scholars, well instructed in the grammar, and, if it may be, such as can make a verse."³ It became fashionable in this reign to study Greek at court. The maids of honour indulged their ideas of sentimental affection in the sublime contemplation of Plato's Phædo: and the queen, who understood Greek better than the canons of Windsor, and was certainly a much greater pedant than her successor James the First, translated Isocrates.⁴ But this passion for the Greek language soon ended where it began: nor do we find that it improved the national taste, or influenced the writings of the age of Elizabeth.

All changes of rooted establishments, especially of a national reli-

[¹ The letter from Elizabeth to her mother, sending her the book, is printed in *Letters of Royal and Illust. Ladies*, iii. 177-9. It is dated from Ashridge, March 24, 1544-5.]

² Strype's *Grindal*, b. ii. ch. xvii. p. 312. This was in 1583. [Mr. Dyce, in his edition of *Marlowe*, 1850, I. xlvii., very properly points out that Warton has committed a curious oversight in speaking of *Palingenius* (which he did in all the former eds.) as a "classic."]

³ Blomefield's *Norfolk*, ii. 224.

⁴ Ascham's *Scholemaster*, p. 19, b. Edit. 1589. And *Epistol.* lib. i. p. 19, *ut supr.* [In one of her letters to her brother Edward VI. when princess, Elizabeth quotes Pindar and Homer. *Letters of Royal and Illust. Ladies*, iii. 231.]

gion, are attended with shocks and convulsions, unpropitious to the repose of science and study. But these unavoidable inconveniencies last not long. When the liberal genius of Protestantism had perfected its work, and the first fanaticisms of well-meaning but misguided zealots had subsided, every species of useful and elegant knowledge recovered its strength, and arose with new vigour. Acquisitions, whether in theology or humanity, were no longer exclusively confined to the clergy: the laity eagerly embraced those pursuits from which they had long been unjustly restrained: and, soon after the reign of Elizabeth, men attained that state of general improvement, and those situations with respect to literature and life, in which they have ever since persevered.

But it remains to bring home, and to apply, this change in the sentiments of mankind to our main subject. The customs, institutions, traditions, and religion of the middle ages were favourable to poetry. Their pageants, processions, spectacles and ceremonies were friendly to imagery, to personification and allegory. Ignorance and superstition, so opposite to the real interests of human society, are the parents of imagination. The very devotion of the Gothic times was romantic. The Catholic worship, besides that its numerous exterior appendages were of a picturesque and even of a poetical nature, disposed the mind to a state of deception and encouraged, or rather authorised, every species of credulity: its visions, miracles and legends propagated a general propensity to the marvellous, and strengthened the belief of spectres, demons, witches and incantations. These illusions were heightened by churches of a wonderful mechanism, and constructed on such principles of inexplicable architecture as had a tendency to impress the soul with every false sensation of religious fear. The savage pomp and the capricious heroism of the baronial manners were replete with incident, adventure, and enterprise; and the intractable genius of the feudal policy held forth those irregularities of conduct, discordancies of interest, and dissimilarities of situation, that framed rich materials for the minstrel-muse. The tacit compact of fashion, which promotes civility by diffusing habits of uniformity, and therefore destroys peculiarities of character and situation, had not yet operated upon life; nor had domestic convenience abolished unwieldy magnificence. Literature, and a better sense of things, not only banished these barbarities, but superseded the mode of composition which was formed upon them. Romantic poetry gave way to the force of reason and inquiry; as its own enchanted palaces and gardens instantaneously vanished, when the Christian champion displayed the shield of truth, and baffled the charm of the necromancer. The study of the classics, together with a colder magic and a tamer mythology, introduced method into composition: and the universal ambition of rivalling those new patterns of excellence, the faultless models of Greece and Rome, produced that bane of invention, Imitation. Erudition was made to act upon genius. Fancy was weakened by reflection and philosophy. The fashion of treating every thing scientifically applied speculation and theory to the arts of

writing. Judgment was advanced above imagination, and rules of criticism were established. The brave eccentricities of original genius, and the daring hardiness of native thought, were intimidated by metaphysical sentiments of perfection and refinement. Setting aside the consideration of the more solid advantages, which are obvious, and are not the distinct object of our contemplation at present, the lover of true poetry will ask, what have we gained by this revolution? It may be answered, much good sense, good taste, and good criticism. But, in the mean time, we have lost a set of manners and a system of machinery more suitable to the purposes of poetry than those which have been adopted in their place. We have parted with extravagancies that are above propriety, with incredibilities that are more acceptable than truth, and with fictions that are more valuable than reality.

SECTION XXXVII.



OUR communications and intercourse with Italy, which began to prevail about the beginning of the [fifteenth] century, not only introduced the studies of classical literature into England, but gave a new turn to our vernacular poetry. At this period, Petrarch still continued the most favourite poet of the Italians, and had established a manner, which was universally adopted and imitated by his ingenious countrymen. In the meantime, the courts both of France and England were distinguished for their elegance. Francis the First had changed the state of letters in France by mixing gallantry with learning, and by admitting the ladies to his court in company with the ecclesiastics. His carousals were celebrated with a brilliancy and a festivity unknown to the ceremonious shows of former princes. Henry the Eighth vied with Francis in these gaities. His ambition, which could not bear a rival even in diversions, was seconded by liberality of disposition and a love of ostentation. For Henry, with many boisterous qualities, was magnificent and affable. Had he never murdered his wives, his politeness to the fair sex would have remained unimpeached. His martial sports were unincumbered by the barbaric pomp of the ancient chivalry, and softened by the growing habits of more rational manners. He was attached to those spectacles and public amusements in which beauty assumed a principal share; and his frequent masques and tournaments encouraged a high spirit of romantic courtesy. Poetry was the natural accompaniment of these refinements. Henry himself was a leader and a chief character in these pageantries, and at the same time a reader and a writer of verses. The language and the manners of Italy were esteemed and studied. The sonnets of Petrarch were the great models of composition. They entered into the genius of the fashionable

manners: and in a court of such a complexion, Petrarch of course became the popular poet. Henry Howard, earl [of] Surrey, with a mistress perhaps as beautiful as Laura, and at least with Petrarch's passion, if not his taste, led the way to great improvements in English poetry by a happy imitation of Petrarch and other Italian poets, who had been most successful in painting the anxieties of love with pathos and propriety.

Lord Surrey's life throws so much light on the character and subjects of his poetry, that it is almost impossible to consider the one, without exhibiting a few anecdotes of the other. He was the son and grandson of two lords treasurers, Dukes of Norfolk, and in his early childhood discovered the most promising marks of lively parts and an active mind.

While a boy, he was habituated to the modes of a court at Windsor-castle, where he resided, yet under the care of proper instructors, in the quality of a companion to Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond, a natural son of King Henry the Eighth, and [a youth] of the highest expectations.

This young nobleman, who also bore other titles and honours, was the child of Henry's affection; not so much on account of his hopeful abilities, as for a reason insinuated by Lord Herbert, and at which those who know Henry's history and character will not be surprised, because he equally and strongly resembled both his father and mother.

A friendship of the closest kind commencing between these two illustrious youths, about the year 1530 they were both removed to Cardinal Wolfsey's college at Oxford, then universally frequented as well for the excellence as the novelty of its institution; for it was one of the first seminaries of an English university, that professed to explode the pedantries of the old barbarous philosophy, and to cultivate the graces of polite literature. Two years afterwards, for the purpose of acquiring every accomplishment of an elegant education, the earl accompanied his noble friend and fellow-pupil into France, where they received King Henry on his arrival at Calais to visit Francis the First with a most magnificent retinue. The friendship of these two young noblemen was soon strengthened by a new tie; for Richmond married the lady Mary Howard, Surrey's sister. Richmond, however, appears to have died in the year 1536, about the age of seventeen, having never cohabited with his wife.¹ It was long before Surrey forgot the untimely loss of this amiable youth, the friend and associate of his childhood, and who nearly resembled himself in genius, refinement of manners, and liberal acquisitions.

The fair Geraldine, the general object of Lord Surrey's passionate sonnets, was undoubtedly one of the daughters of Gerald Fitzgerald, Earl of Kildare.² But it will be necessary to transcribe what

¹ Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* i. p. 68.

² [“ Even before the close of the eleventh century, Otto degli Gherardini, a Florentine, settled in England, and became the proprietor of lands in no fewer than

our author himself has said of this celebrated lady. The history of one who caused so memorable and so poetical a passion naturally excites curiosity, and will justify an investigation which, on many a similar occasion, would properly be censured as frivolous and impertinent.¹

From Tuscan came my Ladies worthy race;
 Faire Florence was sometime her auncient seate:
 The Western yle, whose pleasaunt shore dothe face
 Wilde Cambers clifs, did geve her liuely heate:
 Fostered she was with milke of Irishe brest:
 Her sire an Erle: her dame of princes blood.
 From tender yeres in Britain she doth rest
 With kinges child, where she tasteth ghostly food.
 Hunsdon did first present her to mine yien:
 Bright is her hewe, and Geraldine she hight.
 Hampton me taught to wishe her first for mine:
 And Windsor, alas, doth chafe me from her sight.

Her poetical appellation is almost her real name. Gerald Fitzgerald, above mentioned, Earl of Kildare in the reign of Henry the Eighth, married a second wife, Margaret, daughter of Thomas Gray, Marquis of Dorset, by whom he had three daughters, Margaret, Elizabeth, and Cicely. Margaret was born deaf and dumb; and a lady who could neither hear nor answer her lover, and who wanted the means of contributing to the most endearing reciprocations, can hardly be supposed to have been the cause of any vehement effusions of amorous panegyric. We may therefore safely pronounce Elizabeth or Cicely to have been Surrey's favourite. It was probably Elizabeth, as she seems always to have lived in England.

Every circumstance of the sonnet evidently coincides with this state of the case. But to begin with the first line, it will naturally be asked, what was Lady Elizabeth Gerald's connection with Tuscany? The beginnings of noble families, like those of nations, often owe somewhat to fictitious embellishment: and our genealogists uniformly assert that the family of Fitzgerald derives its origin from Otho, a descendant of the Dukes of Tuscany, [and] that they migrated into England [before the eleventh century]. Her father was an Irish earl, resident at his earldom of Kildare; and she was consequently born and nursed in Ireland. Her mother, adds the sonnet, was of princely parentage. Here is a no less exact correspondence with the line of the lady's pedigree: for Thomas, Marquis of Dorset, was son of Queen Elizabeth Gray, daughter of the Dukes of Bedford, descended from the royal house of Luxemburgh. The poet acquaints us that he first saw her at Hunsdon. This notice, which seems of an indifferent nature and quite extraneous to the question, abundantly corroborates our conjecture. Hunsdon-

eight counties; and it was from this gentleman that sprang the ancestors of the noble house of Fitzgerald."—*Hist. of the Venet. Rep.* iv. p. 239, where "The Earls of Kildare and their ancestors, by the Marquis of Kildare, 1858," is quoted.]

¹ [All the extracts of Warton from *Tottels Miscellany* have been collated with the first edition of June 5, 1557.]

house in Hertfordshire was a new palace built by Henry the Eighth, and chiefly for the purpose of educating his children. The lady Elizabeth Fitzgerald was second cousin to Henry's daughters the princesses Mary and Elizabeth, who were both educated at Hunston.¹ At this royal nursery she therefore *tasted of ghostly food with kinges childe*, that is, lived while a girl with the young princesses her relations, as a companion in their education. At the same time, and on the same plan, our Earl of Surrey resided at Windfor Castle, as I have already remarked, with the young Duke of Richmond. It is natural to suppose, that he sometimes visited the princesses at Hunston, in company with the young duke their brother, where he must have also seen the fair Geraldine: yet by the nature of his situation at Windfor, which implied a degree of confinement, he was hindered from visiting her at Hunston so often as he wished. He therefore pathetically laments,

Windfor, alas, doth chafe me from her sight!

But although the earl first beheld this lady at the palace of Hunston, yet, as we further learn from the sonnet, he was first struck with her incomparable beauty, and his passion commenced, at Hampton-court.

Hampton me taught to wish her first for mine!

That is, perhaps, on occasion of some splendid masque or carousal, when the lady Elizabeth Fitzgerald, with the princesses Mary and Elizabeth and their brother Richmond, with the young Lord Surrey, were invited by the king to Hampton-court.

In the meantime we must remember, that the Lord Leonard Gray, uncle to Lord Gerald Fitzgerald, was deputy of Ireland for the young Duke of Richmond: a connection, exclusive of all that has been said, which would alone account for Surrey's acquaintance at least with this lady. It is also a reason, to say no more, why the earl should have regarded her from the first with a particular attention, which afterwards grew into the most passionate attachment. She is supposed to have been maid of honour to Queen Catharine. But there are three of Henry's queens of that name. For obvious reasons, however, we may venture to say, that Queen Catherine Howard was Geraldine's queen.

It is not precisely known at what period the Earl of Surrey began his travels. They have the air of a romance. He made the tour of Europe in the true spirit of chivalry, and with the ideas of an Amadis; proclaiming the unparalleled charms of his mistress, and prepared to defend the cause of her beauty with the weapons of knight-errantry. Nor was this adventurous journey performed without the intervention of an enchanter. The first city in Italy which he proposed to visit was Florence, the capital of Tuscany and the original seat of the ancestors of his Geraldine. In his way thither, he passed a few days at the emperor's court, where he became

¹ Strype, *Eccl. Mem.* vol. i. Append. Numb. 71.

acquainted with Cornelius Agrippa, a celebrated adept in natural magic. This visionary philosopher shewed our hero, in a mirror of glass, a living image of Geraldine reclining on a couch, sick, and reading one of his most tender sonnets by a waxen taper.¹ His imagination, which wanted not the flattering representations and artificial incentives of illusion, was heated anew by this interesting and affecting spectacle. Inflamed with every enthusiasm of the most romantic passion, he hastened to Florence: and, on his arrival, immediately published a defiance against any person who could handle a lance and was in love, whether Christian, Jew, Turk, Saracen, or Cannibal, who should presume to dispute the superiority of Geraldine's beauty.² As the lady was pretended to be of Tuscan extraction, the pride of the Florentines was flattered on this occasion: and the grand duke of Tuscany permitted a general and unmolested ingress into his dominions of the combatants of all countries, till this important trial should be decided. The challenge was accepted and the earl victorious.³ The shield which he presented to the duke before the tournament began, is exhibited in Vertue's valuable plate of the Arundel family, and was actually in the possession of the late Duke of Norfolk.⁴

These heroic vanities did not, however, so totally engross the time

¹ Drayton, *Her. Epist.*—Howard to Geraldine, v. 57. [Mr. Warton certainly seems to speak as though this visionary display of the fair Geraldine had been an actual exhibition; whereas it was the romantic invention of Tom Nash in his fanciful *Life of Jacke Wilton*, printed in 1594. Nash, under the character of his hero, professes to have travelled in company with Lord Henry Howard, earl of Surrey, as his page. On proceeding to the emperor's court it was agreed between them to change names and characters, that the earl might take more liberty of behaviour; and becoming familiarly acquainted with Cornelius Agrippa, "I, (says Nash,) because I was his suborned Lorde and Master, desired him to see the lively image of Geraldine, his love, in the glasse, and what at that instant she did and with whom she was talking. He showed her us without more ado, sicke, weeping on her bedde, and resolved all into devoute religion for the absence of her lorde. At the sight thereof he could in no wise refrayne, though he had tooke upon him the condition of a servant, but he must forthwith frame an extemporal dittee." This ditty Nash provided. It begins:

All soule, no earthly flesh, why dost thou fade?—*Park.*]

² [Hookes thus alludes to this challenge in his *Amanda*, &c. 1653:

"Were *Surrey* travel'd now to Tuskanie
Off'ring to reach his gauntlet out for thee;
If on the guilt tree in the list he set
Thy pretty, lovely, pretty counterfeit;*
All planet-struck with those two stars, thy eyne,
(Outshining farre his heav'nly *Geraldine*)
There w^d no staffe be shiver'd—none w^d dare
A beautie with *Amanda's* to compare."

p. 73. *Park.*]

³ Wood, *ubi sup.*

⁴ Walpole, *Anec. Paint.* i. p. 76. [The shield is still preserved at Norfolk House. Dr. Nott, who rejects the story of the tournament as an idle fable, conceives the shield to have been a later acquisition of the Norfolk family.—*Price.*]

* i. e. picture.

which Surrey spent in Italy, as to alienate his mind from letters: he studied with the greatest success a critical knowledge of the Italian tongue, and, that he might give new lustre to the name of Geraldine, attained a just taste for the peculiar graces of the Italian poetry.

He was recalled to England for some idle reason by the king, much sooner than he expected: and he returned home, the most elegant traveller, the most polite lover, the most learned nobleman, and the most accomplished gentleman, of his age. Dexterity in tilting, and gracefulness in managing a horse under arms, were excellencies now viewed with a critical eye, and practised with a high degree of emulation. In 1540, at a tournament held in the presence of the court of Westminster, and in which the principal of the nobility were engaged, Surrey was distinguished above the rest for his address in the use and exercise of arms. But his martial skill was not solely displayed in the parade and ostentation of these domestic combats. In 1542, he marched into Scotland as a chief commander in his father's army: [as he had been formerly] conspicuous for his conduct and bravery at the battle of Flodden-field, where James the Fourth of Scotland was killed.¹ The next year, we find the career of his victories impeded by an obstacle which no valour could resist. The censures of the church have humiliated the greatest heroes: and he was imprisoned in Windsor Castle for eating flesh in Lent. The prohibition had been renewed or strengthened by a recent proclamation of the king. I mention this circumstance, not only as it marks his character, impatient of any control, and careless of the very serious consequences which often arise from a contempt of petty formalities, but as it gave occasion to one of his most sentimental and pathetic sonnets. In 1544 he was field-marshal of the English army in the expedition to Bologne, which he took. In that age, love and arms constantly went together: and it was amid the fatigues of this protracted campaign, that he composed his last sonnet called the *Fansie of a wearied Lover*.²

But as Surrey's popularity increased, his interest declined with the king, whose caprices and jealousies grew more violent with his years and infirmities. The brilliancy of Surrey's character, his celebrity in the military science, his general abilities, his wit, learning and affability were viewed by Henry with disgust and suspicion. It was in vain that he possessed every advantageous qualification which could adorn the scholar, the courtier, and the soldier. In proportion as he was amiable in the eyes of the people, he became formidable to the king. His rising reputation was misconstrued into a dangerous ambition, and gave birth to accusations equally groundless and frivolous. He was suspected of a design to marry the princess Mary, and by that alliance of approaching to a possibility of wearing the crown. It was insinuated that he conversed with foreigners, and held a correspondence with Cardinal Pole.

¹ [The battle of Flodden Field was fought in 1513.—*Price*.]

² See Dugd. *Baronage* vol. ii. p. 275.

The addition of the escutcheon of Edward the Confessor to his own, although used by the family of Norfolk for many years, and justified by the authority of the heralds, was a sufficient foundation for an impeachment of high treason. These motives were privately aggravated by those prejudices with which Henry remembered the misbehaviour of Catharine Howard, and which were extended to all that lady's relations. At length, the Earl of Surrey fell a sacrifice to the peevish injustice of a merciless and ungrateful master. Notwithstanding his eloquent and masculine defence, which even in the cause of guilt itself would have proved a powerful persuasive, he was condemned by the prepared suffrage of a servile and obsequious jury, and beheaded on Tower-hill in the year 1547.¹ In the mean time we should remember, that Surrey's public conduct was not on all occasions quite unexceptionable. In the affair of Bologne he had made a false step. This had offended the king. But Henry, when once offended, could never forgive. And when Hertford was sent into France to take the command, he could not refrain from dropping some reproachful expressions against a measure which seemed to impeach his personal courage. Conscious of his high birth and capacity, he was above the little attentions of caution and reserve; and he too frequently neglected to consult his own situation, and the king's temper. It was his misfortune to serve a monarch, whose resentments, which were easily provoked, could only be satisfied by the most severe revenge. Henry brought those men to the block, whom other monarchs would have only disgraced.

Among these anecdotes of Surrey's life, I had almost forgot to mention what became of his amour with the fair Geraldine. We lament to find, that Surrey's devotion to this lady did not end in a wedding, and that all his gallantries and verses availed so little! No memoirs of that incurious age have informed us, whether her beauty was equalled by her cruelty; or whether her ambition prevailed so far over her gratitude, as to tempt her to prefer the solid glories of a more splendid title and ample fortune to the challenges and compliments of so magnanimous, so faithful, and so eloquent a lover. She appears, however, to have been afterwards the third wife of Edward Clinton, Earl of Lincoln. Such also is the power of time and accident over amorous vows, that even Surrey himself outlived the violence of his passion. He married Frances, daughter of John, Earl of Oxford, by whom he left several children. One of his daughters, Jane, Countess of Westmoreland, was among the learned ladies of that age, and became famous for her knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages.²

Surrey's poems were in high reputation with his contemporaries, and for many years afterwards. He is thus characterized by the

¹ See Stowe, *Chron.* p. 592. Chaloner, de *Republ. Angl. Instaurand.* lib. ii. p. 45. [The earl's body was conveyed to Framlingham, in Suffolk, and a Latin epitaph placed on his tomb, which dates his immature decease in 1546. See *Hist. Anec. of the Howards*, p. 28.—*Park.*]

² Dugd. *Baron.* i. 533; ii. 275.

author of the *Arte of English Poesie* [who wrote not many years after the earl's time, and] whose opinion remained long as a rule of criticism. "In the latter end of the same kings raigne, sprong vp a new company of courtly makers, of whom *Sir Thomas Wyat* th' elder and *Henry Earle of Surrey* were the two chieftaines, who hauing traauiled into Italie, and there tasted the sweete and stately measures and stile of the Italian Poesie, as nouices newly crept out of the schooles of *Dante*, *Ariosto*, and *Petrarch*, they greatly polished our rude and homely maner of vulgar Poesie from that it had bene before, and for that cause may iustly be sayd the first reformers of our English meetre and stile."¹ And again, towards the close of the same chapter—"Henry Earle of Surrey, and sir *Thomas Wyat*, betweene whom I finde very litle difference, I repute them (as before) for the two chief lanternes of light to all others that haue since employed their pennens vpon English Poesie: their conceits were loftie, their stiles stately, their conueyance cleanly, their termes proper, their meetre sweete and well proportioned, in all imitating very naturally and studiously their Maister *Francis Petrarcha*."² I forbear to recite the testimonies of Leland, Sydney, Turbervile, Churchyard, and Drayton.³ Nor have these pieces, although scarcely known at present, been without the panegyric of more recent times. Surrey is praised by Waller and Fenton; and he seems to have been a favourite with Pope. Pope, in *Windfor Forest*, having compared his patron Lord Granville with Surrey, he was immediately reprinted, but without attracting many readers. It was vainly imagined that all the world would eagerly wish to purchase the works of a neglected ancient English poet, whom Pope had called *the GRANVILLE of a former age*. So rapid are the revolutions of our language, and such the uncertainty of literary fame, that Philips, Milton's nephew, who wrote about the year 1674, has remarked that in his time Surrey's poetry was antiquated and totally forgotten.⁴

Our author's *Songes and Sonnettes*, as they have been styled, were first collected and printed in 1557.⁵ As it happens in collections of

¹ Lib. i. ch. xxxi. p. 48, edit. 1589.

² Ibid. p. 50.

³ [Other early testimonials were offered by Tusser, Harvey, Whitney, Googe, Peacham, and R. Fletcher. I cite the first and last of these on account of the rarity of the books in which they occur:

"What lookest thou here for to haue?
Trim verses, thy fanſie to please?
Of Surry, ſo famous, that crave;
Looke nothing but rudeneſs in theſe."

Preface to *A Hundreth Good Pointes of Huſbandry*, edit. 1570.

"Had your (P. Henry's) praiſe been limn'd with learned pen
Of princely Surrey, once a poet ſweet,
Sir *Thomas Wyat*, or like gentlemen,
They on this theame diſcourſers had bene meet."

R. Fletcher's *Nine English Worthies*, 1606, 4to. p. 51.—*Park*.]

⁴ *Theatr. Poetar.* p. 67, edit. 167[5,] 12mo.

⁵ [There were three editions in 1557, that of June 5 being the first. See, for a full account of all the editions known, *Handb. of E. E. Lit.*, 1867, art. SURREY.]

this kind, they are of various merit. Surrey is said by the ingenious [editor] of the *Muses Library* to have been the first who broke through the fashion of stanzas, and wrote in the heroic couplet. But all Surrey's poems are in the alternate rhyme; nor, had this been true, is the other position to be granted. Chaucer's Prologues and most of the Canterbury Tales are written in long verse; nor was the use of the couplet resumed till late in the reign of Elizabeth.¹

In the sonnets of Surrey we are surprised to find nothing of that metaphysical cast which marks the Italian poets, his supposed masters, especially Petrarch. Surrey's sentiments are for the most part natural and unaffected: arising from his own feelings, and dictated by the present circumstances.² His poetry is alike unembarrassed by learned allusions or elaborate conceits. If our author copies Petrarch, it is Petrarch's better manner: when he descends from his Platonic abstractions, his refinements of passion, his exaggerated compliments, and his play upon opposite sentiments, into a track of tenderness, simplicity, and nature. Petrarch would have been a better poet had he been a worse scholar. Our author's mind was not too much overlaid by learning.

The following is the poem above mentioned, in which he laments his imprisonment in Windsor Castle. But it is rather an elegy than a sonnet:

So cruell prision how coulde betide, alas,
As proude Windsor! where I, in lust and ioye,³
With a kinges sonne⁴ my childishe yeres did passe
In greater feast than Priams sonnes of Troy;
Where eche swete place returns a taste full sower:
The large grene courtes where we were wont to houe,⁵

¹ [A passing tribute both to Chaucer and Surrey may here be noticed from *The Gorgeous Gallery of Gallant Inventions*, 1578:

"If Chawcer yet did liue,
Whose English tongue did passe,
Who sucked dry Parnassus spring
And raste the Juice there was:
If Surrey had not scalde
The height of Loue his Throne
Vnto whose head a pillow softe
Became Mount Helycon:
They with their Muses could
Not haue pronounst the fame
Of D. faire dame," &c.—*Park*.

But Mr. P. quotes the passage very inexactly. In the original, the lines are long, and have been here divided into three.]

² [Dr. Henry observes that English poetry, till refined by Surrey, degenerated into metrical chronicles or tasteless allegories. *Hist. of Eng.* xii. p. 292. Dr. Anderson deems his love verses equal to the best in our language; while in harmony of numbers, perspicuity of expression, and facility of phraseology, they approach so near the productions of the present age, as hardly to be believed they could have been produced in the reign of Henry VIII. *Brit. Poets*, i. p. 593.—*Park*.]

³ In unrestrained gaiety and pleasure.

⁴ With the young duke of Richmond.

⁵ To hover, to loiter in expectation. See Chaucer, *Troil. and Cress.* b. v. ver. 33.

"But at the yate ther she sholde out ryde
With certeyn folk he *hoved* hire t' abide."

With eyes cast vp into the maydens tower,¹
 And easie sighes, suche as folke drawe in loue :
 The stately seates, the ladies bright of hewe :
 The daunces shorte, longe tales of great delight,
 With wordes and lokes that tygers coulede but rewe ;²
 Where eche of vs did pleade the others right :
 The palme play³ where, dispoyled for the game,⁴
 With dazed eyes⁵ oft we by gleames of loue,
 Haue mist the ball, and got sight of our dame,
 To baite⁶ her eyes whiche kept the leads aboue,⁷
 The grauell grounde,⁸ with fleues tyed on the helme :⁹
 On fomyng horse, with swordes and frendlye hartes :
 With cheare¹⁰ as though one should another whelme :¹¹
 Where we haue fought and chafed oft with dartes—
 The secrete groues, which oft we made resounde
 Of pleasaunt playnt, and of our ladies prayse,
 Recordeyng ofte what grace¹² eche one had found,
 What hope of speede,¹³ what drede of long delays :
 The wilde forest, the clothed holtes with grene :¹⁴
 With rayns auailed,¹⁵ and swift ybreathed horse,

¹ Surrey speaks loosely and poetically in making the Maiden-tower, the true reading, the residence of the women. The maiden-tower was common in other castles, and means the principal tower, of the greatest strength and defence. Maiden is a corruption of the old French *magnus* or *mayne*, great. Thus Maidenhead (properly Maydenhithe) in Berkshire, signifies the *great* port or wharf of the river Thames. So also, *Mayden-Bradley* in Wiltshire is the *great Bradley*. The old Roman camp near Dorchester in Dorsetshire, a noble work, is called *Maiden castle*, the capital fortress in those parts. We have Maidendown in Somersetshire with the same signification. A thousand other instances might be given. Hearne, not attending to this etymology, absurdly supposes, in one of his Prefaces, that a strong bastion in the old walls of the city of Oxford, called the Maiden-tower, was a prison for confining the prostitutes of the town. [*Mai Dun* are two ancient British words signifying a *great hill*. Thus the Maiden Castle (Edinburgh) is not *Castrum Puellarum*, but a castle upon a high hill. Bradley (though Saxon) is comparatively a modern adjunct. See Baxter's *Glossary*, 109-163.—*Ritson*.]

² Pity.

³ At ball.

⁴ [Despoiled, is the *spogliato* of the Italian : stripped for the game.—*Nott*.]

⁵ Dazzled eyes.

⁶ To tempt, to catch.

⁷ The ladies were ranged on the leads, or battlements, of the castle to see the play.

⁸ The ground, or area, was strown with gravel, where they were trained in chivalry.

⁹ At tournaments they fixed the sleeves of their mistresses on some part of their armour.

¹⁰ Looks.

¹¹ Destroy.

¹² Favour with his mistress.

¹³ Or, success.

¹⁴ The holtes, or thick woods, clothed in green. So in another place he says, fol. 3—

“My speckled cheeks with Cupid's hue.”

That is, “Cheeks speckled with,” &c.

¹⁵ With loosened reins. So, in his fourth *Aeneid*, the fleet is “ready to *auale*.” That is, to *loosen* from shore. So again, in Spenser's *February* :

“They wont in the wind wagge their wriggle tayles
 Pearke as a peacocke, but now it *auayles*.”

“*Auayle* their tayles,” to drop or lower. See also in his *December* :

“By that the welked Phebus gan *auayle*
 His wearie waine.”——

With crye of houndes and mery blaſtes betwene,
 Where we did chaſe the fearfull harte of force.
 The wide walles¹ eke, that harborde vs ech nyght,
 Wherwith (alas,) reuiue in my brest
 The ſwete accorde : ſuch ſlepes as yet delyght,
 The pleaſant dreames, the quiet bed of reſt :
 The ſecrete thoughtes imparted with ſuch truſt :
 The wanton talke, the diuers change of play :
 The frendſhip ſworne, eche promiſe kept ſo iuſt,
 Wherwith we paſt the winter night away.
 And with this thought the bloud forſakes the face,
 The teares berayne my chekes of deadly hewe,
 The whiche as ſone as ſobbyng ſighes (alas)
 Vp ſpydd haue,² thus I my plaint renewe :
 "O place of bliſſe, renewer of my woes,
 Geue me accompt, where is my noble fere :³
 Whom in thy walles thou doct⁴ eche night encloſe,
 To other leeſe,⁵ but vnto me moſt dere."
 Echo (alas) that dothe my ſorow rewe,
 Returns therto a hollow ſounde of playnte.
 Thus I alone, where all my freedome grewe,
 In priſon pine with bondage and reſtrainte,
 And with remembrance of the greater greeſe
 To baniſhe the leſſe I finde my chief releefe.

In the poet's ſituation, nothing can be more natural and ſtriking than the reflection with which he opens his complaint. There is alſo much beauty in the abruptneſs of his exordial exclamation. The ſuperb palace, where he had paſſed the moſt pleaſing days of his youth with the ſon of a king, was now converted into a tedious and ſolitary priſon! This unexpected viciffitude of fortune awakens a new and intereſting train of thought. The comparison of his paſt

And in the *Faerie Queene*, with the true ſpelling, i. l. 21. Of Nilus,

"But when his latter ebbe gins to *avale*."

To *vale*, or *avale the bonnet*, was a phraſe for lowering the bonnet, or pulling off the hat. The word occurs in Chaucer, *Tr. and Creff.* iii. 627 :

"That ſuch a raine from heaven gan *availe*."

And in the fourth book of his *Boethius*, "the lyzt[e] fyre ariſt in to heyyte, and the heuy erthes aualen by her weyytes." [p. 143, ed. Morris, 1868.] From the French verb *avaler*, which is from their adverb *aval* downward. See alſo Hearne's *Gloſs. Rob. Br.*, p. 524. Drayton uſes this word where, perhaps, it is not properly underſtood.—*Ecl.* iv. p. 1404, ed. 1753.

"With that, ſhe gan to *vale* her head,
 Her cheeks were like the roſes red,
 But not a word ſhe ſaid, &c."

That is, ſhe did not *veil*, or cover, but *valed*, held down her head for ſhame.

¹ [It was firſt pointed out by Mr. Price (1824), that *vales* in the old printed copy is incorrect, and that it ſhould be *walles*, as in the Harington MS. printed in the earlier editions of *Nuge Antique*]

² [How can ſighs ſup up tears? Tears, which are ſometimes repreſented as ſcalding hot, might dry, though not ſup up.—*Aſſby*.]

³ Companion.

⁴ We ſhould read, *diſt*. [The edition of 1574 reads "eche ſtone alas!" which Dr. Nott, with great probability, conceives to be the genuine text.—*Price*.]

⁵ Dear to others, to all.

and present circumstances recalls their juvenile sports and amusements ; which were more to be regretted, as young Richmond was now dead. Having described some of these with great elegance, he recurs to his first idea by a beautiful apostrophe. He appeals to the place of his confinement, once the source of his highest pleasures : " O place of bliss, renewer of my woes ! And where is now my noble friend, my companion in these delights, who was once your inhabitant ! Echo alone either pities or answers my question, and returns a plaintive hollow sound ! " He closes his complaint with an affecting and pathetic sentiment, much in the style of Petrarch. " To banish the miseries of my present distress, I am forced on the wretched expedient of remembering a greater ! " This is the consolation of a warm fancy. It is the philosophy of poetry.

Some of the following stanzas, on a lover who presumed to compare his lady with the divine Geraldine, have almost the ease and gallantry of Waller. The leading compliment, which has been used by later writers, is in the spirit of an Italian fiction. It is very ingenious, and handled with a high degree of elegance :

Give place ye lovers, here before
That spent your bootes and bragges in vaine :
My Ladies beawtie passeth more
The best of yours, I dare wel sayen,
Than doth the sonne the candle lyght,
Or bryghtest day the darkest night.
And thereto hath a trothe as iust
As had Penelope the fayre :
For what she saith, ye may it trust,
As it by writing sealed were :
And vertues hath she many moc,
Than I with pen haue skill to showe.
I coulde rehearse, if that I wolde,
The whole effect of natures plaint,
When she had lost the perfit mold,
The like to whom she could not paint.
With wringing handes howe she did crye,
And what she said, I know it, I.
I knowe she swore with ragying mynd,
Her kingdom onely set apart,
There was no losse by lawe of kynde,
That could have gone so nere her hart.
And this was chiefly all her payne
She coulde not make the lyke agayne.

The versification of these stanzas is correct, the language polished, and the modulation musical. The following stanza, of another ode, will hardly be believed to have been produced in the reign of Henry the Eighth :

Spite draue me into Borias raigne,
Where hory frostes the frutes do bite ;
Where hilles were spred, and euery playne
With stormy winters mantle white.

In an Elegy on the elder Sir Thomas Wyatt's death, his character is delineated in the following nervous and manly quatrains :

A visage stern and myld : where bothe did grow,
Vice to contemne, in vertue to reioyce :

Amid great stormes, whom grace assured fo
To lyue vpright, and smile at fortunes choyce.

[A hand, that taught what might be sayd in ryme :
That reft Chaucer the glory of his wit :
A mark, the which (vnparfited for time)
Some may approche, but neuer none shall hit.]

A toung that ferued in forein realmes his king :
Whofe courteous talke to vertue did enflame
Eche noble hart : a worthy guide to bring
Our English youth by trauail vnto fame.

An eye, whose iudgement none affect could blinde,
Frendes to allure, and foes to reconcile :
Whofe perſing loke did represent a mynde
With vertue fraught, repofed, voyde of gyle.

A hart, where dreude was neuer fo impreſt
To hyde the thought, that might the trouth auance ;
In neyther fortune loſt, nor yet repreſt,
To ſwell in welth, or yeld vnto miſchance.

The following lines on the ſame ſubject are remarkable :

Dyuers thy death doe diuerſely bemone.
Some that in preſence of thy liuelyhed
Lurked, whoſe breſts enuy with hate had ſwolne,
Yeld Ceſar teares vpon Pompeius hed.

There is great dignity and propriety in the following Sonnet on
Wyat's *Pſalms* :

The great Macedon, that out of Perſie chafed
Darius, of whoſe huge power all Aſie rong,
In the rich ark dan Homers rimes he placed,
Who fayned geſtes of heathen princes ſong.
What holy graue, what worthy ſepulture
To Wyattes Pſalmes ſhould Chriſtians then purchaſe ?
Where he doth paint the liuely faith and pure :
The ſteedfaſt hope, the ſwete returne to grace
Of iuſt Dauid by perſite penitence.
Where rulers may ſe in a mirrour clere
The bitter frute of falſe concupiſcence :
How Jewry bought Urias deth full dere.
In princes hartes gods ſcourge imprinted depe
Ought them awake out of their ſinfull ſlepe.

Probably the laſt lines may contain an oblique alluſion to ſome of
the king's amours.

Some paſſages, in his *Description of the reſtleſſe ſtate of a Lover*, are
pictures of the heart, and touched with delicacy :

I wiſh for night, more couertly to playn,
And me withdraw from euery haunted place ;
Left by my chere my chance appere to playn :
And in my minde I meaſure pace by pace,
To ſeke the place where I my ſelf had loſt,
That day, when I was tangled in the lace,
In ſemyng ſlack that knitteth euer moſt.
Lo, if I ſeke, how I doe finde my ſore,
And yf I flee, I carie with me ſtill
The venomde ſhaft, whiche dothe his force reſtore

By haft of flight, and I may plaine my fill
 Vnto my felfe, unleffe this carefull fong
 Printe in your harte fome parcell of my tene.
 For I, alas, in filence all to long,
 Of myne olde hurt yet fele the wounde but grene.

Surrey's talents, which are commonly fupposed to have been confined to fentiment and amorous lamentation, were adapted to defcriptive poetry and the representations of rural imagery. A writer only that viewed the beauties of nature with poetic eyes, could have felected the vernal objects which compofe the following exquisite ode :

The foote feafon, that bud and blome furth bringes,
 With grene hath clad the hill, and eke the vale :
 The nightingale with fethers new ſhe ſinges :
 The turtle to her make hath tolde her tale :
 Somer is come, for every ſpray nowe ſpringes.
 The hart hath hong his olde hed on the pale :¹
 The buck in brake his winter cote he flinges :
 The fiſhes flote with newe repaired ſcale :
 The adder all her ſloughe awaye the flinges :
 The ſwift ſwalow purſueth the flyes ſmale :
 The buſy bee her honye now ſhe minges :
 Winter is worne that was the flowers bale.

I do not recolle&t a more faithful and finiſhed verſion of Martial's *Happy Life* than the following :

Martiall, the thinges that do attayn
 The happy life, be theſe, I finde.
 The richeſſe left, not got with pain :
 The frutefull ground : the quiet mynde :
 The egall frend, no grudge, no ſtrife :
 No charge of rule, no governance :
 Without diſeaſe the healthfull lyfe :
 The houſehold of continuance :
 The meane diet, no delicate fare :
 Trew wiſdom ioyned with ſimpleneſſe :
 The night diſcharged of all care,
 Where wine the wit may not oppreſſe :
 The faithful wife, without debate :
 Such ſlepes as may begyle the night :
 Contented with thine owne eſtate,
 Ne wiſh for death, ne feare his might.

But Surrey was not merely the poet of idleneſſ and gallantry. He was fitted, both from nature and ſtudy, for the more ſolid and laborious parts of literature. He tranſlated the ſecond and fourth books

¹ [The following lines from Turberville's Poems, 1567, denote a cloſe attention to Surrey :

" Since Snakes doe caſt their ſhriuelled ſkinnes
 And bucks hange vp their heads on pale ;
 Since friſking fiſhes loſe their finnes,
 And glide with new repaired ſcale ;
 Then I of force, with greedie eie
 Muſt hope to finde to eaſe my ſmart,
 Since eche anoy in ſpring doth die,
 And cares to comfort doe conuart."

Ed. 1570, f. 110.—*Park.*]

of *Virgil* into blank verse,¹ and it seems probable, that his active situations of life prevented him from completing a design of translating the whole *Eneid*.

This is the first composition in blank verse extant in the English language. Nor has it merely the relative and accidental merit of being a curiosity. It is executed with great fidelity, yet not with a prosaic fervility. The diction is often poetical, and the versification varied with proper pauses. This is the description of Dido and Eneas going to the field, in the fourth book :

At the threshold of her chaumber dore,
The Carthage Lords did on the Quene attend.
The trampling steede, with gold and purple trapt,
Chawing the somie bit there fiercely stood.
Then issued she, awayted with great train,
Clad in a cloke of Tyre embradred riche.
Her quyuer hung behinde her back, her tresse
Knotted in gold, her purple vesture eke
Butned with gold, the Troyans of her train
Before her go, with gladfom Iulus.
Aeneas eke, the goodliest of the route,
Makes one of them, and ioyneth close the throngs :
Like when Apollo leaueth Lycia,
His wintring place, and Xanthus floods likewise :
To viset Delos, his mothers mansion :
Repairing eft and furnishing her quire
The Candians, and folkes of Driopes,
With painted Agathyrsies shoute and crye :
Enuironing the altars roundabout
When that he walks vpon mount Cynthus top :
His sparkled tresse repret with garlandes soft
Of tender leaues, and trussed vp in gold :
His quiuer darts clattring behinde his back :
So fresh and lustie did Aeneas seme :
Such lordly port in present countenance.
But to the hils and wilde holtes when they came :
From the rocks top the driuen savage rose.
Loe from the hill aboue, on thother side,
Through the wyde lawnds they gan to take their course.
The harts likewise, in troupes taking their flight,
Rayfing the dust, the mountain fast forsake.
The childe Iulus, blithe of his swift steede
Amids the plain now pricks by them, now thes ;
And to encounter wisheth oft in minde
The foming Bore in steede of ferefull beafts,
Or Lion brown might from the hill descend.²

The first stages of Dido's passion, with its effects on the rising city, are thus rendered :

And when they were al gone :
And the dimme mone doth eft withhold the light :
And sliding starres prouoked vnto sleepe :
Alone she mournes within her palace voide :

[¹ The fourth book was printed in 4to. separately, soon after the Earl's death ; the second did not appear till 1557, when the two were printed together.—*Hamb. of E. E. Lit.* 1867, art. VIRGIL.]

[² Ed. 1557, sign. E. 1.]

And sets her down on her forsaken bed.
 And absent him she heares, when he is gone,
 And seeth eke : oft in her lappe she holdes
 Ascanius, trapt by his fathers forme,
 So to begile the loue cannot be told.
 The turrets now arise not, erst begonne,
 Neither the youth weldes armes, nor they auance
 The portes, nor other mete defence for warr.
 Broken there hang the workes, and mighty frames
 Of walles high raised, threatening the skie.¹

The introduction of the wooden horse into Troy, in the [second] book, is thus described :

We cleft the walles, and closures of the towne,
 Wherto all helpe, and vnderfet the feet
 With sliding rolles, and bound his neck with ropes.
 This fatall gin thus ouerclambe our walles,
 Stuft with armd men : about the which there ran
 Children, and maides,² that holly carolles sang.
 And well were they whoes hands might touch the cordes.
 With thretning chere, thus slided through our town
 The subtil tree, to Pallas temple warde.
 O natiue land, Ilion, and of the Goddes
 The mansion place. O warrlik walles of Troy,
 Fowr times it stopt in the ntrie of our gate.
 Fowr times the harnesse³ clattered in the womb.

The shade of Hector, in the same book, thus appears :

Ay me. What one : that Hector now vnlike,
 Which erst returnd, clad with Achilles spoiles :
 Or when he threw into the Grekish shippes
 The Troian flame : So was his beard defiled,
 His crisped lockes al cluftred with his blood :
 With all such wounds as many he receiued
 About the walls of that his natiue town.
 Whome franckly thus, me thought, I spake vnto
 With bitter teres and dolefull deadly voice :
 O Troyan light, O only hope of thine :
 What lettes so long thee staid, or from what costes,
 Our most desired Hector, doest thou come :
 Whom, after slaughter of thy many frends,
 And trauaill of the people and thy town,
 Alweried (lord) how gladly we behold.
 What sory chauce hath staid thy liuely face ?
 Or why see I these woundes, (alas) so wide !
 He answered nought, nor in my vain demaundes
 Abode : but from the bottom of his brest
 Sighing he sayd : Flee, flee, O goddesse son !
 And saue thee from the furie of this flame !⁴

¹ [Sign. D 3-4, ed. 1557.]

² That is, boys and girls, *pueri innuptaeque puellae*. Anciently *child* (or *children*) was restrained to the young of the male sex. Thus, above, we have, "the *Child* Iulus," in the original *puer* Ascanius. So the *children* of the chapel signifies the *boys* of the king's chapel. And in the royal kitchen, the *children*, i. e. the *boys* of the Scullery. In the western counties, to this day, *maid* simply and distinctly means *girl* : as, "I have got a boy and a *maid*."—"My wife is brought to bed of a *maid*," &c. &c.

³ [Ed. 1557, sign. B 1, verso.]

⁴ [Ed. 1557, sign. B 2.]

This was a noble attempt to break the bondage of rhyme. But blank verse was now growing fashionable in the Italian poetry, the school of Surrey. Felice Figliucci, a Sanese [or native of Sienna] and Surrey's cotemporary, in his admirable Italian commentary on the *Ethics of Aristotle*,¹ declaims against the barbarity of rhyme, and strongly recommends a total rejection of this Gothic ornament to his countrymen. He enforces his precept by his own example, and translates all Aristotle's quotations from Homer and Euripides into verse without rhyme. Gonsalvo Perez, the learned secretary to Philip of Spain, had also recently translated Homer's *Odyssey* into Spanish blank-verse. How much the excellent Roger Ascham approved of Surrey's disuse of rhyme in this translation from Virgil, appears from the following passage in his *Scholemaster*, written [in 1563]:² "The noble lord Thomas [Henry] earle of Surrey, first of all Englishmen in translating the fourth [and second] booke of Virgill: and Gonsalvo Perez, that excellent learned man, and secretarie to king Philip of Spayne,³ in translating the *Ulysses* of Homer out of Greeke into Spanish, have both by good judgement avoyded the fault of ryming. The spying of this fault now is not the curiositie of English eyes, but even the good judgement also of the best that write in these dayes in Italie.—And you, that be able to understand no more than ye find in the Italian tong: and never went further than the schoole of Petrarch and Ariosto abroade, or else of Chaucer at home, though you have pleasure to wander blindlie still in your foule wronge way, envie not others that seeke, as wise men have done before them, the fayrest and rightest way. And therefore, even as Virgill and Horace deserve most worthie prayse, that they, spying the unperfitnes in Ennius and Plautus, by trewe imitation of Homer and Euripides brought poetrie to the same perfectnes in Latin as it was in Greeke, even so those, that by the same way would benefit their tong and country, deserve rather thanks than dispraise."⁴

The revival of the Greek and Roman poets in Italy excited all the learned men of that country to copy the Roman versification, and consequently banished the old Leonine Latin verse. The same

¹ Entitled, *Filosofia Morale sopra i Libri d'Ethica d'Aristotile*.

² I know of no English critic besides, who has mentioned Surrey's *Virgil*, except Bolton, a great reader of old English books.—*Hypercrit.* p. 237. Oxon. 1722. [Meres had spoken of it with commendation before Bolton; but his words are nearly a repetition of those uttered by Ascham. See *Wits Treasury*, 1598. An anonymous writer, in 1644, thus introduced Surrey, with several of his successors, in vindication of the English as a poetic language: "There is no sort of verse, either ancient or modern, which we are not able to equal by imitation. We have our *English Virgil*, Ovid, Seneca, Lucan, Juvenal, Martial and Catullus; in the *Earl of Surry*, Daniel, Johnson, Spencer, Don, Shakspeare, and the glory of the rest, Sandys and Sydney." *Vindex Anglicus*.—Park.]

³ Among Ascham's *Epistles*, there is one to Perez, inscribed *Clarissimo viro D. Gonsalvo Perisso Regis Catholici Secretario primario et Consiliario intimo, Amico meo carissimo*, in which Ascham recommends the ambassador Sir William Cecil to his acquaintance and friendship. *Epistol. Lib. Un.* p. 228, b. edit. Lond. 1581.

⁴ B. ii. p. 54, b. 55, a. edit. 1589, 4to.

classical idea operated in some degree on the vernacular poetry of Italy. In the year [1547-8],¹ Triffino published his *Italia Liberata da' Goti*, or *Italy delivered from the Goths*, an heroic poem, professedly written in imitation of the *Iliad*, without either rhyme, or the usual machineries of the Gothic romance. Triffino's design was to destroy the *Terza Rima* of Dante. We do not, however, find, whether it be from the facility with which the Italian tongue falls into rhyme, or that the best and established Italian poets wrote in the stanza, that these efforts to restore blank-verse produced any lasting effects in the progress of the Italian poetry. It is very probable that this specimen of the *Eneid* in blank-verse by Surrey led the way to Abraham Fleming's blank-verse translation of Virgil's *Bucolics* and *Georgics*, although done in Alexandrines, published in the year 1589. [But it should be mentioned that Fleming, before he essayed this translation into blank-verse, had, as early as 1575, published a rhyming version of the *Bucolics* alone, but, feeling dissatisfied with his work, had altered his plan, and adopted a different species of metre.]

Lord Surrey wrote [a few] other English poems [which are not included in any of the numerous impressions of *Tottel's Miscellany* from 1557 to 1587, but which are printed from the Harington MSS. in the editions of *Nugæ Antiquæ*.] He translated [five chapters of] the *Ecclesiastes* of Solomon into English verse. This piece is cited in the Preface to [Archbishop's Parker's] Translation of the Psalms [circa 1560]. He also translated [three] of the Psalms into metre. These versions of Scripture shew that he was a friend to the reformation. Among his works are also recited a poem on his friend the young Duke of Richmond [another, containing an exhortation to the citizens of London, but without any title], a Translation of Boccaccio's Epistle to Pinus, and a set of Latin epistles.² Aubrey has preserved a poetical epitaph written by Surrey on Sir Thomas Clere, his faithful retainer and constant attendant, which was once in Lambeth church,³ and which, for its affection and elegance, deserves to be printed among the earl's poems. I will quote a few lines :

Shelton for love, Surrey for lord thee chafe ;⁴
 (Aye me, while life did last that league was tender !)
 Tracing whose steps, thou sawest Kelsall blase,
 Laundersey burnt, and batterd Bulleyn's render :⁵
 At Mortrell gates,⁶ hopeles of all recure,
 Thine earle halfe dead gave in thy hand his Will ;
 Which cause did thee this pining death procure,
 Ere summers foure tymes seven thou couldst fulfill.
 Ah, Clere ! if love had bootet care or cost,
 Heaven had not wonne, nor earth so timely lost !⁷

¹ [Dr. Nott conceives Surrey could not have seen this poem, as it was not printed till after his death.—*Price*.]

² [The book of Epistles and the translation of Boccaccio's Epistle to Pinus have not hitherto been discovered.—*Dr. Nott*.]

³ See Aubrey's *Surrey*, v. 247.

⁴ Chose.

⁵ Surrender.

⁶ Towns taken by Lord Surrey in the Bologne expedition, [except Kelsall, which was burnt during the incursion into Scotland.—*Nott*.]

⁷ He died in 1545. See Stowe's *Annales*, pp. 586, 588, edit. 1615.

John Clerc, who travelled into Italy with Pace, an eminent linguist of those times, and secretary to Thomas Duke of Norfolk, father of Lord Surrey, in a dedication to the latter, prefixed to his *Tretise of Nobilitie* printed at London in 1563,¹ has mentioned with the highest commendations many translations done by Surrey from the Latin, Italian, French and Spanish languages. But these, it is probable, were nothing more than juvenile exercises.

Surrey, for his justness of thought, correctness of style, and purity of expression, may justly be pronounced the first English classical poet. He unquestionably is the first polite writer of love-verses in our language. It must, however, be allowed, that there is a striking native beauty in some of our love-verses written much earlier than Surrey's. But in the most savage ages and countries rude nature has taught elegance to the lover.

SECTION XXXVIII.



WITH Surrey's Poems [are printed, in all the editions of *Tottel's Miscellany*], the Songes and Sonnettes of Sir Thomas Wyatt the elder,¹ [of Nicholas Grimoald,] and of *Uncertain Authors*.

Wyat was of Allington Castle in Kent, which he magnificently repaired, and [was] educated in both our universities. But his chief and most splendid accomplishments were derived from his travels into various parts of Europe, which he frequently visited in the quality of an envoy. He was endeared to King Henry the Eighth, who did not always act from caprice, for his fidelity and success in the execution of public business, his skill in arms, literature, familiarity with languages, and lively conversation. Wood, who degrades everything by poverty of style and improper representation, says, that "the king was in a high manner delighted with his witty jests."² It is not perhaps improbable, that Henry was as much pleased with his repartees as his politics. He is reported to have occasioned the reformation by a joke, and to have planned the fall of Cardinal Wolsey by a seasonable story.³ But he had almost lost his popularity, either from an intimacy with queen Anne Boleyn which was called a connection, or the gloomy cabals of Bishop

¹ A translation from the French.

² *Ath. Oxon.* i. 51. [In Sloane MS. 1523, some maxims and sayings of Sir T. Wyatt are preserved. A letter occurs in the Harleian MSS. Ascham in his "discourse of the state of Germanie," has the following tributary remark: "A knight of England of worthy memorie for wit, learnyng and experience, old syr Thomas Wiat, wrote to his sonne that the greatest mischief amongst men, and least punished, is unkyndnes."—*Park.*]

³ See *Miscellaneous Antiquities*, 1772, No. ii. p. 16.

Bonner who could not bear his political superiority. Yet his prudence and integrity, no less than the powers of his oratory, justified his innocence. He laments his severe and unjust imprisonment on that trying occasion, in a sonnet addressed to Sir Francis Bryan: insinuating his solicitude that, although the wound would be healed, the scar would remain, and that to be acquitted of the accusation would avail but little, while the thoughts of having been accused were still fresh in remembrance.¹ It is a common mistake that he died abroad of the plague on an embassy to Charles the Fifth. Being sent to conduct that emperor's ambassador from Falmouth to London, from too eager and a needless desire of executing his commission with dispatch and punctuality, he caught a fever by riding in a hot day, and in his return died on the road at Shirburn, where he was buried in the great conventual church, in the year 1541. The next year, Leland published a book of Latin verses on his death, with a wooden print of his head prefixed, probably done by Holbein.² It will be superfluous to transcribe the panegyrics of his contemporaries after the encomium of Lord Surrey, in which his amiable character owes more to truth than to the graces of poetry or to the flattery of friendship.³

We must agree with a critic above quoted, that Wyatt co-operated with Surrey in having corrected the roughness of our poetic style. But Wyatt, although sufficiently distinguished from the common versifiers of his age, is confessedly inferior to Surrey in harmony of numbers, perspicuity of expression, and facility of phraseology.⁴ Nor is he equal to Surrey in elegance of sentiment, in nature and sensibility. His feelings are disguised by affectation and obscured by conceit. His declarations of passion are embarrassed by wit and fancy, and his style is not intelligible, in proportion as it is careless and unadorned. His compliments, like the modes of behaviour in that age, are ceremonious and strained. He has too much art as a lover, and too little as a poet. His gallantries are laboured, and his versification negligent. The truth is, his genius was of the moral and didactic species; and his poems abound more in good sense, satire, and observations on life, than in pathos or imagination. Yet there

¹ Fol. 44.

² *Nemise in mortem T. Viati*, 1542. See also Leland's *Encom.* p. 358. [Without date, but probably also in 1542, appeared "The Excellent Epitaffe of Syr Thomas Wyatt, with two other compendious dytties, wherein are touchyd, and set forth the state of mannes lyfe." To this was attached the same woodcut head as in the *Nemise*.]

³ [The following epitaph from Leland's *Encomia*, 1589], as it is short and the book very scarce, may here be appended:

"Urna tenet cineres ter magni parva Viati;
Fama per immensas fed volat alta plagas."—*Park*.]

⁴ [Mr. Headley, a very able critic, was of opinion that Sir T. Wyatt deserves equally of posterity with Surrey for the diligence with which he cultivated polite letters, although in his verses he seems to have wanted the judgment of his friend who, in imitating Petrarch, resisted the contagion of his sweets.—*Park*.]

is a degree of lyric sweetness in the following lines to his lute,¹ in which *The louer complaineth the unkindnes of his loue.*²

My lute, awake, performe the last
Labour, that thou and I shall waste :
And end that I haue now begonne :
And when this song is song and past :
My lute be styll, for I haue done.
As to be heard where eare³ is none :
As lead to graue in marble stone :
My song may pearse her hart as sone.
Should we then sigh ? or singe, or mone ?
No, no, my lute, for I haue done.
The rockes do not so cruelly
Repulse the waues continually,
As she my sute and affection :
So that I am past remedy.
Whereby my lute and I haue done.
Proude⁴ of the spoile that thou hast gotte
Of simple hartes through loues shot,
By whom vnkinde thou hast them wonne ;
Thinke not he hath his bow forgot,
Although my lute and I haue done.
Vengeance shall fall on thy disdaine,
That makest but game on earnest payne.
Thinke not alone vnder the sunne
Vnquit to cause thy louers plaine :
Although my lute and I haue done.
May chance thee lie witherd and olde⁵
In winter nightes, that are so colde,
Playning in vaine vnto the mone :
Thy wishes then dare not be tolde :
Care then who list, for I haue done.
And then may chance thee to repent
The time that thou hast lost and spent,
To cause thy louers sighe and swowne.
Then shalt thou know beauty[s] but lent,
And wish and want as I haue done.
Now cease, my lute, this is the last
Labour, that thou and I shall waste ;
And ended is that we begonne.
Now is this song both song and past,
My lute be still, for I haue done.

Our author has more imitations, and even translations, from the Italian poets than Surrey, and he seems to have been more fond of their conceits.⁶ Petrarch has described the perplexities of a lover's mind, and his struggles betwixt hope and despair, a subject most

¹ [This harmonious and elegant poem, in one of the Harington MSS. dated 1564, is ascribed to Viscount Rochford, for an account of whom see the following section. Mr. Ashby remarks that it is almost a translation from Horace. Dr. Nott conceives it does not belong to Lord Rochford, but to Sir Thomas Wyatt. See his edition of Surrey, &c.—*Park*.]

² [Collated with Tottel's Misc. *ut supra*, and *Nugæ Antiquæ*, ed. 1804, ii. 400-1.]

³ [*N. A.*]

⁴ [This stanza is not in *N. A.*]

⁵ ["Perchance they lye withered and olde."—*N. A.*]

⁶ [These conceits found a later imitator in Cowley.—*A/bby*.]

fertile of sentimental complaint, by a combination of contrarities, a species of wit highly relished by the Italians. I am, says he, neither at peace nor war. I burn, and I freeze. I soar to heaven, and yet grovel on the earth. I can hold nothing, and yet grasp everything. My prison is neither shut, nor is it opened. I see without eyes, and I complain without a voice. I laugh, and I weep. I live, and am dead. Laura, to what a condition am I reduced by your cruelty!

Pace non trovo, e non ho da far guerra;
 E temo, e spero, ed ardo, e son en ghiaccio:
 E volo sopra 'l cielo, e giaccio in terra:
 E nulla stringo, e tutto 'l mondo abbraccio.
 Tal m'ha in prigion, che non n'apre nè serra;¹
 Nè per suo mi ritien, ne scioglie il laccio;
 E non m'uccide Amor, e non mi sferra;
 Nè mi vuol vivo, nè mi trahe d'impaccio.
 Veggio senz' occhi, e non ho lingua, e grido;
 E bramo di perir, e chieggo aita;
 Ed ho in odio me stesso, ed amo altrui:
 Poscomi di dolor, piangendo rido.
 Egualmente mi spiace morte, e vita:
 In questo stato son, Donna, per vui.²

Wyat has thus copied this sonnet of epigrams:

I find no peace, and all my warre is done:
 I fear and hope, I burne, and frese like yfe:
 I flye aloft, yet can I not arise:
 And nought I haue, and all the world I sease;
 That lockes nor loseth, nor holdeth me in pryson.
 And holdes me not, yet can I scape no wise:
 Nor lettes me liue, nor dye, at my deuise,
 And yet of death it geueth me occasion.
 Without eye I se, without tongue I playne:
 I wish to peryth, yet I aske for helth;

¹ This passage is taken from Mossen Jordi, a Limosin poet of Valencia [or Catalonia.—*Ritson*. Thomas Russell, of New College, Oxford, pointed out, in refutation of Ritson's opinion as to Mossen Jordi:] that Mossen (*Anglicè* m?) Jordi had more than a poetical existence; as is fully ascertained by Velasquez in his *Origines de la Poesia Castellana*, 1754, the German translator of which work, in 1769 tells us that "Jordi signifies George, [*Scoticè* Geordy,] his family name not being known:" but Gaspar Escolano, in *Historia de Valencia*, identifies him by saying, "that he composed sonnets, &c. in the Valencian Lemosine language with great applause, and that Petrarch has taken much from him." Mr. Russell further observed that Beuter in his Chronicle was the first who asserted that Jordi lived as early as the year 1250, and that he was imitated by Petrarch in the passage cited in the text: while the Marquis de Santillana, who died in 1458, countenanced a different hypothesis, by making Jorden contemporary with himself, according to Sarmiento in his *Memorias para la Poesia*: and if this authority be allowed, Jordi must have imitated Petrarch instead of being copied by him. But in either case the existence of Mossen Jordi is equally proved; as also the resemblance of the passages, whichever of the two we suppose to have been the original. Camoens also took the hint of a similar epigrammatic sonnet, which is appended to Mr. Russell's able vindication of our poetical historian in the *Gent. Mag.* for Dec. 1782.—*Park.*]

² There is a sonnet in imitation of this among those of the *Uncertain Authors* at the end of Surrey's Poems.

I loue another, and thus I hate my selfe ;
 I fede me in forow, and laugh in all my payne.
 Lo, thus displeaseth me both death and life,
 And my delight is caufer of this strife.¹

It was from the capricious and over-strained invention of the Italian poets, that Wyatt was taught to torture the passion of love by prolix and intricate comparisons and unnatural allusions. At one time his love is a galley steered by cruelty through stormy seas and dangerous rocks, the sails torn by the blast of tempestuous sighs, and the cordage consumed by incessant showers of tears ; a cloud of grief envelops the stars, reason is drowned, and the haven is at a distance. At another, it is a spring trickling from the summit of the Alps, which gathering force in its fall at length overflows all the plain beneath. Sometimes it is a gun, which being overcharged, expands the flame within itself, and bursts in pieces. Sometimes it is like a prodigious mountain, which is perpetually weeping in copious fountains, and sending forth sighs from its forests ; which bears more leaves than fruits ; which breeds wild beasts, the proper emblems of rage, and harbours birds that are always singing.¹ In another of his sonnets, he says that all nature sympathises with his passion. The woods refund his elegies, the rivers stop their course to hear him complain, and the grass weeps in dew. These thoughts are common and fantastic. But he adds an image which is new, and has much nature and sentiment, although not well expressed :

The hugy okes have rored in the winde,
 Each thing methought complayning in their kinde.

This is a touch of the pensive. And the apostrophe which follows is natural and simple :—

¹ This sonnet will be found with some variations in *Nugæ Antiquæ*, vol. i. edit. 1769. Davison at a little later period thus turned the same sonnet in his *Poetical Rapsody*, 1602 :

“ I ioy not Peace, where yet no warre is found,
 I feare and hope, I burne, yet freeze withall,
 I mount to heauen, yet lie still on the ground,
 I nothing hold, yet [do] I compasse all.
 I liue her bond, which neither is my foe
 Nor friend, nor holds me fast, nor lets me goe.
 Loue will not that I liue, nor let me die,
 Nor locks me fast, nor suffers me to scape,
 I want both eyes and tongue, yet see I crie ;
 I wish for death, yet after helpe I gape.
 I hate my selfe yet loue another wight,
 And feede on greefe in lieu of sweet delight.
 At selfsame time I both lament and ioy,
 I still am pleas'd and yet displeas'd still ;
 Loue sometimes seemes a God, sometimes a Boy,
 Sometimes I sinke, sometimes I swim at will.
 Twixt death and life small difference I make,
 All this (deere Dame) endure I for your sake.”

[The only known copy of ed. 1602 is imperfect in this place. The extract has been now collated with the old copy : in the former eds. it was given very inaccurately.]

O stony hart who hath thus framed thee
So cruell, that art cloked with beauty—

And there is much strength in these lines of the lover to his bed :

The place of slepe wherein I do but wake :
Besprent with teares, my bed, I thee forsake !

But such passages as these are not the general characteristics of Wyatt's poetry. They strike us but seldom, amidst an impracticable mass of forced reflections, hyperbolical metaphors, and complaints that move no compassion.

But Wyatt appears a much more pleasing writer when he moralises on the felicities of retirement, and attacks the vanities and vices of a court with the honest indignation of an independent philosopher, and the freedom and pleasantry of Horace. Three of his poetical epistles are professedly written in this strain, two to John Poynes,¹ and the other to Sir Francis Bryan : and we must regret that he has not left more pieces in a style of composition for which he seems to have been eminently qualified. In one of the epistles to Poynes on the life of a courtier, are these spirited and manly reflections :

Myne owne John Poyns : sins ye delite to know
The causes why that homeward I me draw,
And flie the prease of courtes, where so they go :
Rather then to liue thrall vnder the awe
Of lordly lokes, wrapped within my cloke ;
To will and lust learyng to set a law :
It is not because I scorne or mocke
The power of them : whom fortune here hath lent
Charge over vs of ryght to strike the stroke.
But true it is, that I haue alwayes ment
Lesse to esteeme them then the common sort
Of outward thinges : that iudge in their intent,
Without regard, what inward doth resort.
I graunt, sometime of glory that the fire
Doth touch my hart. Me list not to report
Blame by honour, nor honour to desire.
But how may I this honour now attaine,
That can not dye the colour blacke a liar ?
My Poyns, I can not frame my tune to fayne,
To cloke the truth, &c.

In pursuit of this argument, he declares his indisposition and inability to disguise the truth and to flatter by a variety of instances. Among others, he protests he cannot prefer Chaucer's *Tale of Sir Topas* to his *Palamon and Arcite* :

Praise sir Topas for a noble tale,
And scorne the Story that the Knight tolde ;
Praise him for counsell that is dronke of ale :
Grinne when he laughes, that beareth all the sway ;
Frowne when he frownes, and grone when he is pale :
On others lust to hang both night and day, &c.

I mention this circumstance about Chaucer to shew the esteem in

¹ He seems to have been a person about the court. See *Life of Sir Thomas Pope*, p. 46.

which the *Knight's Tale*, that noble epic poem of the dark ages, was held in the reign of Henry the Eighth by men of taste.

The poet's execration of flatterers and courtiers is contrasted with the following entertaining picture of his own private life and rural enjoyments at Allingham Castle in Kent :

This is the cause that I could neuer yet
Hang on their sleues, that weygh (as thou mayst se)
A chippe of chance more then a pounce of wit :
This maketh me at home to hunt and hauke,
And in fowle wether at my boke to sit :
In frost and snow then with my bow to stalke ;
No man doth marke where so I ride or go :
In luffy leas¹ at libertie I walke :
And of these newes I fele nor weale nor woe :
Sawe that a clogge doth hang yet at my heele ;²
No force for that, for it is ordred so :
That I may leape both hedge and dike ful wele.
I am not now in Fraunce, to iudge the wine, &c.
But I am here in Kent and christendome :
Among the Muses, where I reade and ryme ;
Where if thou list, myne owne John Poyns, to come,
Thou shalt be iudge how I do spende my time.

In another epistle to John Poincs, on the security and happiness of a moderate fortune, he versifies the fable of the City and Country Moufe with much humour :

My mothers maides, when they do sowe and spinne :
They sing a song made of the feldishe moufe, &c.

This fable appositely suggests a train of sensible and pointed observations on the weakness of human conduct and the delusive plans of life :

Alas (my Poyns) how men do seke the best,
And finde the worst, by errour as they stray :
And no maruel, when light is so oppressd,
And blindes the guide, anone out of the way
Goeth guyde and all in seking quiet life.
O wretched mindes, there is no golde that may
Graunt that you seke : no warre, no peace, no strife,
No, no, although thy head were hoopt with golde :
Sergeant with mace,³ with hawbart,⁴ sword, nor knife,
Can not repulse the care that folow should.
Ech kinde of life hath with him his diseafe.
Liue in delite, euen as thy lust would :

¹ In large fields, over fruitful grounds. [Rather "in pleasant meads," says Ritson. But this emendation is disputed by a writer in the *Gent. Mag.* for Dec. 1782, p. 574, who cites the following passage from Shakspere, to evince that leas and meads were distinct :

"Thy rich *leas*

Of wheat, rye, barley, vetches, oats and pease ;
Thy turfy mountains, where live nibbling sheep,
And flat meads thatched with stover," &c. *Tempest*, act 4.—*Park*].

² Probably he alludes to some office which he still held at court, and which sometimes recalled him, but not too frequently, from the country.

³ [From Horace ; *Submovet listor*.—*Ashby*.]

⁴ Halbert. A parade of guards, &c. The classical allusion is obvious.

And thou shalt finde, when lust doth most thee please :
 It irketh straight, and by it selfe doth fade.
 A small thing is it, that may thy minde appease.
 None of you al there is, that is so madde
 To seke for grapes on brambles or on bryers :
 Nor none, I trow, that hath a wytte so badde,
 To set his haye for conies ouer riuers :
 Nor ye set not a dragge net for an hare.
 And yet the thing that most is your desire
 You do misseke with more trauell and care.
 Make plaine thine hart, that it be not knotted
 With hope or dreade : and se thy will be bare
 From all affectes, whom vyce hath euer spotted
 Thy selfe content with that is thee affinde :
 And use it wel that is to be alotted.
 Then seke no more out of thy selfe to finde¹
 The thing that thou hast sought so long before,
 For thou shalt feele it sticking in thy minde.

These Platonic doctrines are closed with a beautiful application of Virtue personified, and introduced in her irresistible charms of visible beauty. For those who deviate into vain and vicious pursuits,

None other paine pray I for them to be :
 But when the rage doth leade them from the right :
 That, lokyng backward, Vertue they may se²
 Even as she is, so goodly fayre and bright.³

With these disinterested strains we may join the following single stanza, called *The Courtiers Life* :

In court to serue decked with freshe aray,
 Of sugred meates felyng the swete repaste :
 The life in bankets, and sundry kindes of play,
 Amid the presse of lordly lokes to wasse,
 Hath with it joynde oft times such bitter taste,
 That who so ioyes such kinde of life to holde,
 In prison ioyes fettred with cheines of gold.

Wyat may justly be deemed the first polished English satirist. I am of opinion, that he mistook his talents when, in compliance with the mode, he became a sonnetteer ; and if we may judge from a few instances that he was likely to have treated any other subject with more success than that of love, his abilities were seduced and misapplied in fabricating fine speeches to an obdurate mistress. In the following little ode or rather epigram, on a very different occasion, there is great simplicity and propriety, together with a strain of poetic allusion. It is on his return from Spain into England :

Tagus farewell, that westward with thy stremes
 Turnes up the graines of gold already triede !
 For I with spurre and sayle go seke the Temes,
 Gaineward the sunne that shewes her welthy pride :
 And to the town that Brutus sought by dreames,³
 Like bended moone⁴ that leanes her lusty side,

¹ [Nec te quæsiueris extra.—*Ashby*.]

² [Virtutem videant, intabescantque relicta, *Perf. Sat.* 3. If *Surr[e]y* copies but little, Wyat doth plentifully.—*Ashby*.]

³ A tradition in Geoffrey of Monmouth.

⁴ The old city from the river appeared in the shape of a crescent.

My king my countrey I feke, for whom I live :
O mighty Joue, the wyndes for this me give !

Among Wyat's poems is an unfinished translation, in Alexandrine verse, of the Song of Iopas in the first book of Virgil's *Æneid*. Wyat's and Surrey's versions from Virgil are the first regular translations in English of an ancient classic poet, and they are symptoms of the restoration of the study of the Roman writers, and of the revival of elegant literature. A version of David's Psalms by Wyat is highly extolled by Lord Surrey and Leland. But Wyat's version of the *Penitential Psalms* seems to be a separate work from his translation of the whole Psalter, and probably that which is praised by Surrey, in an ode above quoted. They were printed 1549. Leland [in his *Nenia*] seems to speak of the larger version :

Transulit in nostram Davidis carmina linguam,
Et numeros magna reddidit arte pares.
Non morietur opus tersum, spectabile, sacrum.

But this version [if it ever existed], is now lost;² and the pious Thomas Sternhold and John Hopkins are the only immortal translators of David's Psalms.

A similarity or rather sameness of studies, as it is a proof, so perhaps it was the chief cement of that inviolable friendship which is said to have subsisted between Wyat and Surrey. The principal subject of their poetry was the same, and they both treated the passion of love in the spirit of the Italian poets, and as professed disciples of Petrarch. They were alike devoted to the amelioration of their native tongue and an attainment of the elegancies of composition. They were both engaged in translating Virgil,³ and in rendering select portions of Scripture into English metre.

¹ [See the full title in *Handb. of E. E. Lit.* 1867, in *v.*] These Psalms were re-printed by Bishop Percy with his ill-fated impression of Lord Surrey's poems, which perished [with the exception of a few copies] in the warehouse of Mr. John Nicholls, 1808. To William Marquis of Northampton, &c. &c. they were inscribed by John Harington (the father probably of Sir John H.), who determined to print them, that the noble fame of so worthy a knight as was the author hereof, Sir Thomas Wyat, should not perish, but remaine. Before each psalm is inserted an explanatory Prologue of the Auctor, in eight-line stanzas: the translation is throughout in alternate verse.—*Park*.

² See Holinsh. *Chron.* iii. p. 978, col. 2. [Dr. Nott is of opinion that Wyat translated no more of the Psalter than the Penitential Psalms.—*Price*.]

³ There seems no reason for inferring with Dr. Nott, that Warton intended by this expression a larger portion of Virgil than the Song of Iopas mentioned above.—*Price*.]

SECTION XXXIX.

IN *Tottel's Miscellany*, the Poems of Surrey and Wyatt are succeeded by *Songes Written by Nicolas Grimoald.*] I have before mentioned him incidentally. He was a native of Huntingdonshire, and received the first part of his academical institution at Christ's College in Cambridge. Removing to Oxford in the year 1542, he was elected fellow of Merton College: but, about 1547, having opened a rhetorical lecture in the refectory of Christ-church, then newly-founded, he was transplanted to that society,¹ which gave the greatest encouragement to such students as were distinguished for their proficiency in criticism and philology. The same year he wrote a Latin tragedy, which probably was acted in the college, entitled *Archipropheta, sive Johannes Baptista, Tragedia*, that is, *The Arch-prophet, or Saint John Baptist*, a tragedy, and dedicated to the Dean Richard Cox.² In the year 1548, he explained all the four books of Virgil's *Georgics*³ in a regular prose Latin paraphrase, in the public hall of his college.⁴ He wrote also explanatory commentaries or lectures on the *Andria* of Terence, the *Epistles* of Horace, and many pieces of Cicero, perhaps for the same auditory. He translated *Tully's Offices* into English. This translation, which is dedicated to the learned Thirlby Bishop of Ely, was printed at London, 1553. He also familiarized some of the purest Greek classics by English versions, which I believe were never printed. Among others was the *Cyropædia*. Bale the biographer, and Bishop of Orlory, says that he turned Chaucer's *Troilus* into a play; but whether this piece was in Latin or English, we are still to seek: and the word *Comedia*, which Bale uses on this occasion, is without precision or distinction. The same may be said of what Bale calls his *Fame*, a *comedy*. Bale also recites his *System of Rhetoric* for the use of Englishmen,⁵ which seems to be the course of the rhetorical lectures I have mentioned. It is to be wished that Bale, who appears to have been his friend, and therefore possessed the opportunities of information, had given

¹ [And yet in 1551 *Turner's Preservative or Triacle against the Poyson of Pelagius* had a copy of verses prefixed by Nicholas Grimoald of Merton College. They might perhaps be written earlier.—*Park.*]

² Printed, Colon. 1548. 8vo. [A MS. copy occurs in the British Museum, Bibl. Reg. 12, A. xlvi.—*Park.*]

³ [And the *Bucolics* also, added Herbert in a MS. note.—*Park.* This is questionable, and perhaps proceeds on no better authority than the statement of Bale that Grimoald wrote a comment on the first *Eclogue*, and dedicated it to him: nor does the title-page of his *Paraphrase of the Georgics* say further than that it was finished at Christ-Church, Oxford, in the second year of Edward VI. We seem to have no edition of it earlier than that of 1591. See the full title in *Handb. of Early English Lit.* 1867, art. VIRGIL.]

⁴ Printed at London in 1591, 8vo.

⁵ *Rhetorica in usum Britannorum.*

us a more exact and full detail, at least of such of Grimoald's works as are now lost or, if remaining, are unprinted. Undoubtedly this is the same person, called by Strype *one Grimbald*, who was chaplain to Bishop Ridley, and who was employed by that prelate, while in prison, to translate into English Laurentia Valla's book against the fiction of Constantine's Donation,¹ with some other popular Latin pieces against the papists.² In the ecclesiastical history of Mary's reign he appears to have been imprisoned for heresy, and to have saved his life, if not his credit, by a recantation. But theology does not seem to have been his talent, nor the glories of martyrdom to have made any part of his ambition. One of his plans, but which never took effect, was to print a new edition of Josephus Iſcanus's poem on the Trojan War, with emendations from the most correct manuscripts.³

I have taken more pains to introduce this Nicholas Grimoald to the reader's acquaintance, because he is the second English poet after

¹ Titles of many others of his pieces may be seen in Bale's *Script*. The work referred to here cannot have been that printed by Thomas Godfrey about 1518, without name of translator. See Herbert's *Ames*, 319. This was too early for Grimoald.]

² See Strype's *Cranmer*, B. iii. c. 11. p. 343. And *Grindal*, 8. Fox, edit. i. 1047. And Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* i. 178.

³ Bale, *ubi supr.* [An epitaph on the death of Nicholas Grimoald appeared in the poems of Barn. Googe, 1563. The following extract [now collated with the original] relates more particularly to the person commemorated:—

“ For yf that wytt,
Or worthy Eloquens,
Or learning deape,
Could moue hym to forbear,
O Grimoald then,
thou hadſte not yet gon hence
But heare hadeſt ſene
Full many an aged yeare.
Nor had the Mu-
ſes loſt ſo fyne a Floure,
Nor had Miner-
ua wept to leaue the ſo,
If wyſdome myght
Haue ſled the fatall howre,
Thou hadſte not yet
ben ſuffred for to go,
A thouſande doltyſh
Geefe we myght haue ſparde,
A thouſande wytles
Heads death myght haue found
And taken them,
For whom no man had carde,
And layde them lowe,
In deepe obliuions grounde,
But fortune fa-
uours fooles as old men ſaye
And lets them liue,
And take the wyfe awaye.”—*Park.*]

Lord Surrey, who wrote in blank-verse. Nor is it his only praise that he was the first who followed in this new path of versification. To the style of blank-verse exhibited by Surrey he added new strength, elegance, and modulation. In the disposition and conduct of his cadences he often approaches to the legitimate structure of the improved blank-verse, but we cannot suppose that he is entirely free from those diffusances and asperities which still adhered to the general character and state of our diction.¹

In his poem on [*Marcus Tullius Ciceroes death*] are these lines. The assassins of Cicero are said to relent :

When
They his bare neck beheld, and his hore heyres :
Scant could they hold the teares that forth gan burst :
And almost fell from bloody hands the swoords.
Onely the stern Herennius, with grym look,
Daftards, why stand you styll : he sayth : and streight,
Swaps of the head with his presumptuous yron.
Ne with that slaughter yet is hee not filld :
Fowl shame on shame to heap is his delyte.
Wherefore the hands also doth hee of smyte,
Which durst Antonius life so liuely paynt.
Him, yeldyng strayned gofte,² from welkin hye
With lothly chere lord Phebus gan behold :
And in black clowd, they saye, long hid his hed.
The latine Muses and the Grayes,³ they wept :
And for his fall eternally shall weep.
And lo, hert-perfyng Pitho,⁴ (straunge to tell,)
Who had to him suffisde bothe sence and woordes,
When so he spake : and drest with nectar foote
That flowyng tounge : when his wyndpype disclosde,
Fled with her fleeyng frend ; and (out alas)
Hath left the erth, ne will nomore return.

Nor is this passage unsupported by a warmth of imagination and the spirit of pathetic poetry. The general cast of the whole poem shows that our author was not ill qualified for dramatic composition.

Another of Grimoald's blank-verse poems is on the death of Zoroas an Egyptian astronomer, who was killed in Alexander's first battle

¹ [It would seem from the following lines in Googe's *Poems*, that Grimoald had, after Lord Surrey, translated a portion of Virgil :—

“ The noble H[enry] Hawarde once,
That raught eternall fame,
With mighty style did bryng a pece
Of Virgils worke in frame.
And Grimaold gaue the lyke attempt,
And Douglas won the ball,
Whose famousse wyt in Scotty th ryme
Had made an ende of all.”—*Park*.

Perhaps Googe may simply be referring here to Grimoald's Paraphrase of the portion of the *Georgics* executed in 1548, and if not printed at the time, possibly circulated in MS.]

² His constrained spirit.

³ *Graia*. Greek.

⁴ Peitho, the goddess of persuasion.

with the Persians.¹ It is opened with this nervous and animated exordium :

Now clattering arms, now ragyng broyls of warr,
 Gan passe the noyes of tarantars clang :²
 Shrowded with shafts the heuen : with clowd of darts
 Couered the ayre : against fulfatted bulls
 As forceth kindled ire the Lions keen :
 Whose greedy gutts the gnawing hoonger pricks :
 So Macedoins against the Persians fare.

In the midt of the tumult and hurry of the battle appears the sage philosopher Zoroas ; a classcal and elegant description of whose skill in natural science forms a pleasing contrast amidst images of death and destruction, and is inserted with great propriety, as it is necessary to introduce the history of his catastrophe :

Shaking her bloody hands, Bellone among
 The Perles soweth all kindes of cruel death.—
 Him beats the club ; him downe farstriking bowe
 And him the sling, and him the shiny swoord
 Right ouer stood, in snowwhite armour braue,
 The Memphite, Zoroas, a cooning clerk :
 To whom the heauen lay open as his book :
 And in celestiall bodyes hee could tell
 The moouyng, meetyng, light, aspect, eclyps,
 And influence, and constellations all :
 What earthly chaunces wold betide : what yere
 Of plenty storde, what signe forwarned derth :
 How winter gendreth snow : what temperature
 In the primetide doth season well the soyl :
 Why soomer burns : why autum hath ripe grapes :
 Whether the circle quadrate may becom :
 Whether our tunes heauens harmony can yeeld :
 What sterr dothe let the hurtfull fire³ to rage,
 Or him more mylde what opposition makes :
 What fire dothe qualify Mauorses⁴ fire, &c.

Our astronomer, finding by the stars that he is destined to die speedily, chooses to be killed by the hand of Alexander, whom he endeavours to irritate to an attack, first by throwing darts, and then by reproachful speeches :

Shamefull stain
 Of mothers bed : Why lokest thou thy strokes,
 Cowards among ? Turn thee to mee, in case
 Manhod ther bee so much left in thy hert :
 Coom fight with mee : that on my helmet wear
 Apollos laurel, bothe for learnings laude
 And eke for Martiall prayse : that, in my shield,
 The feuenfold sophie of Minerue contain :
 A match more meet, fir king, than any here.

¹ And is a translation from part of the Latin *Alexandreis* of Philip Gualtier de Chatillon, bishop of Megala, who flourished in the thirteenth century. See Steevens's *Shaksp.* vii. 337. ed. 1803.—*Park.*]

² The reader must recollect Shakespeare's

“ Loud larums, neighing steeds, and trumpets' clang.”

³ [Sirius.—*Ritfon.*]

⁴ Of Mavors, or the planet Mars.

Alexander is for a while unwilling to revenge this insult on a man eminent for wisdom :

The noble prince, amoued, takes ruthe vpon
The wilfull wight : and with soft woords ayen,
O monftrous man (quod he) whatfo thou art,
I praye thee lyue, ne do not with thy death
This lodge of lore, the Muses mansion marr ;
That treasure houle this hand shall neuer spoyle :
My sword shall neuer bruse that skylfull brayn,
Longgathered heaps of science soon to spoill.
O, how faire frutes may you to mortal men
From wisdoms garden giue ? How many may,
By you, the wyler and the better proue ?
What error, what mad moode, what phrenzey thee
Persuades to bee downsent to deep Auern,
Where no artes flourish, nor no knowledge vails
For all these sawes ? When thus the souerain sayde,
Alighted Zoroas : &c.

I have a suspicion that these two pieces in blank verse, if not fragments of larger works, were finished in their present state as productions or illustrative practical specimens for our author's course of lectures in rhetoric. In that case, they were written so early as the year 1547. There is positive proof that they appeared not later than 1557, when they were first printed.

I have already mentioned Lord Surrey's *Virgil* ; and for the sake of juxtaposition will here produce a third specimen¹ of early blank verse, little known. In the year 1590, William Vallans published a blank-verse poem, entitled *A Tale of two Swannes*, which under a poetic fiction describes the situation and antiquities of several towns in Hertfordshire. The author, a native or inhabitant of Hertfordshire, seems to have been connected with Camden and other ingenious antiquaries of his age. I cite the exordium :

When Nature, nurse of every living thing,
Had clad her charge in brave and new aray ;
The hills rejoynt to see themselves so fine :
The fields and woods grew proud therof also :
The meadowes with their partie-colour'd coates,
Like to the rainebow in the azurd skie,
Gave iust occasion to the cheerfull birdes
With sweetest note to singe their nurfes praise.
Among the which the merrie nightingale
With swete and swete, her breast again a thorne
Ringes out all night, &c.²

Vallans is the author of a piece much better known : a history by many held to be a romance, but which proves the writer a diligent searcher into ancient records.³

¹ [The intervening specimens appeared in Gascoigne's *Steele Glas*, 1576, and Aske's *Elizabetha Triumphans*, 1588.—*Park*.]

² He mentions most of the seats in Hertfordshire then existing, belonging to the queen and the nobility. See Hearne's *Lel. lin.*, V. Pr. p. iv. seq. ed. 2.

³ *The Honorable Prentice* : [or *This Taylor is a man*.] *Shewed in the life and death of Sir John Hawkeewood sometime Prentice of London, interlaced with the*

The reader will observe, that what has been here said about early specimens of blank verse is to be restrained to poems not written for the stage. Long before Vallans's *Two Swannes*, many theatrical pieces in blank verse had appeared; the first of which is *The Tragedy of Gorboduc*, [acted] in 1561-[2]. The second is George Gascoigne's *Iocasta*, a tragedy, acted at Gray's Inn in 1566. George Peele's tragedy in blank verse of *David and Bethsabe* [was printed in 1599, having been written some years before.¹ The first part of *Hieronimo*, by Thomas Kyd,] a tragedy, also without rhyme, was acted [about 1588]. But this point, which is here only transiently mentioned, will be more fully considered hereafter in its proper place. We will now return to our author Grimoald.

Grimoald, as a writer of verses in rhyme, yields to none of his contemporaries for a masterly choice of chaste expression, and the concise elegancies of didactic versification. Some of the couplets, in his [*Prayse of measure-Kepeyng*,] have all the smartness which marks the modern style of sententious poetry, and would have done honour to Pope's ethic epistles:

The auncient time commended, not for nought,
The mean : what better thing can ther be sought ?
In mean is vertue placed : on either side,
Bothe right and left, amisse a man shall slide.
Icar, with fire hadst thou the mid way frown,
Icarian becke² by name had no man known.
If middle path kept had proud Phaeton,
No burning brand this erth had falln vpon.
Ne cruel powr, ne none so soft can raig :
That keeps the mean, the same shal styll remain.
Thee, Julie, once did too much mercy spill :
Thee, Nero stern, rigor extreem did kill.
How could August so many yeres well passe ?
Nor ouermeeke nor ouerferle he was.
Worship not Joue with curious fanies vain,
Nor him despise : hold right atween these twayn.
No wastefull wight, no greedy g[r]oom is prayzd :
Stands largesse iust in egall balance payzd³
So Catoes meal surmountes Antonius chere,
And better fame his sober fare hath here.
To slender buildyng, bad as bad, to grosse ;⁴
One, an eyefore, the tother falls to losse.
As medicines help in measure, so (God wot)
By ouermuch the sick their bane haue got.

famous History of the noble Fitzwalter Lord of Woodh[ouse] in Essex, and of the poisoning of his faire Daughter. Also the merry Customes of Dunmow, &c. Whereunto is annexed the most lamentable murther of Robert Hall at the High Altar in Westminster Abbey.*—[See *Handb. of Early Eng. Lit.* 1867, art. VALLANS; Collier's *Bibl. Cat.* 1865, vol. ii. pp. 462-4; and *Popular Antiq. of Gr. Britain*, 1870, vol. ii. pp. 118-22.]

¹ [*David and Bethsabe*, the *chef-d'œuvre* of Peele, was not printed till 1599; how much earlier it was written there are no means of ascertaining."—*Dyce*.] Shakespeare did not begin writing for the stage till 1591. Jonson, about 1598.

² Strait, sea.

³ Poised.

⁴ Thick, massy.

* The founder of Dunmow Priory, afterwards mentioned, in the reign of Henry the Third.

Vnmeet, mee seems, to vtter this mo wayes :
Measure forbids vnmeasurable prayse.

The maxim is enforced with great quickness and variety of illustration ; nor is the collision of opposite thoughts, which the subject so naturally affords, extravagantly pursued or indulged beyond the bounds of good sense and propriety. The following stanzas on *The Muses* are more poetical, and not less correct :

Imps of king Ioue and quene Remembrance lo,
The sisters nyne, the poets pleasant feres,
Calliope doth stately stile bestow,
And worthy prayses payntes of princely peres.
Clio in solem songes reneweth old day,
With present yeres conioyning age bypast.
Delitefull talke loues Comickall Thaley :
In fresh green youth who doth like laurell last.
With voyces Tragicall sowndes Melpomen,
And, as with cheyns, thallured eare thee bindes.
Her stringes when Terpsichor doth touche, euen then
She toucheth hartes, and raigneth in mens mindes.
Fine Erato, whose look a liuely chere
Presents, in dauncyng keepes a comely grace.
With femely gesture doth Polymnie flere :
Whose wordes holle routes of renkes doo rule in place.
Uranie, her globes to view all bent,
The nine folde heauen obserues with fixed face.
The blastes Euterpe tunes of instrument,
With solace sweet hence heauie dumps to chafe.
Lord Phebus in the mids (whose heauenly sprite
These ladies doth inspire) embraceth all.
The Graces in the Muses weed delite
To lead them forth, that men in maze they fall.

It would be unpardonable to dismiss this valuable miscellany, without acknowledging our obligations to its original editor, Richard Tottell ; who deserves highly of English literature for having collected at a critical period, and preserved in a printed volume, so many admirable specimens of ancient genius, which would have mouldered in manuscript, or perhaps, from their detached and fugitive state of existence, their want of length, the capriciousness of taste, the general depredations of time, inattention, and other accidents, would never have reached the present age. It seems to have given birth to [six other] favourite and celebrated collections,¹ which appeared in the reign of Queen Elizabeth : the *Paradyce of daynty Deuises*, 1576, [the *gorgeous Gallery of gallant Inuentions*, 1578 ; *A Handefull of Pleasant Delites*, by Clement Robinson and others, 1584 ; the *Phoenix-Nest*, 1593] ; *Englands Helicon*, [1600, and Davison's *Poetical Rapsody*, 1602.]²

¹ In his edition of 1557 there is much confusion. A poem is there given to Grimoald, on the death of Lady Margaret Lee, in 1555. Also among Grimoald's is a poem on Sir James Wilford, mentioned above, who appears to have fought under Henry the Eighth in the wars of France and Scotland.

² [See *Seven English Poetical Miscellanies. Printed between 1557 and 1602. Reproduced under the care of J. Payne Collier. London, 1867. 4to.*

SECTION XL.



O the poems of Surrey, Wyat, [and Grimoald] are annexed [in *Tottels' Miscellany*, 1557] those of "Uncertain Authors." This latter collection forms the first printed poetical miscellany in the English language, although [one or two very early manuscript collections of this kind have come down to us.]¹ Many of these pieces are much in the manner of Surrey and Wyat, which was the fashion of the times. They are all anonymous; but probably Sir Francis Bryan, George Boleyn [Viscount] Rochford, and Lord Vaux, all professed rhymers and sonnet-writers, were large contributors.²

Drayton in his [epistle] *To his dearly loved friend Henry Reynolds, of Poets and Poesie*, seems to have blended all the several collections of which Tottell's volume consists. After Chaucer he says:

They with the Muses who conversed, were
That princely Surrey, early in the time
Of the eighth Henry, who was then the prime
Of England's noble youth. With him there came
Wyat, with reverence whom we still do name
Amongst our poets: Bryan had a share
With the two former, which accounted are
That time's best Makers, and the authors were
Of those small poems which the title bear
Of *Songes* and *Sonnetts*, wherein oft they hit
On many dainty passages of wit.³

Sir Francis Bryan was the friend of Wyat, as we have seen, and served as a commander under Thomas Earl of Surrey in an expedition into Brittany, by whom he was knighted for his bravery.⁴ Hence he probably became connected with Lord Surrey the poet. But Bryan was one of the brilliant ornaments of the court of King Henry the Eighth, which at least affected to be polite; and from his popular accomplishments as a wit and a poet he was made a gentleman of the privy-chamber to that monarch, who loved to be entertained by his domestics.⁵ Yet he enjoyed much more important appointments in that reign and in the first year of Edward the Sixth, and died

[¹ It was a fallacy on Warton's part to suppose and assert that such collections are "not uncommon."]

² [Churchyard must also be added to this list of contributors on the following avowment: "Many things in the booke of *Songes and Sonets* printed then (in Queen Mary's time) were of my making." See notices of his works prefixed to his *Challenge*, 1593. Heywood and Harington likewise have dormant claims to the honourable distinction of co-adjutorship. Vide *Nugæ Antiquæ*, vol. i. p. 95, and ii. 256, ed. 1775.]—*Park*.

³ *Works*, vol. iv. p. 1255, edit. 1753.

⁴ *Dugd. Bar.* ii. 273, a.

⁵ Rymer, *Fæd.* xiv. 380.

chief justiciary of Ireland, at Waterford, in the year 1548.¹ On the principle of an unbiassed attachment to the king, he wrote epistles on Henry's divorce, never published, and translated into English from the French Antonio de Guevara's [*Dispraise of the life of a courtier*. Lond. 1548, 8°.]² He was nephew to John Bouchier, Lord Berners, translator of Froissart, who at his desire translated at Calais from French into English [also from Guevara's Spanish original] the *Golden Boke, or Life of Marcus Aurelius*, [printed in 1534.]³ Which are Bryan's pieces I cannot ascertain.

George Boleyn, Viscount Rochford, was son of Sir Thomas Boleyn, afterwards Earl of Wiltshire and Ormond, and at Oxford discovered an early propensity to polite letters and poetry. He was appointed to several dignities and offices by King Henry the Eighth, and subscribed the famous declaration sent to Pope Clement the Seventh. He was brother to Queen Anne Boleyn, with whom he was suspected of a criminal familiarity. The chief accusation against him seems to have been, that he was seen to whisper with the queen one morning while she was in bed. As he had been raised by the exaltation, he was involved in the misfortunes of that injured princess, who had no other fault but an unguarded and indiscreet frankness of nature; and whose character has been blackened by the bigoted historians of the Catholic cause, merely because she was the mother of Queen Elizabeth. To gratify the ostensible jealousy of the king, who had conceived a violent passion for a new object, this amiable nobleman was beheaded on the first of May, in 1536.⁴ His elegance of person and sprightly conversation captivated all the ladies of Henry's court. Wood says, that at the "royal court he was much *adored*, especially by the *female sex*, for his *admirable* discourse and *symmetry* of body."⁵ From these irresistible allurements his enemies endeavoured to give a plausibility to their infamous charge of an incestuous connection. After his commitment to the Tower, his sister the queen, on being sent to the same place, asked the lieutenant with a degree of eagerness, "Oh! where is my sweet brother?"⁶ Here was a specious confirmation of his imagined guilt: this stroke of natural tenderness was too readily interpreted into a licentious attachment. Bale mentions his *Rhythmi elegantissimi*, which Wood calls "Songs and Sonnets, with other things of the like nature." These are now lost, unless some, as I have insinuated, are contained in the present collection; a garland, in which it appears to have been the fashion for every *Flowery Courtier* to leave some of his blossoms. But Boleyn's poems cannot now be distinguished.⁷

¹ Holinsh. *Chron.* i. 61. And Ibid. Hooker's *Contin.* tom. ii. P. ii. pag. 110. See also Fox, *Martyr.* p. 991.

² [Printed again in 1575, small 8vo.—*Park*.]

³ [Often reprinted.] Lord Berners was deputy-general of Calais and its Marches.

⁴ See Dugd. *Baron.* iii. p. 306, a. ⁵ *Ath. Oxon.* i. 44.

⁶ Strype, *Mem.* i. p. 280.

⁷ His name was thus united with other known contributors in 1575:

The lord Vaux, whom I have supposed and on surer proof, to be another contributor to this miscellany, could not be the Nicholas Lord Vaux, whose gown of purple velvet, plated with gold, eclipsed all the company present at the marriage of Prince Arthur; who shines as a statesman and a soldier with uncommon lustre in the history of Henry the Seventh, and continued to adorn the earlier annals of his successor; and who died in the year 1523. Lord Vaux the poet was probably Thomas Lord Vaux, son of Nicholas, and who was summoned to parliament in 1531, and seems to have lived till the latter end of the reign of queen Mary.¹ All our old writers mention the poetical Lord Vaux as rather posterior to Wyatt and Surrey, neither of whom was known as a writer till many years after the death of Lord Nicholas. [Churchyard, in his panegyric on the English Poets prefixed to Skelton's *Works*, 1568,] places Vaux after Surrey:

Piers Plowman was full plaine,
And Chausers spreet was great;
Earle Surrey had a goodly wayne,
Lord Vaux the marke did beat.²

Puttenham [or whoever was the] author of the *Arte of English Poesie*, having spoken of Surrey and Wyatt, immediately adds, "In the same time, or not long after, was the Lord Nicholas [Thomas] Vaux, a man of much facilitie in vulgar makings."³ Webbe, in his *Discourse of English Poetrie*, 1586, has a similar arrangement. [Eleven] of Vaux's poems are extant [with his name to them] in the *Paradyce of Dainty Deuyes*; and instead of the rudeness of Skelton, they have a smoothness and facility of manner which does not belong to poetry written before the year 1523, in which Lord Nicholas Vaux died an old man.⁴ *The Paradyce of Dainty Deuyes* was published in 1576, and he is there simply styled *Lord Vaux the elder*: this was to distinguish him from his son Lord William, then living. If Lord Nicholas was a writer of poetry, I will venture to assert that none of his performances now remain,

"Chawcer by writing purchaft fame,
And Gower got a worthie name:
Sweete Surrey suckt Parnassus springs,
And Wiat wrote of wondrous things:
Olde Rochfort clambe the statelie throne
Which Muses hold in Hellicone.
Then thither let good Gascoigne go,
For sure his verse deserueth so."

See Richard Smith's verses in commendation of Gascoigne's *Poesies*, [1575, or Roxburghe Library edit. of Gascoigne's Poems, 1869, i. 26.]

¹ See what I have said of his son Lord William, in the *Life of Sir Thomas Pope*, p. 221. In 1558, Sir Thomas Pope leaves him a legacy of one hundred pounds, by the name of lord Vaux. [Warton's conjecture is now generally admitted to be correct.—*Price*.]

² [Prefixed to Skelton's Poems, 1568.—*Park*.]

³ Fol. 48. ["Vulgar makings" seem to imply vernacular poems.—*Park*.]

⁴ See Percy's [*Reliques*], ii. 49, edit. 1775.

notwithstanding the testimony of Wood, who says that Nicholas, "in his juvenile years was sent to Oxon, where by reading humane and romantic, rather than philosophical, authors, he advanced his genius very much in poetry and history."¹ This may be true of his son Thomas whom I suppose to be the poet. But such was the celebrity of Lord Nicholas's public and political character, that he has been made to monopolize every merit which was the property of his successors. All these difficulties, however, are at once adjusted by a manuscript in the British Museum, in which we have a copy of Vaux's poem, beginning, *I lothe that I did love*, with this title: "A dyttye or sonet made by the lord Vaus, in the time of the noble quene Marye, representing the image of death."² This sonnet, or rather ode, entitled, *The aged lover renounceth love*, which was more remembered for its morality than its poetry, and which [was] idly conjectured [by some one at the time³] to have been written on his death-bed, makes a part of the collection which I am now examining. From this ditty are taken three of the stanzas, yet greatly disguised and corrupted, of the Grave-digger's Song in Shakespeare's *Hamlet*. Another of Lord Vaux's poems, in the volume before us, is the *Affault of Cupide upon the fort where the lovers heart lay wounded [and how he was taken.]* These two are the only pieces in our collection, of which there is undoubted evidence, although no name is prefixed to either, that they were written by lord Vaux. From palpable coincidences of style, subject, and other circumstances, a slender share of critical sagacity is sufficient to point out many others.

These three writers were cotemporaries with Surrey and Wyatt: but the subjects of some of the pieces will go far in ascertaining the date of the collection in general. There is one on the death of Sir Thomas Wyatt the elder who died, as I have remarked, in 1541. Another, on the death of Lord Chancellor Audley, who died in 1544. Another on the death of *master* Devereux, a son of lord Ferrers, who is said to have been a *Cato for his counsel*, and who is probably Richard Devereux, buried in Barking church,⁴ the son of Walter Lord Ferrers, a distinguished statesman and general under Henry the Eighth.⁵ Another on the death of a Lady Wentworth.⁶ Another on the death of Sir Antony Denny, the only person of the court who dared to inform king Henry the Eighth of his approaching dissolution, and who died in 1551.⁷ Another on the death of Phillips, an eminent musician, and without his rival on the lute.⁸ Another on

¹ *Ath. Oxon.* i. 19.

² *MSS. Harl.* 1703. [fol. 100.]

³ [Gascoigne's Poems, Roxbr. Libr. edit. 1869-70, *Epistle to the yong Gentlemen.*]

⁴ Stowe, *Survey of London*, p. 131, fol. ed.

⁵ Who died in 1558. See Dugd. *Bar.* ii. 177.

⁶ Margaret. See Dugd. *Bar.* ii. 310.

⁷ There is Sir John Cheke's *Epitaphium* in *Anton. Denneium*. Lond. 1551. 4to.

⁸ One Phillips is mentioned among the famous English musicians in Meres' *Wits Treasury*, 1598, fol. 288. I cannot ascertain who this Phillips a musician was. But one Robert Phillips, or Phelipp, occurs among the gentlemen of the royal chapel

the death of a Countess of Pembroke, who is celebrated for her learning, and her perfect virtues linked as in a chaine: probably Anne, who was buried magnificently at Saint Paul's in 1551, the first lady of Sir William Herbert, first Earl of Pembroke, and sister to Catharine Parr, the sixth Queen of Henry the Eighth.¹ Another on master Henry Williams, son of Sir John Williams, afterwards Lord Thame and a great favourite of Henry the Eighth.² On the death of Sir James Wilford, an officer in Henry's wars, we have here an elegy with some verses on his picture. Here is also a poem on a treasonable conspiracy, which is compared to the stratagem of Sinon, and which threatened immediate extermination to the British constitution, but was speedily discovered. I have not the courage to explore the formidable columns of the circumstantial Holinshed for this occult piece of history, which I leave to the curiosity and conjectures of some more laborious investigator. It is certain that none of these pieces are later than the year 1557, as they were published in that year. We may venture to say that almost all of them were written between the years 1530 and 155[5],³ most of them perhaps within the first part of that period.

[Warton commended the elegant simplicity of] the following stanza on Beauty:

Then Beauty slept before the barre,
Whose brest and neck was bare;
With haire trust up, and on her head
A caule of golde she ware.

We are to recollect that these compliments were penned at a time when the graces of conversation between the sexes were unknown, and the dialogue of courtship was indelicate; when the monarch of England, in a style which the meanest gentleman would now be ashamed to use, pleaded the warmth of his affection by drawing a coarse allusion from a present of venison, which he calls

under Edward the Sixth and Queen Mary. He was also one of the singing-men of Saint George's chapel at Windsor: and Fox says, "he was so notable a singing-man, wherein he gloried, that wheresoever he came, the longest song with most counter-*verses* in it should be set up against him." Fox adds, that while he was singing on one side of the choir of Windsor chapel, *O Redemptrix et Salvatrix*, he was answered by one Testwood a singer on the other side, *Non Redemptrix nec Salvatrix*. For this irreverence, and a few other slight heresies, Testwood was burnt at Windsor. *Ant. and Monum.* vol. ii. pp. 543, 544. I must add, that Sir Thomas Phelyppis, or Philips, is mentioned as a musician before the reformation. Hawkins, *Hist. Mus.* ii. 533.

¹ Strype, *Mem.* ii. p. 317.

² See *Life of Sir Thomas Pope*, p. 232.

³ There is an epitaph by W. G. made on himself, with an answer, fol. 98, 99. [Probably these two pieces may be attributed to William Gray, as to whom see Ritson's *Bibl. Poet.* in v.; Lemon's *Cat. of the printed Broadfides in the library of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, 1866, pp. 4, 5; and *Handbook of Early English Literature*, 1867, arts. GRAY and SMYTH (T.).] At fol. 111, a lady, called Arundel, is highly celebrated for her incomparable beauty and accomplishments: perhaps [the was] of Lord Arundel's family:

"Thus Arundell sits throned still with fame," &c.

flesh, in a love-letter to his future queen Anne Boleyn, a lady of distinguished breeding, beauty and modesty.¹

In lord Vaux's *Affault of Cupide*, above mentioned, these are the most remarkable stanzas :

When Cupide scaled first the fort,
Wherin my hart lay wounded fore :
The battry was of such a fort,
That I must yelde or dye therfore.

There saw I loue vpon the wall
How he his banner did display :
Alarme alarme he gan to call,
And bad his souldiours kepe aray.

The armes the which that Cupide bare,
Were pearced harts with teares besprent :—

And euen with the trumpets sowne
The scalyng ladders were vp set :
And beauty walked vp and downe,
With bow in hand and arrowes whet.

Then first desire began to scale,
And shrowded him vnder his targe, &c.

[The author of the *Arte of English Poesie*] speaks more highly of the contrivance of the allegory of this piece than I can allow. "In this figure [counterfeit action] the lord Nicholas Vaux, a noble gentleman, and much delighted in vulgar making, and a man otherwise of no great learning, but having herein a marvelous facilitie, made a dittie representing the Battayle and Assault of Cupide so excellently well, as for the gallant and propre aplication of his fiction in every part, I cannot chooseth but set downe the greatest part of his ditty, for in truth it cannot be amended ; *When Cupid scaled, &c.*" And in another part of the same book : "The lord Vaux his commendation lyeth chiefly in the facilitie of his meetre, and the aptnesse of his descriptions, such as he taketh upon him to make, namely in sundry of his songes, wherein he sheweth the counterfaiet action very lively and pleasantly." By *counterfaiet action* the critic means fictitious action, the action of imaginary beings expresseive of fact and reality. There is more poetry in some of the old pageants described by Holinshed, than in this allegory of Cupid. Vaux seems to have had his eye on Dunbar's *Golden Targe*.

In the following little ode, much pretty description and imagination is built on the circumstance of a lady being named Bayes. So much good poetry could hardly be expected from a pun :

In Bayes I boast, whose braunch I beare :
Such joye therin I finde,
That to the death I shall it weare,
To ease my carefull minde.

In heat, in cold, both night and day,
Her vertue may be sene ;
When other frutes and flowers decay,
The Bay yet growes full grene.

Her berries feede the birdes ful oft,
Her leues swete water make ;

¹ See Hearne's *Avesbury, Append.* p. 354.

Her bowes be set in every loft,
For their swete favours sake.

The birdes do throwd them from the cold
In her we dayly see :
And men make arbors as they wold
Under the pleasant tree.

From the same collection, the following is perhaps the first example in our language now remaining of the pure and unmixed pastoral, and in the erotic species, for ease of numbers, elegance of rural allusion and simplicity of imagery, excels every thing of the kind in Spenser, who is erroneously ranked as our earliest English bucolic. I therefore hope to be pardoned for the length of the quotation :

Phylida was a fayer mayde,
And fresh as any flowre :
Whom Harpalus the herdman prayed
To be his paramour.

Harpalus and eke Corin
Were herdmen both yfere :¹
And Phillida could twilt and spinne,
And therto sing full clere.

But Phillida was all to coy
For Harpalus to winne.
For Corin was her onely ioye,
Who forst her not a pynne.²

How often wold she flowers twine,
How often garlandes make,
Of Couflippes and of Colombine,
And all for Corins sake.

But Corin he had haukes to lure,
And forced more the field :³
Of louers lawe he toke no cure,
For once he was begilde.

Harpalus preualed nought,
His labour all was lost :
For he was fardest from her thought,
And yet he loued her most.

Therefore waxt he both pale and leane,
And drye as clot of clay :
His fleshe it was consumed cleane,
His colour gone away.

His beard it had not long be shaued,
His heare hong all vnkempt
A man most fit euen for the graue,
Whom spitefull loue had spent.

His eyes were red and all forewatched,⁴
His face besprent with teares :
It semde vnhap had him long hatched
In middes of his dispayres.

His clothes were blacke and also bare,
As one forlorne was he :
Vpon his heade alwaies he ware
A wreath of wilow tree.

His beastes he kept vpon the hyll,
And he sate in the dale :

¹ Together. ² Loved her not in the least. ³ More engaged in field-sports.

⁴ Over-watched, that is, his eyes were always awake, never closed by sleep.

And thus with sighes and sorowes shryll
He gan to tell his tale.¹

O Harpelus, thus would he say,
Vnhappiest vnder sunne :
The cause of thine vnhappy day
By loue was first begone.

For thou wentest first by sute to seke
A Tygre to make tame :
That sets not by thy loue a leke,
But makes thy grefe her game.

As easie it were to conuert
The frost into the flame :
As for to turne a froward hert
Whom thou so fain wouldst frame.

Corin he liueth carelesse,
He leapes among the leaues ;
He eates the frutes of thy redresse,
Thou reapes, he takes the sheaues.

My beastes, a while your sode refrayne,
And harken your herdmans sounde :
Whom spitefull loue alas hath slaine
Throughgirt² with many a wounde.

Oh happy be ye, beastes wilde,
That here your pasture takes :
I see that ye be not begylde
Of these your faithfull makes.

The Hart he fedeth by the Hynde,
The Bucke harde by the Doo :
The Turtle Doue is not vnkinde
To him that loves her so.

But well a way that nature wrought
Thee Phillida so faire :
For I may say, that I haue bought
Thy beauty all to deare ! &c.

The illustrations, in the two following stanzas, of the restlessness of a lover's mind deserve to be cited for their simple beauty and native force of expression :

The owle with feble sight
Lieth lurking in the leaues :
The sparrow in the frosty nyght
May throud her in the eaues.

But wo to me alas,
In sunne nor yet in shade
I can not finde a restyng place
My burden to unlade.³

¹ [In the scarce poems of David Murray, printed at London in 1611, we find *The Complaint of the shepherd Harpalus* written much on this model. It begins,

"Poore Harpalus opprest with love
Sate by a christale brooke ;
Thinking his sorrows to remove,
Oft times therein did looke."—*Park*.

The (original) Complaint of Harpalus was once or twice, if not oftener, printed separately and anonymously as a broadside.]

² Pierced through. So fol. 113, *infra*.

"His entrails with a lance *through-girded* quite."

³ [The turn and texture of these stanzas would appear to be derived from the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke, viii. 20, and ix. 58.—*Park*.]

Nor can I omit to notice the sentimental and expressive metaphor contained in a single line :

Walkyng the pathe of pensive thought.

Perhaps there is more pathos and feeling in the ode, in which *The Lover in despaire lamenteth his Case*, than in any other piece of the whole collection :

Adieu desert, how art thou spent !
 Ah dropping tears, how do ye waste !
 Ah scalding sighes, how ye be spent,
 To pricke Them forth that will not haste !
 Ah ! pained hart, thou gapst for grace,
 Even there, where pitie hath no place.
 As easy it is the stony rocke
 From place to place for to remove,
 As by thy plaint for to provoke
 A frosen hart from hate to love.
 What should I say ? Such is thy lot
 To fawne on them that force thee not !
 Thus mayst thou safely say and sweare,
 That rigour raigneth and ruth doth faile,
 In thanklesse thoughts thy thoughts do weare :
 Thy truth, thy faith, may nought availe
 For thy good will : why should thou so
 Still graft, where grace it will not grow ?
 Alas ! pore hart, thus hast thou spent
 Thy flowryng time, thy pleasant yeres ?
 With sighing voice wepe and lament,
 For of thy hope no frute apperes !
 Thy true meanyng is paide with scorne,
 That ever soweth and repeth no corne.
 And where thou seekes a quiet port,
 Thou dost but weigh against the winde :
 For where thou gladdest woldst resort,
 There is no place for thee affinde.
 The destiny hath set it so,
 That thy true hart should cause thy wo.

These reflections, resulting from a retrospect of the vigorous and active part of life, destined for nobler pursuits and unworthily wasted in the tedious and fruitless anxieties of unsuccessful love, are highly natural, and are painted from the heart ; but their force is weakened by the poet's allusions.

This miscellany affords the first pointed English epigram that I remember, and which deserves to be admitted into the modern collections of that popular species of poetry. Sir Thomas More was one of the best jokers of that age, and there is some probability that this might have fallen from his pen. It is on a scholar, who was pursuing his studies successfully, but in the midst of his literary career married unfortunately :

A Student, at his boke so plapt,¹
 That welth he might haue wonne,
 From boke to wife did flete in hast,
 From wealth to wo to runne.

¹ So pursuing his studies.

Now, who hath plaid a feater cast,
 Since juglyng first begoone?
 In knittynge of him selfe so fast,
 Him selfe he hath undoon.

But the humour does not arise from the circumstances of the character. It is a general joke on an unhappy match.

These two lines are said to have been written by Mary queen of Scots with a diamond on a window in Fotheringay castle, during her imprisonment there, and to have been of her composition:

From the toppe of all my trust
 Mishap hath throwen me in the dust.¹

But they belong to an elegant little ode of ten stanzas in the collection before us, in which a lover complains that he is caught by the snare which he once defied. The unfortunate queen only quoted a distich applicable to her situation, which she remembered in a fashionable set of poems, perhaps the amusement of her youth.

The ode, which is the comparison of the author's faithful and painful passion with that of Troilus, is founded on Chaucer's poem, or Boccaccio's, on the same subject. This was the most favourite love-story of our old poetry, and from its popularity was wrought into a drama by Shakespeare. Troilus's sufferings for Cressida were a common topic for a lover's fidelity and assiduity. Shakespeare, in his *Merchant of Venice*, compares a night favourable to the stratagems or the meditation of a lover, to such a night as Troilus might have chosen, for stealing a view of the Grecian camp from the ramparts of Troy:

And sigh'd his soul towards the Grecian tents
 Where Cressid lay that night.

Among these poems is a short fragment of a translation into Alexandrines of Ovid's epistle from Penelope to Ulysses. This is [perhaps] the first attempt at a metrical translation of any part of Ovid into English, for Caxton's Ovid is a loose paraphrase in prose. Nor were the heroic epistles of Ovid translated into verse till [1567] by George Turberville. It is a proof that the classics were studied, when they began to be translated.

It would be tedious and intricate to trace the particular imitations of the Italian poets, with which these anonymous poems abound. Two of the sonnets are panegyrics on Petrarch and Laura, names at that time familiar to every polite reader, and the patterns of poetry and beauty. The sonnet on *The diverse and contrarie passions of the lover*, is formed on one of Petrarch's sonnets which, as I have remarked before, was translated by Sir Thomas Wyatt. So many of the nobility and principal persons about the court, writing sonnets in the Italian style, is a circumstance which must have greatly contributed to circulate this mode of composition, and to en-

¹ See Ballard's *Learn. Lad.* p. 161. [But in the imperial library of St. Peterburgh it is said that there is a misal, with verses in Queen Mary's hand. See *Current Notes* for Feb. 1854, p. 14.]

courage the study of the Italian poets. Beside Lord Surrey, Sir Thomas Wyat, Lord [Rochford], Lord Vaux, and Sir Francis Bryan, already mentioned, Edmund Lord Sheffield, created a baron by King Edward the Sixth, and killed by a butcher in the Norfolk insurrection, is said by Bale to have written sonnets in the Italian manner.¹

I have been informed that [John] Lord Berners translated some of Petrarch's sonnets.² But this nobleman otherwise deserved notice here for his prose works, which co-operated with the romantic genius and the gallantry of the age. He translated, by the king's command, Froissart's chronicle, which was printed in 1523. Some of his other translations are professed romances. He translated from the Spanish, by desire of the lady of Sir Nicholas Carew, *The Castle of Love*, [which was printed in 12mo about 1530.] From the French he translated, at the request of the Earl of Huntingdon, [*Huon*] of *Bordeaux*, [which was printed about 1535, and twice afterwards]; and from the same language, *The History of Arthur*, [*of Little Britain*], of which there is an edition perhaps as old as 1540 in the Library of Lord Spencer.] Bale says,³ that he wrote a comedy called *Ite in vineam, or the Parable of the Vineyard*, which was frequently acted at Calais, where Lord Berners resided, after vespers.⁴ He died in 1532.

I have also been told, that the late Lord Eglintoun had a genuine book of manuscript sonnets, written by King Henry the Eighth. There is an old madrigal, set to music by William Bird, supposed to be written by Henry when he first fell in love with Anne Boleyn.⁵ It begins,

The eagles force subdues eche byrde that flies,
What metal can resyfte the flamyng fyre?
Doth not the sunne dazle the clearest eyes,
And melt the yce, and make the froste retyre?

It appears in Bird's *Psalmes, Songs, and Sonnets*, printed with musical notes, in 1611.⁶ Poetry and music are congenial; and it is certain that Henry was skilled in musical composition. Erasmus attests that he composed some church services:⁷ and one of his anthems

¹ See Tanner, *Bibl.* p. 668. Dugd. *Bar.* vol. iii. p. 386. [And Walpole's *Noble Authors*, vol. i. p. 277, edit. 1806; also Nevill's *Letters of Lord Sheffield*, p. 61, 1582.—Park.]

² MSS. Oldys.

³ Cent. ix. p. 706.

⁴ *Ath. Oxon.* vol. i. p. 33. It is not known, whether it was in Latin or English. Stow says, that in 1528, at Greenwich, after a grand tournament and banquet, there was the "most goodliest Disguising or Interlude in Latine," &c. *Chron.* p. 539, edit. 1615. But possibly this may be Stow's way of naming and describing a comedy of Plautus. [There seems to be little doubt that it was. Compare Collier's *Hist. Eng. Dram. Poetry*, vol. i. p. 88, where, however, the date given is, by mistake, 1520.]

⁵ I must not forget that a song is ascribed to Anne Boleyn, but with little probability, called her *Complaint*. See Hawkins, *Hist. Mus.* vol. iii. p. 32, v. 480.

⁶ See also *Nuge Antiq.* vol. ii. p. 248. [And it makes part of a stanza in Churchyard's *Legend of Jane Shore*.—Park.]

⁷ See Hawkins, *Hist. Mus.* vol. ii. p. 533.

still continues to be performed in the choir of Christ-church at Oxford, of his foundation. It is in an admirable style, and is for four voices. Henry, although a scholar, had little taste for the classical elegancies which now began to be known in England. His education seems to have been altogether theological: and, whether it best suited his taste or his interest, polemical divinity seems to have been his favourite science. He was a patron of learned men when they humoured his vanities, and were wise enough not to interrupt his pleasures, his convenience, or his ambition.

SECTION XLI.

IT will not be supposed, that all the poets of the reign of Henry the Eighth were educated in the school of Petrarch. The graces of the Italian muse, which had been taught by Surrey and Wyat, were confined to a few. Nor were the beauties of the classics yet become general objects of imitation. There are many writers of this period who still rhymed on in the old prosaic track of their immediate predecessors, and never ventured to deviate into the modern improvements. The strain of romantic fiction was lost; in the place of which they did not substitute the elegancies newly introduced.

I shall consider together, yet without an exact observation of chronological order, the poets of the reign of Henry the Eighth who form this subordinate class, and who do not bear any mark of the character of the poetry which distinguishes this period. Yet some of these have their degree of merit, and if they had not necessarily claimed a place in our series, deserve examination.

Andrew Borde, who writes himself Andreas Perforatus, with about as much propriety and as little pedantry as Buchanan calls one Wifhart Sophocardius, was educated at Winchester and Oxford,¹ and is said, I believe on very slender proof, to have been physician to King Henry the Eighth. His *Breviary of Health*, first printed in 1547,² is dedicated to the college of physicians, into which he had been incorporated. The first book of this treatise is said to have been examined and approved by the University of Oxford in 1546.³

¹ See his *Introduction to Knowledge*, cap. xxxv.

² "Compyled by Andrewe Boorde of Physicke Doctoure an Englyshe man." [This seems to have been printed, says Herbert, before 1547, by William Myddilton, in 12mo, because therein he mentions his *Introduction to Knowledge* as at that time printing at old Rob. Copland's. But the dedication of that to the Princess Mary is dated 3 May 1542, and may be supposed to have been printed soon after, though indeed it has no date of printing. It was printed by Wm. Copland. See *Bibl. Weß.* No. 1643.—*Park.*]

³ At the end of which is this Note: "Here endeth the first booke Examined in Oxforde in the yere of our Lorde MCCCCXLVI," &c.

He chiefly practised in Hampshire, and being popishly affected, was censured by Poynt, a Calvinistic Bishop of Winchester, for keeping three prostitutes in his house, [whom] he proved to be his patients.¹ He appears to have been a man of great superstition, and of a weak and whimsical head: and having been once a Carthusian, continued ever afterwards to profess celibacy, to drink water, and to wear a shirt of hair. His thirst of knowledge, dislike of the reformation, or rather his unsettled disposition, led him abroad into various parts of Europe, which he visited in the medical character.² Wood says, that he was "esteemed a noted poet, a witty and ingenious person, and an excellent physician." Hearne, who [flattered himself that he had] plainly discovered the origin of Tom Thumb,³ is of opinion, that this facetious practitioner in physic gave rise to the name of Merry Andrew, the Fool on the mountebank's stage. The reader will not perhaps be displeased to see that antiquary's reasons for this conjecture: which are at the same time a vindication of Borde's character, afford some new anecdotes of his life, and show that a Merry Andrew may be a scholar and an ingenious man. "It is observable that the author [Borde] was as fond of the word 'dolentyd,' as of many other hard and uncooth words, as any Quack can be. He begins his *Breviary of Health*, 'Egregious doctours and Maysters of the eximious and archane science of Physicke, of your urbanite exasperate not your selve,' &c. But notwithstanding this, will any one from hence infer or assert, that the author was either a pedant or a superficial scholar? I think, upon due consideration, he will judge the contrary. Dr. Borde was an ingenious man, and knew how to humour and please his patients, readers, and auditors. In his travels and visits he often appeared and spoke in public: and would often frequent markets and fairs where a conflux of people used to get together, to whom he prescribed; and to induce them to flock thither the more readily, he would make humorous speeches, couched in such language as caused mirth, and wonderfully propagated his fame: and 'twas for the same end that he made use of such expressions in his Books, as would otherwise (the circumstances not considered) be very justly pronounced bombast. As he was versed in antiquity, he had words at command from old writers with which to amuse his hearers, which could not fail of pleasing, provided he added at the same time some remarkable explication. For instance, if he told them that *Λευάνης* was an old brass medal among the Greeks, the oddness of the word, would, without doubt, gain attention; tho nothing near so much, as if withall he signified, that 'twas a brass medal a little bigger than an Obolus, that used to be put in the mouths of persons that were dead. And withall, 'twould affect them

¹ See *Against Martin*, &c., p. 48.

² ["I have gone round Christendome and overthwart Christendome," says Borde in his *Dietarie of Health*.—Park.]

³ See *Reliquie Hearnianæ*, ed. 1857, p. 822; and *Remains of the Early Popular Poetry of England*, vol. ii. p. 168.]

the more, if when he spoke of such a brass medal, he signified to them, that brass was in old time looked upon as more honourable than other metals, which he might safely enough do, from Homer and his scholiast. Homer's words are, &c. A passage, which without doubt Hieronymus Magius would have taken notice of in the fourteenth chapter of his book *De Tintinnabulis*, had it occurred to his memory when in prison he was writing, without the help of books before him, that curious Discourse. "I was from the Doctor's method of using such speeches at markets and fairs, that in after-times those that imitated the like humorous, jocular language, were styled Merry Andrews, a term much in vogue on our stages."¹

He is supposed to have compiled or composed the *Merry Tales of the mad men of Gotham* which, as we are told by Wood, "in the reign of Henry the Eighth, and after, was accounted a book full of wit and mirth by scholars and gentlemen."² This piece, which probably was not without its temporary ridicule, and which yet maintains a popularity in the nursery, was, I think, first printed by Wynkyn de Worde. Hearne was of opinion, that these idle pranks of the men of Gotham, a town in Lincolnshire,³ bore a reference to some customary law-tenures belonging to that place or its neighbourhood, now grown obsolete; and that Blount might have enriched his book on *Antient Tenures* with these ludicrous stories. He is speaking of the political design of *Reynard the Fox*, printed by Caxton. "It was an admirable thing. And the design being political, and to represent a wise government, was equally good. So little reason is there to look upon this as a poor despicable book. Nor is there more reason to esteem *The Merry Tales of the mad Men of Gotham* (which was much valued and cried up in Henry the Eighth's time tho now sold at ballad-fingers stalls) as altogether a romance: a certain skillfull person having told me more than once, that he was assured by one of Gotham, that they formerly held lands there, by such Sports and Customs as are touched upon in this book. For which reason, I think particular notice should have been taken of it in Blount's *Tenures*, as I do not doubt but there would, had that otherwise curious author been apprised of the matter. But 'tis strange to see the changes that have been made in the book of *Reynard the Fox* from the original edition!"⁴

¹ Hearne's *Benedict. Abb.* tom. i.; *Prefat.* p. 50, edit. 1735.

² *Ath. Oxon.* vol. i. p. 74. There is an edition in duodecimo by Henry Wikes, without date, but about 1568, entitled, *Merie Tales of the madmen of Gotam, gathered together by A. B. of physicke doctour*. The oldest [edition now traceable is that of 1630, mentioned by Warton, and reprinted in *Old English Jest-Books*, vol. iii. The edition by Wykes is unknown; but Mr. Halliwell, in his *Popular English Histories*, p. 71, refers to one by Thomas Colwell.]

[³ But see *Suffex Archaeological Collections*, vol. vi., and Wright's *Early Mysteries*, &c., 1838, p. 93 et seqq. In Chappell's *Roxburghe Ballads*, 1869, pp. 105-6, and in *Old English Jest-Books*, 1864, vol. iii. Addit. Notes, p. 1, proof seems to be furnished that the common printed collection does not embrace all the pleasantries which were once current on this subject.]

⁴ Hearne's *Not. et Spicileg. ad Gul. Neubrig.* vol. iii. p. 744. See also *Benedict. Abb.* ut supr. p. 54.

Borde's chief work is entitled, *The fyrst Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge, the which doth teache a man to speake parte of al maner of Languages, and to knowe the vsage and fashon of al maner of cōtreys. And for to knowe the moste parte of al maner of Coynes of money, y^e whych is curraunt in every region. Made by Andrew Borde of Phisicke Doctor.* It was printed [about 1545], and is dedicated to the Princess Mary, from Montpelier, in the year 1542. The book, containing thirty-nine chapters, is partly in verse and partly in prose; [and has a few woodcuts of not very remarkable execution.] The first [chapter] is a satire, as it appears, on the fickle nature of an Englishman: the symbolical print prefixed to this chapter, exhibiting a naked man with a pair of sheers in one hand and a roll of cloth in the other, not determined what sort of a coat he shall order to be made, has more humour than any of the verses which follow.¹ Nor is the poetry destitute of humour only, but of every embellishment both of metrical arrangement and of expression. Borde has all the baldness of allusion and barbarity of versification, belonging to Skelton, without his strokes of satire and severity. The following lines, part of the Englishman's speech, will not prejudice the reader in his favour:

What do I care, yf all the worlde me fayle?
 I wyll get a garment shal reche to my tayle.
 Than I am a minion,² for I were the new gyfe,
 The yere after this I trust to be wyfe
 Not only in wering my gorgious aray,
 For I wyl go to learnyng a hoole somers day.

In the seventh chapter, he gives a fantastic account of his travels,³ and owns that his metre deserves no higher appellation than "ryme dogrell." But this delineation of the fickle Englishman is perhaps to be restricted to the circumstances of the author's age, without a respect to the national character: and as Borde was a rigid Catholic, there is a probability, notwithstanding in other places he treats of natural dispositions, that a satire is designed on the laxity of principle and revolutions of opinion which prevailed at the reformation, and the easy compliance of many of his changeable countrymen with a new religion for lucrative purposes.

I transcribe the character of the Welshman, chiefly because he speaks of his harp:—

¹ Harrison, in his *Description of England*, having mentioned this work by Borde, adds, "Suche is our mutabilitie, that to daie there is none [equal] to the Spanish guise, to morrow the French toies are most fine and delectable, yer [ere] long no such apparel as that which is after the Almaine fashion: by and by the Turkish manner otherwise the Morisco gowns, the Barbarian sleeves, the mandilion worne to Collie Weston ward, and the shorte French breeches," &c. B. ii. ch. 9, p. 172.

² [A young fashionable courtier. See a print of French *mignons* in Montfaucon's *Antiquities*.—Ashby.]

³ Prefixed to which, is a wooden cut of the author Borde, standing in a sort of pew or stall, under a canopy, habited in an academical gown, a laurel-crown on his head, with a book before him on a desk. [It is strange that Warton should not have recognised the identity of this print with the pretended portrait of Skelton attached to one or two of his works.]

I am a Welshman, and do dwel in Wales,
 I haue loued to ferche budgets, & looke in males :
 I loue not to labour, nor to delve, nor to dyg,
 My fyngers be lymed lyke a lyme twyg,
 And wherby ryches I do not greatly set,
 Syth all hys fyfthe that commeth to the net.
 I am a gentylman, and come of brutes blood,
 My name is ap Ryce, ap Dauy, ap Flood :
 I loue our Lady, for I am of hyr kynne,
 He that doth not loue hyr, I beshrew his chynne.
 My kyndred is ap Hoby, ap Jenkin, ap Goffe.
 Bycause I go barlegged, I do cach the coffe.
 And if I do go barlegged it is for no pryde.
 I haue a gray cote my body for to hyde.
 I do loue *caruse baby*,¹ good rosted cheefe,
 And swythe swashe metheglyn I toke for my fees.
 And yf I haue my harpe, I care for no more,
 It is my treasure, I kepe it in store.
 For my harpe is made of a good mares skyn,
 The stringes be of horse heare, it maketh a good din.
 My songe, and my voyce, and my harpe doth agree,
 Much lyke the buffing of an homble be :
 Yet in my countrey I do make good pastyme
 In tellyng of prophyes which be not in ryme.²

I have before mentioned [the] *History of the Mylner of Abington*, a meagre epitome of Chaucer's *Miller's Tale*. In a blank leaf of the Bodleian copy, this tale is said by Thomas Newton of Cheshire, an elegant Latin epigrammatist of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, to have been written by Borde. He is also supposed to have published a collection of silly stories called *Scogin's Jestes* [which, in an edition of 1626, are seventy-eight] in number. Perhaps Shakespeare took his idea from this jest-book, that Scogan was a mere buffoon, where he says that Falstaff, as a juvenile exploit, "broke Scogan's head at the court-gate."³ Nor have we any better authority than this publication by Borde, that Scogan was a graduate in the university, and a jester to a king.⁴ Hearne, at the end of *Benedictus Abbas*, has printed

¹ See *A. C. Mery Talys*, 1526, No. 26 (*Old English Jest Books*, 1864, vol. i. p. 104).

² Ch. ii. In the prose description of Wales he says, there are many beautiful and strong castles standing yet. "The castels and the Countre of Wales, and y^e people of Wales, be muche lyke to the Castels and the countrey and y^e people of Castyle and Biscay." In describing Gascony, he says that at Bordeaux, "in y^e cathedrall Church of saint Andreus, is y^e fairest and the gretest payer of Orgyns [organs] in al chryftendom, in the whyche Orgins be many instrumentes and vyces [devices] as Giants heds and sterres, y^e which doth moue and wagge with their iawes & eis as fast as y^e player playeth." ch. xxiii.

³ Sec. P. Hen. iv. act iii. sc. ii.

⁴ It is hard to say whence Jonson got his account of Scogan, *Masque of the Fortunate Isles* :

"*Merefool*. Skogan ? What was he ?

"*Johphiel*. O, a fine gentleman, and a Master of Arts
 Of Henry the Fourth's time, that made disguises
 For the king's sons, and writ in balad-royal
 Daintily well.

"*Merefool*. But wrote he like a gentleman ?

"*Johphiel*. In rhyme, fine tinkling rhyme, and slowand verse,

Borde's *Itinerary*, as it may be called; which is little more than a string of names, but is quoted by Norden in his *Speculum Britannia*.¹ Borde's circulatory peregrinations, in the quality of a quack-doctor, might have furnished more ample materials for an English topography. Beside the *Breviary of Health* mentioned above, and which was approved by the University of Oxford, Borde has left [*A Prognostication and a Calendar*, (printed on broadsheets about 1540),] the *Dietarie of Health* and the [*Prynnyples of Astronomye*,]: which are proofs of attention to his profession, and show that he could sometimes be serious; [and perhaps we ought to add to this list the *Merie Tales of Skelton*]. But Borde's name would not have been now remembered, had he written only profound systems in medicine and astronomy. He is known to posterity as a buffoon, not as a philosopher. Yet, I think some of his astronomical tracts have been epitomised and bound up with Erra Pater's Almanacks.

Of Borde's numerous books, the only one [beside his most curious *Introduction of knowledge*] that can afford any degree of entertainment to the modern reader, is the *Dyetary of Helth* where, giving directions as a physician, concerning the choice of houses, diet and apparel, and not suspecting how little he should instruct, and how much he might amuse, a curious posterity, he has preserved many anecdotes of the private life, customs, and arts, of our ancestors.² This work [of which at least three editions proceeded from the press of Robert Wyer, without date, but about 1542,] is dedicated to Thomas Duke of Norfolk, lord treasurer under Henry the Eighth. In the dedication [Borde] speaks of his being called in as physician to Sir [Robert] Drewry, the year when Cardinal Wolsey was promoted to York; but that he did not choose to prescribe without consulting Doctor Buttes, the king's physician. He apologises to the

With now and then some sense; and he was paid for't,
Regarded and rewarded, which few poets
Are now adays."

See Tyrwhitt's *Chaucer*, vol. v. *An Account*, &c. p. xx. Drayton, in the Preface to his *Eclogues*, says, "the *Colin Clout of Skoggon* under Henry the Seventh is pretty." He must mean Skelton. [See *Old English Jest Books*, 1864, vol. ii. Pref. to *Scogin's Jests*.]

¹ [*Spec. Brit.* 1593, p. 13.]

² In his rules for building or planning a house, he supposes a quadrangle. The gate-house, or tower, to be exactly opposite to the portico of the hall. The privy chamber to be annexed to the chamber of state. A parlour joining to the buttery and pantry at the lower end of the hall. The pastry-house and larder annexed to the kitchen. Many of the chambers to have a view into the chapel. In the outer quadrangle to be a stable, but only for horses of pleasure. The stables, dairy, and slaughter-house, to be a quarter of a mile from the house. The moat to have a spring falling into it, and to be often scoured. An orchard of sundry fruits is convenient; but he rather recommends a garden filled with aromatic herbs. In the garden a pool or two for fish. A park filled with deer and conies. "A Dove-house also is a necessary thyng aboute a manfyon-place. And, amonge other thynges, a Payre of Buttes is a decent thyng aboute a manfyon. And otherwhyle, for a great man necessary it is for to passe his tyme with bowles in an aly, whan all this is fynnyshed, and the manfyon replenyshed with implements." Ch. iv. sign. C ii. verso. Dedication dated [5 May,] 1542.

duke for not writing in the ornate phraseology now generally affected. He also hopes to be excused for using in his writings so many "wordes of myrth": but this, he says, was only to make your grace mery, and because mirth has ever been esteemed the best medicine. Borde must have had no small share of vanity who could think thus highly of his own pleasantry. And to what a degree of taste and refinement must our ancient dukes and lords treasurers have arrived, who could be exhilarated by the witticisms and the lively language of this facetious philosopher?

John Bale, a tolerable Latin classic, and an eminent biographer, before his conversion from popery and his advancement to the bishopric of Ossory by King Edward the Sixth, composed many scriptural interludes, chiefly from incidents of the New Testament. They are [*A breffe Comedy or Enterlude of Iohan Baptistes preachynge in the wildernesse, with the gloryouse Baptyme of the Lorde Iesus Christ*. Compyled by Johan Bale, anno M.D. xxxviii.¹ *A breffe Comedy, or enterlude, concernynge the temptacyon of our Lorde and Sauer Iesus Christ, by Sathan in the desert*. Compyled by Johan Bale, anno M.D. xxxviii.]. *The Resurreccion of Lazarus. The Council of the High-priests. Simon the Leper. Our Lord's Supper, and the Washing of the feet of his Disciples. Christ's Burial and Resurrection. The Passion of Christ*. [*A Comedye concernynge*] *three Laws of nature, Moses, and Christ, corrupted by the Sodomites, Pharisees, and Papists*, printed by Nicholas Bamburgh [about] 1538: and reprinted in 1562.² *God's Promises to Man*, [written and probably printed in 1538].³

Bale's comedy of *The Three Laws* is commonly supposed to be a Mystery, and merely doctrinal: but it is a satirical play against popery, and perhaps the first of the kind in our language. I have mentioned it in general terms before under Bale as a poet; but I reserved a more particular notice of it for this place. It has these directions about the dresses, the first I remember to have seen, which shew the scope and spirit of the piece. Signat. G. "The apparellynge of the six Vices or frutes of Infydelite.—Let Idolatry be decked lyke an olde wytche, Sodomy lyke a monke of all sectes, Ambycyon lyke a byshop, Covetousnesse lyke a Pharisee or spyrituall lawer, False Doctrine lyke a popysh doctour, and Hypocresy lyke a graye fryre. The rest of the partes are easye ynough to conjecture." A scene in the second act is thus opened by Infidelitas.—"Post cantionem, Infidelitas alta voce dicat, Oremus. Omnipotens sempiterna Deus, qui ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram formasti laicos, da, quæsumus, ut sicut eorum sudoribus vivimus, ita eorum uxoribus, filiabus, et domicellis perpetuo frui mereamur, per dominum nostrum Papam."

¹ [See Harleian Miscell. (1808), vol. i.—*Park*.]

² At the end is *A Song of Benediculus*, compiled by Johan Bale.

³ [The first edition, which was unknown to Warton, was evidently printed abroad. There is no place or printer's name: on the title page occurs: "Compyled by Johan Bale. Anno Domini, M.D. xxxvjiii."]

Bale, a clergyman, and at length a bishop in Ireland, ought to have known, that this profane and impious parody was more offensive and injurious to true religion than any part of the missal which he means to ridicule. Infidelity then begins in English verse a conversation with Lex Moyses, containing the most low and licentious obscenity, which I am ashamed to transcribe, concerning the words of a Latin *anteme*, between an old "fryre," or friar, with spectacles on "hys nose," and dame Isabel an old nun, who crows like a capon. This is the most tolerable part of Infidelity's dialogue. Signat. C iijj.

It was a good world, when we had sech wholsome storyes
Preached in our churche, on sondayes and other feryes ;

With us was it merye
When we went to Berye,
And to our Lady of Grace :
To the Bloud of Hayles
Where no good chere fayles,
And other holye place.

When the prests myght walke,
And with yonge wyves talke,
Then had we chyldren plentye ;
Then cuckoldes myght leape
A score on a heape,
Now is there not one to twentye.

When the monkes were fatte, &c.

In another place the old philosophy is ridiculed. Signat. E v.
Where Hypocrisy says,

And I wyll rays up in the unyversitees
The seven sleepers there, to advance the popes decrees :
As Dorbel, and Duns, Durande, and Thomas of Aquyne,
The Maistre of Sentens, with Bachon the great devyne :
Henricus de Gandavo : and these shall read *ad Clerum*
Aristotle and Albert *de secretis mulierum* ;
With the commentaries of Avicen and Averoyes, &c.

Our author, in his *Vocacyon to the Bishoprick of Ossory*, informs us that his Comedy of *John the Baptist* and his Tragedy of *God's Promises* were acted by the youths upon a Sunday at the market cros of Kilkenny.¹ What shall we think of the state, I will not say of the stage, but of common sense, when these deplorable dramas could be endured of an age when the Bible was profaned and ridiculed from a principle of piety? He is said by himself to have written a book of hymns and another of jests and tales, and to have translated the tragedy of *Pammachius*,² the same perhaps which was acted at Christ's College in Cambridge in 1544, and afterwards laid before the privy council as a libel on the reformation.³ A low vein of abusive burlesque, which had more virulence than humour, seems to have been one of Bale's talents: two of his pamphlets against the papists, all of whom he considered as monks, are entitled

¹ Fol. 24. [Still acted at the market-cros of Bury, but not on a Sunday.—*Ashty* (1824).]

² Cent. viii. p. 702. And Verheiden, p. 149.

³ Bale says, "Pammachii tragœdias transfuli."

the *Mafs of the Gluttons*, and the *Alcoran of the Prelates*. Next to expofing the impoftures of popery, literary hiftory was his favourite purfuit : and his moft celebrated performance is his account of the Britifh writers. But this work, perhaps originally undertaken by Bale as a vehicle of his sentiments in religion, is not only full of mifrepresentations and partialities arifing from his religious prejudices, but of general inaccuracies proceeding from negligence or mifinformation. Even thofe more ancient lives which he tranfcribes from Leland's commentary on the fame fubject, are often interpolated with falfe facts, and impertinently marked with a mifapplied zeal for reformation. He is angry with many authors, who flourifhed before the thirteenth century, for being catholics. He tells us that Lord Cromwell frequently fcreened him from the fury of the more bigoted bifhops, on account of the comedies he had published.¹ But whether plays in particular or other compofitions are here to be underftood by comedies, is uncertain.

Brian Anslay, or Annelley, yeoman of the wine cellar to Henry the Eighth about the year 1520, tranflated a popular French poem into Englifh rhymes, at the exhortation of the gentle earl of Kent, called the [*boke of the Cyte of Ladyes*],² in three books. It was printed in 1521 by Henry Pepwell, whole prologue prefixed begins with thefe unpromifing lines :—

So now of late came into my cuftode
This forfeyde book, by Brian Anslay,
Yeoman of the feller with the eight king Henry.

Another tranflator of French into Englifh, much about the fame time, is Andrew Chertsey. [In 1508 had appeared, *The paffion of our lord iefu chryfte, wythe the contemplatiōs. Her begynnythe ye paffion of dar feygneur, Iefu chryfte from ye refuscytaciō of lazarus, and to thende tranflatet out of frēche ynto englyfche, the yer of dar lorde. M.v.c. viij.* This was printed apparently abroad at the request of Henry the Seventh, and in 1520 another version, perhaps founded on this which was very rude and inexact, was made by Andrew Chertsey (as it is fupposed), and divided into four-and-twenty chapters, each of which has verfes by Robert Copland who, at the end, added an *Invocation* in thirty eight-line ftanzas. The work is in verfe and profe, and was printed by W. de Worde in 1521 and 1532.]³ I will give two ftanzas of Robert Copland's prologue, as it records the diligence, and fome other performances, of this [moft indefatigable and prolific] writer :—⁴

The godly vfe of prudent wytted men
Cannot abfteyn theyr auneyent exercife.
Reorde of late how befyly with his pen
The tranflator of the fayd treatyfe

¹ "Ob editas Comœdias." *Ubi fupr.*

² [Mr. Ellis conjectures this to be a tranflation of the "Trefor de la Cité des Dames," by Chriftine de Pife. Hift. Sketch, vol. ii. p. 20.—*Park.*]

³ [The beft account of Robert Copland's works will be found in *Remains of the Early Pop. Poetry of England*, vol. iv. pp. 20-22.]

⁴ [See *Remains of Early Popular Poetry of England*, vol. iv. pp. 17-22, and *Handb. of E. E. Lit. Art. COPLAND.*]

Hath him indeaured, in most godly wyfe,
 Bokes to translate, in volumes large and fayre,
 From French in prose, of goostly examplayre.
 As is the *floure of Gods commaundements*,
 A treatyse also called *Lucydarye*,
 With two other of the *seuyn sacraments*,
 One of *cristen men the ordinary*,
 The seconde *the craft to lyue well and to dye*.
 With dyuers other to mannes lyfe profytable,
 A vertuose use and ryght commendable.

The *Floure of Gods Commaundements* was printed in 1521. A print of the [translator's] arms, with the name Chertsey, is added. The *Lucydarye* is translated from a favourite old French poem called *Li Lusidaire*. This is a translation of the *Elucidarium*, a large work in dialogue, containing the sum of Christian theology, by some attributed to Anselm Archbishop of Canterbury in the twelfth century.¹ Chertsey's other versions, mentioned in Copland's prologue, are from old French manuals of devotion, now equally forgotten. Such has been the fate of volumes fair and large! Some of these versions have been given to George Ashby, clerk of the signet to Margaret, queen of Henry the Sixth, who wrote a moral poem for the use of their son Prince Edward on the Active policy of a prince, finished in the author's eightieth year. The prologue begins with a compliment to "Maisters Gower, Chaucer, and Lydgate," a proof of the estimation which that celebrated triumvirate still continued to maintain. I believe it was never printed. But a copy, with a small mutilation at the end, remains among Bishop More's manuscripts at Cambridge.²

In the dispersed library of the late Mr. William Collins, I saw a thin folio of two sheets in black letter, containing a poem in the octave stanza, entitled *Fabyls Ghoſte*, printed by John Raftell in the year 1533. The piece is of no merit; and I should not perhaps have mentioned it, but as the subject serves to throw light on our early drama. Peter Fabell, whose apparition speaks in this poem, was called The Merry Devil of Edmonton, near London. He lived in the reign of Henry the Seventh, and was buried in the church of Edmonton. Weever says that in [Edmonton] church "lieth interred vnder a seemlie Tombe without Inſcription, the body of Peter Fabell (as the report goes) vpon whom this fable was fathered, that he by his wittie deuises beguiled the deuill: belike he was some ingenious conceited gentleman, who did vse some sleightie trickes for his owne diſports. He liued and died in the raigne of *Henry* the seuenth, saith the booke of his merry pranks."³ The book of Fabell's *Merry Pranks* I have never seen. But there is an old anonymous comedy, written in the reign of James the First, which took its rise

¹ [The Harleian catalogue mentions "A Lytell Treatyſe, intytuled or named the *Lucydary*, good and profitable for every well-diſpoſed perſon." Printed by W. Caxton, without date, 4to. A later edit. by W. de Worde is in the Britiſh Muſeum.]

² MSS. More, 492. It begins, "Right (high) and myghty prince and my ryght good lorde."

³ *Ancient Funerall Monuments*, 1631, p. 534.

from this merry magician. It was printed in [1608,] and is called the *Merry Devil of Edmonton*. In the Prologue Fabell is introduced, reciting his own history:¹

Tis Peter Fabell a renowned scholler,
Whose fame hath still bene hitherto forgot
By all the writers of this latter age.
In Middle-sex his birth, and his abode,
Not full seauen mile from this great famous citty :
That, for his fame in flights and magicke won,
Was cald the Merry Fiend of Edmonton.
If any heere make doubt of such a name,
In Edmonton yet fresh vnto this day,
Fixt in the wall of that old ancient church
His monument remaineth to be seene :
His memory yet in the mouths of men,
That whilst he liu'd he could deceiue the deuill.
Imagine now, that whilst he is retirde,
From Cambridge backe vnto his natieue home,
Suppose the silent fable visag'd night
Casts her blacke curtaine ouer all the world,
And whilst he sleepes within his silent bed,
Toyl'd with the studies of the passed day :
The very time and howre wherein that spirite
That many yeares attended his command,
And oftentimes 'twixt Cambridge and that towne
Had in a minute borne him through the ayre,
By composition 'twixt the fiend and him,
Comes now to claime the scholler for his due.
Behold him here laid on his restlesse couch, [draw the curtain.
His fatall chime prepared at his head,
His chamber guarded with these fable flights,
And by him stands that necromantick chaire,
In which he makes his direfull inuocations,
And binds the fiends that shall obey his will.
Sit with a pleased eye, vntill you know
The commicke end of our sad tragique show.

The play is without absurdities, and the author was evidently an attentive reader of Shakespeare. It has nothing, except the machine of the chime, in common with *Fabyl's Ghost*. Fabell is mentioned in our chronicle-histories, and, from his dealings with the devil, was commonly supposed to be a friar.²

In the year 1537, Wilfrid Holme, a gentleman of Huntington in Yorkshire, wrote a poem called *The Fall and evil Success of Rebellion*. It is a dialogue between England and the author, on the commotions raised in the northern counties on account of the reformation in 1537, under Cromwell's administration. It was printed in [1572 and again in 1573]. Alliteration is here carried to the most ridiculous excess: and from the constraint of adhering inviolably to an identity of initials, from an affectation of coining prolix words from the Latin, and from a total ignorance of prosodical harmony, the

¹ [Dodsley's *Old Plays*, edit. 1825, v. pp. 223-4.]

² See also Norden's *Speculum Britanniae*, written [before] 159[3]. Middlesex, p. 18. And Fuller's *Worthies*, p. 186; edit. 1662.

author has produced one of the most obscure, rough, and unpleasing pieces of versification in our language. He seems to have been a disciple of Skelton. The poem, probably from its political reference, is mentioned by Holinshed.¹ Bale, who overlooks the author's poetry in his piety, thinks he has learnedly and perspicuously discussed the absurdities of Popery.

One Charles Bansley, about the year [1550] wrote a [*Treatyse shewing and Declaring the Pryde and Abuse of Women now a dayes.*²] I know not if the first line will tempt the reader to see more :

Bo pepe, what have we spyed !

Of equal reputation is Christopher Goodwin, who wrote the *Maydens Dreame*, a vision without imagination, printed in 1542,³ and *The Chance of the dolorous Lover*, a lamentable story without pathos, printed in 1520.⁴ With these two may be ranked [Thomas] Feylde or Field, author of *A Contrauerfye bytwene a Lover and a Faye*.⁵ The prologue begins

Thoughe laureate poetes in olde antyquyte.

One John Hooker, fellow of Magdalene College, Oxford, in 1535 wrote a comedy called by Wood *Piscator, or The Fisher caught*.⁶ But as latinity seems to have been his object, I suspect this comedy to have been in latin, and to have been acted by the youth of his college.

The fanaticisms of chemistry seem to have remained at least till the dissolution of the monasteries. [Miles] Blomefield, otherwise Rattlefden, born [in 1525] at Bury in Suffolk, bachelor in physic and a monk of Bury-abbey, was an adventurer in quest of the philosopher's stone. While a monk of Bury, as I presume, he wrote a metrical chemical tract, entitled *Blomefield's Blossoms, or the Campe of Philosophy*. It is a vision, and in the octave stanza. It [is erroneously said to have been] originally written in the year 1530, [in] a manuscript that I have seen : but in the copy printed by Ashmole,⁷ which has some few improvements and additional stanzas, our author says he began to dream in 1557.⁸ He is admitted into the camp of philosophy by Time, through a superb gate which has twelve locks. Just within the entrance were assembled all the true philosophers from Hermes and Aristotle down to Roger Bacon and the canon of Bridlington. Detached at some distance, appear those unskilful but specious pre-

¹ Chron. iii. p. 978.

² [Reprinted entire in *Rem. of the E. P. P. of England*, vol. iv.]

³ In 4to. Pr. "Behold you young ladies of high parentage."

⁴ In 4to. Pr. "Upon a certain tyme as it befell."

⁵ [Twice printed by W. de Worde, without date, 4to.]

⁶ *Ath. Oxon.* i. 60. [Warton, who mentions the Tragedy of *Dido* by John Rightwile elsewhere, introduced it over again here as the production of Edward Halliwell, on the unsupported testimony of Hatcher. See Dyce's *Marlowe*, 1850, vol. i. p. xli.]

⁷ [He was the son of John and Anne Bloomfield of that place. See Sir F. Madden's edit. of *Gesta Romanorum*, 1838, xvi.]

⁸ See Stanz. 5.

⁹ See Ashmole's *Theatrum Chemicum*, pp. 305. 478.

tenders to the transmutation of metals, lame, blind, and emaciated, by their own pernicious drugs and injudicious experiments, who defrauded King Henry the Fourth of immense treasures by a counterfeit elixir. Among other wonders of this mysterious region, he sees the tree of philosophy, which has fifteen different buds, bearing fifteen different fruits. Afterwards Blomefield, turning Protestant, did not renounce his chemistry with his religion, for he appears to have dedicated to Queen Elizabeth another system of occult science, entitled, *The Rule of Life, or the fifth Essence*, with which her majesty must have been highly edified.¹

Although Lord Surrey and some others so far deviated from the dulness of the times, as to copy the Italian poets, the same taste does not seem to have uniformly influenced all the nobility of the court of King Henry the Eighth, who were fond of writing verses. Henry Parker, Lord Morley, who died an old man in the latter end of that reign, was educated in the best literature which our universities afforded. Bale mentions his *Tragedies and Comedies*, which I suspect to be nothing more than grave mysteries and moralities, and which probably would not now have been lost, had they deserved to live. He mentions also his *Rhymes*, which I will not suppose to have been imitations of Petrarch.² Wood says, that "his younger years were adorned with all kinds of superficial learning, especially with dramatic poetry, and his elder with that which was divine."³ It is a stronger proof of his piety than his taste, that he sent, as a new year's gift to the Princess Mary, Hampole's *Commentary upon the seven penitential Psalms*. The manuscript, with his epistle prefixed, is in the royal manuscripts of the British Museum.⁴ Many of Morley's translations, being dedicated either to King Henry the Eighth, or to the Princess Mary, are preserved in manuscript in the same royal repository.⁵ They are chiefly from Solomon, Seneca, Erasmus, Athanasius, Anselm, Thomas Aquinas, and Paulus Jovius. The authors he translated show his track of reading. But we should not forget his attention to the classics, and that he translated also Tully's *Dream of Scipio*, and three or four lives of Plutarch, although not immediately from the Greek.⁶ He seems to have been a rigid Catholic, retired and studious. His declaration or paraphrase on the ninety-fourth Psalm was printed in 1539. A theological commentary by a

¹ MSS. More, autograph. 430. Pr. "Althoughe, most redoubted, suffran lady." See Fox, *Martyr*. i. p. 479. [Blomefield was not a very old man when Elizabeth came to the throne. The *Book of Quinte Essence, or the fifth Being*, edited by Mr. Furnivall, 1866, is a different production altogether, and is in prose. See Ritson's *Bibl. Poet.* pp. 133-4.]

² *Script. Brit.* par. p. ft. 103.

³ *Ath. Oxon.* vol. i. p. 52.

⁴ MSS. 18, B. xxi. [This MS. contains a Commentary, *not* on the Seven Penitential Psalms, but on the first seven and part of the eighth Psalm. There is no Epistle of Lord Morley prefixed, and no evidence that it was presented to the Princess Mary — *Madden*.]

⁵ But see MSS. Gresham. 8.

⁶ See MSS. (Bibl. Bodl.) Laud. H. 17. MSS. Bibl. Reg. 17 D 2.—17 D xi.—18 A ix. [See also Wood's *Ath. Oxon.* by Bliss, vol. i. col. 117.]

lord was too curious and important a production to be neglected by our [early] printers.

[It is singular that Warton (or at least his editors) should not have been aware, that Lord Morley executed a translation of Boccaccio *de præclaris mulieribus*, which he dedicated to Henry VIII., and which has never been published;¹ also one of the *Triumphs of Petrarch*, published about 1555, at the end of which we have a version of *Vyrgyll* in his *Epigrammes of Cupide and Drunkenesse* and his own Epitaph in Latin. Among the Ashmole MSS. are two poems from his pen, *Henry Lorde Morley to his posterity*, and *All men they do wysse unto them selfe all Good*. The former has been printed in the last volume of the *British Bibliographer*. Moreover, at the end of his translation of Turrecremata's *Exposition of the 39th Psalm*, are some sonnets rendered from *Maphei Vegio*.]

SECTION XLII.



JOHN HEYWOOD, commonly called the epigrammatist, was beloved and rewarded by Henry the Eighth for his [musical talents, ready wit, and perhaps his] buffooneries.² At leaving the university, he commenced author, and was countenanced by Sir Thomas More for his facetious disposition. To his talents of jocularly in conversation he joined a skill in music, both vocal and instrumental. His merriments were so irresistible, that they moved even the rigid muscles of Queen Mary; and her sullen solemnity was not proof against his songs, his rhymes, and his jests.³ He is said to have been

¹ [Heber's MSS. No. 340, folio upon vellum. A specimen of it was furnished by Waldron in his *Literary Museum*, 1789.]

² [From having been termed *civis Londinensis* by Bale, he has been considered as a native of London by Pitts, Fuller, Wood, Tanner, and by the editors of the *New. Biog. Dict.* in 1798. Langbaine, and after him Gildon, conveyed the information that he had lived at North Mims, Herts; and Mr. Reed has followed up this report in *Biog. Dram.* by saying he was *born* there. That North Mims had been the place of his residence may be deduced from the following lines in *Thalias Banquet*, 1620, by Hen. Peacham:

"I thinke the place that gave me first my birth,
The genius had of epigram and mirth;
There famous More did his Utopia write,
And there came Heywoods Epigrams to light."—*Park.*]

"North Mimmes in Herts, neere to Saint Albans." Sir Thomas More must have had a seat in that neighbourhood, says Berkenhout. His admiration of Heywood's repartees is noticed in Dod's *Church History*, vol. i. p. 369.

³ [One of these is preserved in Cotton MS. Jul. F. x. "When Queene Mary tolde Heywoode that the priestes must forego their wives, he merrily answered: Then your grace must allow them *lemmans*, for the clergie cannot live without *sauc*." Another is recorded by Puttenham in his *Arte of English Poesie*, 1589.

often invited to exercise his arts of entertainment and pleasantries in her presence, and to have had the honour to be constantly admitted into her privy-chamber for this purpose.¹

Notwithstanding his professional dissipation, Heywood appears to have lived comfortably under the smiles of royal patronage.

His comedies, [all] of which appeared before the year [1550], are destitute of plot, humour or character, and give us no very high opinion of the festivity of this agreeable companion. They consist of low incident, and the language of ribaldry. But perfection must not be expected before its time. He is called our first writer of comedies. But those who say this speak without determinate ideas, and confound comedies with moralities and interludes. We will allow that he is among the [earliest] of our dramatists who drove the Bible from the stage, and introduced representations of familiar life and popular manners. These are the titles of his plays. [*The play called the foure P. P. The play of Love* (of which no copy having the title-page has been yet found). *The play of the Wether*, 1533. *A merry Play between the Pardoner and the frere*, 1533. *Of Gentylnes and nobyltye. The merry play between Johan the husband, Tyb his wife, and Syr Jhan the preeft*, 1533. *A Dyalogue of Wit and Folly*.]

His epigrams, six hundred in number,² are probably some of his [own and other people's] jokes verified; and perhaps were often extemporaneous sallies, made and repeated in company.³ Wit and

"At the Duke of Northumberland's board, merry John Heywood was allowed to sit at the table's end. The duke had a very noble and honorable mynde alwayes to pay his debts well, and when he lacked money, would not stick to sell the greatest part of his plate: so had he done few dayes before. Heywood being loth to call for his drinke so oft as he was dry, turned his eye toward the cupbord and sayd, 'I finde great misse of your graces standing cups:' the duke thinking he had spoken it of some knowledge that his plate was lately sold, said somewhat sharply, 'Why, sir, will not these cups serve as good a man as your selfe?' Heywood readily replied, 'Yes, if it please your grace: but I would have one of them stand still at myne elbow full of drinke, that I might not be driven to trouble your men so often to call for it.' This pleasant and speedy turn of the former wordes holpe all the matter againe, whereupon the duke became very pleasaunt and drank a bolle of wine to Heywood, and bid a cuppe should alwayes be standing by him," p. 231. Pitts has related an extraordinary instance of his death-bed waggery, which seems to vie in merriment with the scaffold jests of Sir Thomas More in *articulo mortis*.—Park.]

¹ Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* i. 150.

² [Gabriel Harvey, in a note on *Speght's Chaucer* (penes Bp. Percy), says that some of Heywood's epigrams are supposed to be conceits and devices of pleasant Sir Thomas More. Heath well observed, in his first *Century of Epigrams*, 1610, that

"Heywood the old English epigrammatist
Had wit at will, and art was all he mist:
But now adaies we of the modern frie
Have art and labour with wits penurie."

Puttenham had some time before remarked with critical discrimination, that "Heywood came to be well benefited for the myrth and quiknesse of his conceits, more than for any good learning which was in him." *Art of Eng. Poesie*.—Park.]

³ [His epigrams appear to have been first printed together in 1562; but see *Handb. of E. E. Lit.*, art. HEYWOOD, and Dyce's *Skelton*, ii. 277. The biblio-

humour are ever found in proportion to the progress of politeness. The miserable drolleries and the contemptible quibbles with which these little pieces are pointed, indicate the great want of refinement, not only in the composition, but in the conversation of our ancestors. This is a specimen, on a piece of humour of Wolsey's Fool: *A saying of Patch¹ my lord cardinals foole*:

Maister Sexten, a parson of knowne wit,
As he at my lord Cardinals boord did sit,
Gredily raught at a goblet of wyne:
Drinke none (said my lord) for that fore leg of thine:
I warrant your grace (quoth Sexten) I provide
For my leg: For I drinke on the tother side.²

The following is rather a humorous tale than an epigram, yet with an epigrammatic turn:

Although that foxes haue bene seene there feelde,
Yet was there lately in Fynsbury feelde
A foxe sate in fyght of certayne people,
Noddyng, and blyssyng, staryng on poules steeple.
A maide toward market with hens in a band
Came by, and with the fox she fell in hand
What thing is it, Rainard, in your brain ploddyng,
That bringeth this busy blissing and noddyng?
I nother nod for sleepe, sweete herte, the foxe sayde,
Nor blisse for spirites, excepte the diuell be a mayde:
My noddyng and blyssyng breedth of wonder
Of the witte of poules wethercocke yonder.
There is more witte in that cocks onely head
Than hath bene in all mens heades that be deade.
As thus, by common reporte we fynde,
All that be dead, did die for *lacke of wynde*:
But the wethercocks witte is not so weake
To *lacke wynde*: the *wynde is euer in his beake*.
So that while any wynde blowth in the skie,
For *lacke of winde* that wethercocke will not die.
She cast downe hir hennes, and now did she blis,
Iesu (quoth she) *in nomine patris*,
Who hath euer heard at any season
Of a foxes forgeyng so feat a reason?
And while she preyed the foxes wit so,
He gat her hens in his necke and to go.
Whither awaie with my hens, foxe? quoth she.
To poules pig as fast as I can (quoth he).
Betwene these hennes and yonder wethercock
I will affaie to haue chickens a flock.
Whiche if I may get, this tale is made goode,
In all Christendome not so *wyse a broode*!

Another is on *Wagging of beardes*:

graphy of Heywood's works, in all the preceding editions of Warton, was so confused and faulty, as to need entire recontruction.]

¹ The real name of Patch, Wolsey's Fool.

² [When Sir Thomas More had resigned the Chancellorship, he gave his fool Paterfon to the Lord Mayor of London upon this condition, that he should every year wait on him who succeeded to the office. See More's *Life of Sir Thomas More*, p. 108.—*Park*.]

It is mery in hall, when beardes wagge all.

Husband, for this thes woordes to minde I call :
This is ment by men in their mery eatyng,
Not to wag their beardes in brawlyng or threatyng :
Wyfe, the meaning herof differth not twoo pins;
Betweene waggyng of mens beardes and womens chins.

On the fashion of wearing *Verdingales*, or farthingales.

Alas poore verdingales must lie in the streete,
To house them no doore in the citee made meete.
Syns at our narrow doores they in can not win,
Send them to Oxforde, at Brodegates to get in.

Our author was educated at Broadgate Hall in Oxford, so called from an uncommonly wide gate or entrance, and since converted into Pembroke College. These epigrams are mentioned in Wilfon's *Rhetorike*, published in 1553.¹

Another of Heywood's works is a poem in long verse, entitled *A Dialogue contayning in effect the number of al the Proverbes in the English tongue compact in a matter concerning two marriages*.² The first edition I have seen is dated 1547.³ All the proverbs of the English language are here interwoven into a very silly comic tale.

The lady of the story, an old widow⁴ now going to be married again, is thus described, with some degree of drollery, on the bridal day :

¹ ["The English proverbes gathered by Ihon Heiwoode helpe well in this behaulfe (allegory), the whiche commonlie are nothyng els but allegories and darke devised sentences," fol. 90, a. Again, "for furnishing similitudes the proverbes of Heiwoode helpe wonderfull wele for thys purpose," fol. 96, b.—*Park.*]

² [The following anecdote relating to this work has been transmittted among some "witty aunsweres and saiengs of Englishmen" in Cotton MS. Jul. F. x. "William Paulett, Marques of Wyncheester and highe treasurer of Engelande, being presented by John Heywoode with a booke, asked him what yt conteyned? and when Heywoode told him 'All the proverbes in Englishe.'—'What, all?' quoth my Lorde; 'No, *Bate me an ace, quoth Bolton,*' is that in youre booke?' 'No, by my faith, my Lorde, I thinke not,' answered Heywoode." [This anecdote is usually related of Queen Elizabeth and Heywood.] But the neatest replication of this professed court-wit seems to be recorded in *Camden's Remaines*, 1605, p. 234. Heywood being asked by Queen Mary "What wind blew him to the court?" he answered, "Two specially: the one to see your Majestie." "We thank you for that," said the Queen; "but, I pray you, what is the other?" "That your Grace," said he, "might see me."—*Park.*]

³ [The Duke of Roxburghe appears to have possessed a 4to edit. of 1546. There were certainly others in 1561, 1562, 1566, 1576, 1587, and 1598. The foregoing extracts have been collated with the text of 1562.]

⁴ [Davies of Hereford, in his *Scourge of Folly*, about 1611, printed a *Descant upon English proverbes*, and exhibited with a retrograde taste not only the manner, but the dull rhymth (?) of his precursor, in the following metrical address:

"TO OLD JOHN HEYWOOD THE EPIGRAMMIST.

"Olde Heywood have with thee in *his od vaine*
That yet with bookfellers as new doth remaine.
New poets sing riming, but thy rymes advance
Themselves in light measures: for thus they doe dance.
Ile gather some proverbes thou gatherdst before,
To descant upon them as thou didst of yore," &c.—*Park.*]

In this late olde wydow, and than olde new wyfe,
Age and appetite fell at a stronge stryfe.
 Her lust was as yonge as her lymis were olde.
 The daie of hir weddyng, like one to be folde,
 She set out hir selfe in fyne apparell:
 She was made lyke a beere pot or a barell.
 A crooked hooked nose, beetyl browde, blere eyde,
 Many men wishte for beautifying that bryde.
 Hir waste to be gyrde in, and for a boone grace,
 Some well fauourd vyfor on hir yll fauourd face;
 But with visorlyke visage, suche as it was,
 She smirkt and she smylde, but so lipped this las,
 That folke might haue thought it doune onely alone
 Of wantonneffe, had not hir teeth beene gone.
 Vpright as a candle standth in a socket,
 Stood she that daie, *so sempre de cocket.*¹
 Of auncient fathers she tooke no cure nor care,
 She was to them *as key as a crokers mare.*
 She tooke thentertainment of the yong men
 All in daliaunce, *as nice as a nuns hen.*²
 I suppose that daie hir eares might well glow,
 For all the towne talkt of her hy and low.
 One faide a wel fauourd olde woman thee is:
 The diuell thee is, faide another: and to this
 In came the thyrde *with his v. egges*, and sayde,
 Fyfty yere ago I knew hir a trym mayde.
 What euer she were than (sayd one) she is nowe
 To become a bryde *as meete as a fowe*
To beare a saddle. She is in this mariage
As comely as is a cowe in a cage.
Gup with a galde back, Gill, come vp to supper.
What, mine olde mare woulde haue a new crouper.
 And now mine olde hat must haue a new band, &c.

The work has its value and curiosity as a repertory of proverbs made at so early a period. Nor was the plan totally void of ingenuity, to exhibit these maxims in the course of a narrative enlivened by facts and circumstances. It certainly was susceptible of humour and invention.

The following stanzas, [now ascertained to have been written by John Heywood,³ and inserted in *Tottel's Miscellany*, 1557, anonymously,] have that elegance which results from simplicity. The compliments are such as would not disgrace the gallantry or the poetry of a polished age. The thoughts support themselves, without the aid of expression and the affectations of language. This is a negligence, but it is a negligence produced by art. Here is an effect obtained, which it would be vain to seek from the studied ornaments of style:

¹ [See Dyce's *Skelton*, ii. p. 160. Mr. Dyce seems to incline to the explanation given by Nares in his *Glossary*, 1822: "Quasi simpering coquette." See two epigrams by Harington on the Heywoods, *infra*.]

² An admirable proverbial simile. It is used in Wilson's *Arte of Rhetorike*, "I knewe a priest that was *as nice as a Nunnes Hen*, when he would say masse he would never saie *Dominus Vobiscum*, but *Dominus Vobicum*." fol. 112, a, edit. 1567. [But see *English Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases*, 1869, p. 49.]

³ *A Description of a most noble Ladye (Queen Mary)*, aduiewed by John Heywoode.—Harl. MS., 1703.

Giue place, you Ladies and be gon,
Boast not your felues at all;
For here at hande approacheth one,
Whose face will staine you all.

The vertue of her liuely lokes
Excels the precious stone;
I wishe to haue none other bokes
To read or loke vpon.

In eche of her two cristall eyes,
Smileth a naked boye:
It would you all in hart suffice
To see that lamp of ioye.

I thinke nature hath lost the moulde
Where she her shape did take;
Or els I doubt if nature could
So faire a creature make. . . .

In life she is Diana chaste,
In trouth Penelopey;
In word and eke in dede stedfast.
What will you more we sey?

If all the world were sought so farre,
Who could finde such a wight?
Her beuty twinkleth like a starre
Within the frosty night.

Her rosiall colour comes and goes
With such a comely grace,
More redier too then doth the rose
Within her liuely face.

At Bacchus feaste none shall her mete,
Ne at no wanton play,
Nor gasing in an open strete,
Nor gadding as a stray.

The modest mirth that she dothe vse
Is mixt with shamefastnesse;
All vice she dothe wholly refuse,
And hateth yllenesse.

O lord, it is a world to see
How vertue can repaire
And decke in her such honestie,
Whom nature made so fayre! . . .

How might I do to get a graffe
Of this unspotted tree?
For all the rest are plaine but chaffe,
Which seme good corne to be.¹

Heywood's largest and most laboured performance is the *Spider and the Flie*, with wooden cuts, printed at London in 1556. It is a very long poem in the octave stanza, containing ninety-eight chapters. Perhaps there never was so dull, so tedious and trifling an apologue; without fancy, meaning, or moral.² A long tale of ficti-

¹ [The exordium, if not the general tone of this piece, was probably suggested by Surrey's lines printed at p. 33 *supra*. It is not quite certain that Warton would have formed and expressed so favourable an estimate of this very dull and fulsome encomium on Mary, if he had been aware, to whom it was meant to apply.]

² [Mr. Ellis, in his *Historical Sketch of English Poetry*, &c. chap. xvi. has pronounced this parabolic tale "utterly contemptible;" but he has extracted two specimens from the First Century of Heywood's *Epigrams*, which certainly possess

tious manners will always be tiresome, unless the design be burlesque ; and then the ridiculous, arising from the contrast between the solemn and the light, must be ingeniously supported. Our author seems to have intended a fable on the burlesque construction ;¹ but we know not, when he would be serious and when witty, whether he means to make the reader laugh or to give him advice. We must indeed acknowledge that the age was not yet sufficiently refined either to relish or to produce burlesque poetry.² Harrison, the author of the *Description of Britaine*, prefixed to Holinshed's Chronicle, has left a sensible criticism on this poem. "One also hath made a booke of the *Spider and the Flie*, wherein he dealeth so profoundlie, and beyond all measure of skill, that neither he himselfe that made it, neither anie one that readeth it, can reach vnto the meaning therof."³ It is a proof of the unpopularity of this poem, that it never was reprinted. Our author's Epigrams and the poem of Proverbs were in high

more true epigrammatic point than those selected by Mr. Warton. The following lines afford the most favourable instance of his verification :

MEASURE.

"Measure is a mery meane,
Which filde with noppie drinke
When mery drinkers drinke of cleane,
Then merly they winke.

OTHERWISE.

Measure is a mery meane,
But I meane measures gret :
Where lippes to litell pitchers leane :
Those lippes they scantly wet.

OTHERWISE.

Measure is a mery meane,
And measure is thy mate ;
To be a deacon or a deane
Thou wouldst not chaunge the state.

OTHERWISE.

Measure is mery meane
In volewmes full or flat,
There is no chapter nor no seane
That thou appliest like that."

Edit. 1562, *ut supr.* *Three Hundred Epigrammes, &c.* No. 128]

¹ [Herbert says : "We are to consider the author here, as he really was, a Catholic ; partial in vindicating the Catholic cause and the administration by Queen Mary, whom he characterizes by the maid, with her broom (the civil sword), executing the commands of her master (Christ) and her mistress (holy church). By the *flies* are to be understood the Catholics ; and by the *spiders*, the Protestants. How justly the characters are supported I have neither leisure nor inclination to examine." MS. note.—*Park*.]

² But I must not forget Chaucer's *Sir Thopas* : and that among the Cotton manuscripts there is an anonymous poem, perhaps coeval with Chaucer, in the style of allegorical burlesque, which describes the power of money with great humour and in no common vein of satire. The hero of the piece is Sir Penny. MSS. Cott. Galba E. 9. [As this is now printed in *Remains of the E. P. P. of England*, i. it would be occupying space uselessly to insert it any longer at large. There is a second MS. of it at Cambridge. (MS. More, 147.)]

³ [Holinshed's *Chronicles*, ed. 1807, i. 385.]

vogue, and had numerous editions before the year 1598.¹ The most lively part of the *Spider and Flie* is perhaps the mock-fight between the spiders and flies, an awkward imitation of Homer's *Batrachomyomachy*. The preparations for this bloody and eventful engagement, on the part of the spiders, in their cobweb castle are thus described :

Behold ! the battilments in every loope :
How th' ordinance lieth, flies far and nere to fack :
Behold how everie peace, that lieth there in groope,
Hath a spider gonner, with redy-fired match.
Behold on the wals, spiders making ware wach :
The wach-spider in the towre a larum to strike,
At aproch of any number shewing warlike.

See th' enprenabill fort, in every border,
How everie spider with his wepon doth stand,
So thorowlie harneft, in so good order :
The capital spider, with wepon in hand,
For that sort of fowdiers so manfully mand,
With cobwebs like casting nets all flies to quell :
My hart shaketh at the sight : behold it is hell !

The beginning of all this confusion is owing to a fly entering the poet's window, not through a broken pane, as might be presumed, but through the lattice, where it is suddenly entangled in a cobweb. The cobweb, however, will be allowed to be sufficiently descriptive of the poet's apartment. But I mention this circumstance as a probable proof that windows of lattice, and not of glafs, were now the common fashion.²

¹ [Or rather, says Herbert, because popery has not since been re-established. MS. note.—*Park*.]

[In that year, or perhaps in 1596, the epigrams of Sir John Davis were printed, and the following lines therein addressed *in Heywoodum* :

"Haywood that did in Epigrams excell
Is now put downe since my light Muse arose,
As buckets are put downe into a well,
Or as a schoole-boy putteth downe his hose."

Ep. 29. [Davies's *Works*, ed. Grosart, p. 333.]

The lightness of Davis's witticisms led to their inhibition in 1599. Baftard in his [*Chrestoleros*, 1598], has two allusions to Heywood; and in some satirical poems published about 1616, I believe by Anton, it is said :

"*Heywood* was held for Epigrams the best
What time old *Churchyard* dealt in verse and prose :
But fashions since are grown out of request
As bombast, doublets, bates and round hose ;
Or as your lady may it now be saide,
That looks lesse lovely than her chambermaide."—*Park*.]

² See his *Epigrammes*. Epig. 82, First Hundred. And Puttenham's *Arte of English Poesie*, lib. i. c. 31, p. 49. One of Heywood's epigrams is descriptive of his life and character. Fiftie Hundred, Epigr. 100 :

"OF HEYWOOD.

"Art thou Heywood with the mad mery wit ?
Ye forsooth, mayster, that same is euen hit.
Art thou Heywood that applyeth mirth more then thrift ?
Ye sir, I take mery mirth a golden gift.

[Besides these more important productions, Heywood wrote several ballads, of which five are extant.¹ One of these was written to celebrate the marriage of Philip and Mary; another in commemoration of the betrayal of Scarborough Castle in 1557; a third is the description of Queen Mary, already referred to.] The ballad on the marriage of Philip and Mary is allegorically figurative, and begins:

The Egles byrde hath spred his wings
And from far of hathe taken flyght,
In whiche meane way by no lourings
On bough or braunch this birde wold light;
Till on the Rose, both red and whight,
He lighteth now most lovinglie
And therto moſte behovinglie.

John Heywood died at Mechlin in Brabant, about the year [1577. In *A Recantation of famous Pasquin of Rome*, 1570, by R. W., he is said to be still living, and in a return of Catholic fugitives,² made January 29, 1576-7, he is included, as if he was supposed or known to be surviving at that date. But he was certainly dead in 1587.³] He was inflexibly attached to the Catholic cause, and on the death of Queen Mary quitted the kingdom. Anthony Wood remarks,⁴ with his usual acrimony, that it was a matter of wonder with many that, considering the great and usual want of principle in the profession, a poet should become a voluntary exile for the sake of religion.

Art thou Heywood that hath made many mad plaies?
Ye many playes, fewe good woorkes in all my daies.
Art thou Heywood that hath made men mery long?
Ye and will, if I be made mery among.
Art thou Heywood that woulde be made mery now?
Ye fir, helpe me to it now I beseeche yow."

In the conclusion to the *Spider and Flie*, Heywood mentions Queen Mary and King Philip. [Mr. Warton must have read the conclusion of Heywood very cursorily, says Herbert, or he would not have been at such a loss for the intention of his poem of the *Spider and the Flie*. Lord Hales pointed out a few lines in *The Evergreen* as the composition of Heywood, but they prove to be one of his epigrams Scotified. See Cent. i. p. 25.—*Park*.]

¹ [*Handb. of E. E. Lit.*, art. HEYWOOD.]

² [*Collier's Bibl. Catalogue*, 1865, i. 39.]

³ [An epilogue or conclusion to the works of Heywood in 1587 by Thomas Newton, the Cheshire poet, thus notices his decease:

"This author *Haywood* dead and gone, and shrinde in tombe of clay,
Bifore his death by penned workes did carefully assay
To builde himselfe a lasting tombe, not made of stone and lyme,
But better farre and richer too, triumphing over Tyme."—*Park*.]

⁴ *Ath. Oxon.* i. 150.

SECTION XLIII.



KNOW not if Sir Thomas More may properly be considered as an English poet. He has, however, left a few obsolete poems, which although without any striking merit, yet, as productions of the restorer of literature in England, seem to claim some notice here.

One of these is, *Amery Gest how a Sergeaunt wolde lerne to be a Frere*.¹ [Few persons will probably agree with Warton that the story is "dull and too long to be told."] But I will cite two or three of the prefatory stanzas :

He that hath laste the Hofiers crafte,
 And falleth to making shone;
 The smythe that shall to payntyng fall,
 His thrift is well nigh done.
 A blacke draper with whyte paper,
 To goe to wrytyng scole,
 An olde butler becum a cutler,
 I wene shall prove a fole.
 And an olde trot, that can, got wot,
 Nothyng but kysse the cup,
 With her phisick will kepe one sicke,
 Till she have soused hym up.
 A man of lawe that neuer sawe
 The wayes to bye and sell,
 Wenying to ryse by marchaundyse,
 I praye God spede hym well!
 A marchaunt eke, that wyll goo seke
 By all the meanes he may,
 To fall in sute tyll he dispute
 His money cleane away;
 Pletying the lawe for every strawe,
 Shall prove a thrifty man,
 With bate and strife, but by my life,
 I cannot tel you whan.
 Whan an hatter wyll go smatter
 In philosophy;
 Or a pedlar waxe a medlar
 In theology.

In these lines, which are intended to illustrate by familiar examples the absurdity of a [tipstaff] assuming the [disguise and air] of a friar, perhaps the reader perceives but little of that festivity, which is supposed to have marked the character and the conversation of Sir Thomas More. The last two stanzas deserve to be transcribed, as they prove that this tale was designed to be sung to music by a minstrel, for the entertainment of company :

[¹ Reprinted in *Remains of the E. P. P. of Engl.*, ii. 119, *et seqq.* It is printed in his *English Works*, 1557.]

Now Masters all, here now I shall
 Ende there as I began ;
 In any wyse, I would avyie,
 And counsayle every man
 His own craft use, all newe refuse,
 And lyghtly let them gone :
 Play not the Frere, Now make good cheere,
 And welcome everychone.

This piece is mentioned, among other popular story-books in 1575, by Laneham, in his [Letter from Kenilworth].

In certain meters, written also in his youth, as a prologue for his *Boke of Fortune*,¹ and forming a poem of considerable length, are these stanzas, which are an attempt at personification and imagery. Fortune is represented sitting on a lofty throne, smiling on all mankind, who are gathered around her, eagerly expecting a distribution of her favours :

Then, as a bayte, she bryngeth forth her ware,
 Silver and gold, riche perle and precious stone ;
 On whiche the mased people gale and stare,
 And gape therefore, as dogges doe for the bone.
 Fortune at them laugheth : and in her trone
 Amyd her treasure and waveryng rycheffe
 Prowdly she hoveth as lady and empresse.

Faith by her syde doth wery Labour stand,
 Pale Fere also, and Sorow all bewept ;
 Disdayn and Hatred, on that other hand,
 Eke restles Watche fro slepe with travayle kept :
 Before her standeth Daunger and Envy,
 Flattery, Dysceyt, Mischiefe, and Tiranny.²

Another of Sir Thomas More's juvenile poems is, *A Rusful Lamentacion on the deth of queene Elizabeth* [mother to King Henry the eight, wife to King Henry the seventh, &c.] It is evidently formed on the tragical soliloquies which compose Lydgate's paraphrase of Boccaccio's book *De Casibus virorum illustrium*, and which gave birth to the *Mirror for Magistrates*, the origin of [some of] our historic dramas. These stanzas are part of the queen's complaint at the approach of death :

Where are our castels now, where are our towers ?
 Goodly Rychemonde, sone art thou gone from me !
 At Westmynstre that costly worke of yours,
 Myne owne dere lorde, now shall I never see !
 Almighty God vouchesafe to graunt that ye
 For you and your children well may edify,
 My palyce byldyd is, and lo now here I ly.³
 Farewell my doughter, lady Margarete !⁴
 God wotte, full oft it greved hath my mynde

¹ [The Boke of the sayre Gentylwoman, that no man shulde put his truste, or confidence in, that is to say, Lady Fortune. Lond. by R. Wyer [circa 1540.] 12mo. Unknown to Warton.]

² Workes, Sign. T vi.

³ King Henry the Seventh's chapel, begun in the year 1502, the year before the queen died.

⁴ Married in 1503 to James the Fourth, King of Scotland.

That ye should go where we should seldome mete,
Now I am gone and have left you behynde.
O mortall folke, that we be very blynde!
That we last feere, full oft it is most nye:
From you depart I must, and lo now here I lye.

Farewell, madame, my lordes worthy mother!¹
Comfort your son, and be ye of good chere.
Take all a worth, for it will be no nother.
Farewell, my doughter Katharine, late the fere
To prince Arthur myne owne chyld so dere.²
It booteth not for me to wepe or cry,
Pray for my soule, for lo now here I ly.

Adew lord Henry, my lovyng sonne adew,³
Our lord encrease your honour and estate.
Adew, my doughter Mary, bright of hew,⁴
God make you vertuous, wyse, and fortunate.
Adew, swete hart; my litle doughter Kate,⁵
Thou shalt, sweete babe, suche is thy destiny,
Thy mother never know, for lo now here I ly.⁶

In the fourth stanza, she reproaches the astrologers for their falsity in having predicted that this should be the happiest and most fortunate year of her whole life. This, while it is a natural reflection in the speaker, is a proof of More's contempt of a futile and frivolous science, then so much in esteem. I have been prolix in my citation from this forgotten poem; but I am of opinion, that some of the stanzas have strokes of nature and pathos, and deserved to be rescued from total oblivion.

More, when a young man, contrived in an apartment of his father's house a *goodly hangyng of fyne paynted clothe*, exhibiting nine pageants or allegoric representations of the stages of man's life, together with the figures of Death, Fame, Time, and Eternity. Under each picture he wrote a stanza. The first is under Childhood, expressed by a boy whipping a top:

I am called CHYLDHOD, in play is all my mynde,
To cast a coyte,⁷ a cockstele,⁸ and a ball;
A toppe can I set, and dryve in its kynde;
But would to God, these hatefull bookes all
Were in a fyre brent to powder small!
Than myght I lede my lyfe alwayes in play,
Which lyfe God sende me to myne endyng day.

Next was pictured Manhood, a comely young man mounted on a

¹ Margaret Countess of Richmond.

² Catharine of Spain, wife of her son Prince Arthur, now dead.

³ Afterwards King Henry the Eighth.

⁴ Afterwards Queen of France. Remarried to Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk.

⁵ The queen died within a few days after she was delivered of this infant, the Princess Catherine, who did not long survive her mother's death.

⁶ Workes, *ut supr.*

⁷ A quoit.

⁸ A stick for throwing at a cock. *Stele* is *handle*.

fleet horse, with a hawk on his fist, and followed by two greyhounds, with this stanza affixed :

MANHOD I am, therefore I me delyght
To hunt and hawke, to nourishe up and fede
The grayhounde to the course, the hawke to th' flyght,
And to bestryde a good and lusty stede ;
These thynges become a very man in dede.
Yet thynketh this boy his pevishe game sweter,
But what, no force, his reason is no better.

The personification of Fame, like Rumour in the chorus to Shakespeare's *Henry the Fifth*, is surrounded with tongues.¹

Tapestry, with metrical legends illustrating the subject, was common in this age : and the public pageants in the streets were often exhibited with explanatory verses. I am of opinion, that the *Comædiolæ*, or little interludes, which More is said to have written and acted in his father's house, were only these nine pageants.

Another juvenile exercise of More in the English stanza, is annexed to his prose translation of the *Life of John Picus Mirandula*, and entitled, "*Twelve Rules of John Picus earle of Mirandula, partly exciting, partly directing a man in spiritual bataile.*"² The old collector of his English works has also preserved two *shorte ballettes*,³ or stanzas, which he wrote for his *pastyme*, while a prisoner in the Tower."⁴

It is not my design, by these specimens to add to the fame of Sir Thomas More, who is revered by posterity as the scholar who taught that erudition which civilized his country, and as the philosopher who met the horrors of the block with that fortitude which was equally free from ostentation and enthusiasm; as the man, whose genius overthrew the fabric of false learning, and whose amiable tranquillity of temper triumphed over the malice and injustice of tyranny.

For the purpose of ascertaining or illustrating the age of pieces

¹ Workes, Sign. C iii.

² These pieces were written in the reign of Henry the Seventh. But as More flourished in the succeeding reign, I have placed them accordingly.

³ Workes, b. iii.

⁴ *Ut supr.* fol. 1432. [These ballads are here given :

"LEWYS THE LOST LOVER.

"Ey, flattering Fortune, loke thou never so fayre,
Or never so plesantly begin to smile,
As though thou wouldst my ruine all repayre,
During my life thou shalt me not begile,
Trust shall I God, to entre in a while
His haven of heaven sure & uniforme,
Ever after thy calme loke I for a storme.

DAVY THE DYCEP.

Long was I, lady Luck, your serving man,
and now have lost agayne all that I gat ;
wherefore, whan I thinke on you nowe & than,
and in my minde remember this & that,
ye may not blame me, though I beshrew your cat :
but, in fayth, I blesse you agayne a thousand times,
for lending me now some layfure to make rymes."—*Park.*]

which have been lately or will be soon produced, I here stop to recall the reader's attention to the poetry and language of the last century, by exhibiting some extracts from the romance of *Ywain and Gawain*, which has some great outlines of Gothic painting, and appears to have been written in the reign of King Henry the Sixth.¹ I premise that but few circumstances happened, which contributed to the improvement of our language, within that and the present period.

The following is the adventure of the enchanted forest attempted by Sir Colgrevice, which he relates to the Knights of the Round Table at Cardiff in Wales.²

A faire forest sone I fand,
Me thoght mi hap thare fel ful hard,
For thar was mani a wilde lebard,
Lions, beres, bath bul and bare,
That rewfully gan rope and rare.
Oway I drogh me, and with that
I saw sone whar a man sat

¹ MSS. Cotton. *Galb.* E. ix. [Ritson considers this MS. to be at least as old as the time of King Richard II. *Obs.* p. 34. The language, he adds, of all the poems in the same MS. is a strong northern dialect, from which it may be inferred that they are the composition of persons, most likely monks, resident in that part of England, where in former times were several flourishing monasteries. *Notes to Met. Romances*, iii. 229.—*Park.* The romance of *Ywaine and Gawaine* has no connection with the personal history of *Sir Gawayne*, and is not included in Sir F. Madden's interesting volume. A Welsh version is in the *Mabinogion*, 1839, i. Sir F. Madden seems to consider that the person most likely to have written the original romance is *Huchowne of the Castle Ryale*, an author who flourished before Wyntown, and is the supposed writer of the *Morte Arthur* preserved at Lincoln.]

² [The present text has been corrected by Mr. Ritson's edition of this romance.—*Price.*

“ King Arthur,
He made a feste, the sothe to say,
Opon the Witsononday,
At Kerdyf, that es in Wales,
And efter mete thar in the hales,
Ful grete and gay was the assemble
Of lordes and ladies of that cuntre.
And als of knightes, war and wyfe,
And damisels of mykel pryfe,
Ilkane with other made grete gamin,
And grete solace, als thai war samin,
Fast thai carped and curtaylli
Of dedes of armes, and of veneri,
And of gude knightes,” &c.

It is a piece of considerable length, and contains a variety of Gest. Sir Ywain is Sir Ewaine, or Owen, in *Morte Arthur*. None of these adventures belong[s] to that romance. But see B. iv. c. 17, 27. etc. The story of the lion and the dragon in this romance is told of a Christian champion in the Holy War by Berchorius, *Reduſtor.* p. 661. See *supr.* vol. i. Dis. on the *Gest. Romanor.* ch. civ. The lion, being delivered from the dragon by Sir Ywain, ever afterwards accompanies and defends him in the greatest dangers. Hence Spenser's Una attended by a lion. *F. Qu.* i. iii. 7. See Sir Percival's lion in *Morte Arthur*, B. xiv. c. 6. The dark ages had many stories and traditions of the lion's gratitude and generosity to man. Hence in Shakespeare, Troilus says, *Tr. and Cress.* act v. sc. iii.

“ Brother, you have a vice of mercy in you
Which better fits a lion than a man.”]

On a lawnd, the fowleſt wight
 That ever yit man ſaw in ſight;
 He was a lathly creatur,
 For fowl he was out of meſur;
 A wonder mace in hand he hade,
 And ſone mi way to him I made;
 His hevyd, me thoght, was als grete
 Als of a rowncy or a nete.
 Unto his belt hang his hare;
 And eſter that byheld I mare,
 To his forhede byheld I than
 Was bradder than twa large ſpan;
 He had eres als ane olyfant,
 And was wele more than geant,
 His face was ful brade and flat,
 His neſe was cutted as a cat,
 His browes war like litel buſkes,
 And his tethe like bare tuſkes;
 A ful grete bulge open his bak,
 Thar was noght made withowten lac;
 His chin was faſt until his breſt,
 On his mace he gan him reſt.
 Alſo it was a wonder wede
 That the cherle yn yede,
 Nowther of wol ne of line
 Was the wede that he went yn.
 When he me ſagh, he ſtode up right,
 I frayned him if he wolde fight,
 For tharto was I in gude will,
 Bot als a beſte than ſtode he ſtill:
 I hopid that he no wittes kowth,
 Ne reſon for to ſpeke with mowth.
 To him I ſpak ful hardily,
 And ſaid, What ertow, belamy?
 He ſaid ogain, I am a man.
 I ſaid, ſwilk als thou her may ſe.
 I ſaid, What doſe thou here allane?
 He ſaid, I kepe thir beſtes ilkane.
 I ſaid, That es mervaile, think me,
 For I herd never of man bot the,
 In wildernes ne in foreſtes,
 That kepeing had of wilde beſtes,
 Bot thai war bunden faſte in halde.
 He ſayd, Of thir es none ſo balde,
 Nowther by day ne by night,
 Anes to pas out of mi ſight.
 I ſayd, How ſo? tel me thi ſcill.
 Per fay, he ſaid, gladly I will.
 He ſaid, In al this fair foreſte
 Es thar non ſo wilde beſte,
 That renin dar, bot ſtil ſtand
 Whan I am to him cumand;
 And ay when that I will him fang
 With my fingers that er ſtrang,
 I ger him cri on ſwilk manere,
 That al the beſtes when thai him here,
 About me than cum thai all,
 And to mi fete faſt thai fall
 On thair maner, merci to cry.
 Bot underſtand now redyli,

Olyve es thar lifand no ma
 Bot I, that durft omang them ga,
 That he ne fold sone be al torent,
 Bot thai er at my comandment ;
 To me thai cum whan I tham call,
 And I am maister of tham all.
 Than he asked onone right,
 What man I was ? I said, A knyght,
 That soght aventurs in that lande,
 My body to asai and fande ;
 And I the pray of thi kownsayle
 Thou teche me to sum mervayle.¹
 He said, I can no wonders tell,
 Bot her bisyde es a Well ;
 Wend theder, and do als I say,
 Thou passes noght al quite oway,
 Folow forth this ilk strete,
 And sone sum mervayles sal thou mete :
 The well es under the fairest Tre
 That ever was in this cuntre ;
 By that Well hinges a Bacyne
 That es of golde gude and fyne,
 With a cheyne, trewly to tell,
 That wil reche in to the Well.
 Thare es a Chapel ner thar by,
 That nobil es and ful lufely :
 By the well standes a Stane,
 Tak the bacyn some onane,
 And cast on water with thi hand,
 And sone thou sal se new tithand :
 A storme sal rise and a tempest,
 Al about, by eft and west,
 Thou sal here mani thonor blast
 Al about the te-blawand fast,
 And there sal cum sek flete and rayne
 That unnese sal you stand ogayne :
 Of lightnes sal you se a lowe,
 Unnethes you sal thi selven knowe ;
 And if thou pas withowten grevance,
 Than has thou the fairest chance
 That ever yit had any knyght,
 That theder come to kyth his myght.
 Than toke I leve, and went my way,
 And rade unto the midday :
 By than I com whare I sold be,
 I saw the Chapel and the Tre :
 Thare I fand the fayrest thorne
 That ever groued sen God was born :
 So thik it was with leves grene
 Might no rayn cum thar bytwene ;
 And that grenes lastes ay,
 For no winter dere yt may.

¹ Tell me of some wonder. So Alexander, in the deserts of India, meets two *old cheurlis*, or churls, from whom he desires to learn—

“ Any merveilles by this wayes,
 That y myȝte do in story,
 That men han in memorie.”

They tell him, that a little farther he will see the Trees of the Sun and Moon, &c.
Geste of Alexander, MS. p. 231.

I fand the Bacyn, als he talde,
 And the Well with water kalde.
 An amerawd was the Stane,
 Richer saw I never nane,
 On fowr rubyces on heght standand,
 Thair light lafted over al the land.
 And whan I saw that femely syght,
 It made me bath joyful and lyght.
 I toke the Bacyn sone onane
 And helt water upon the Stane :
 The weder wex than wonder blak,
 And the thoner fast gan crak ;
 Thar come slike stormes of hayl and rayn,
 Unnethes I might stand thare ogayn :
 The store windes blew ful lowd,
 So kene come never are of clowd.
 I was drevyn with snaw and slete,
 Unnethes I might stand on my fete.
 In my face the levening smate,
 I wend have brent, so was it hate :
 That weder made me so will of rede,
 I hopid sone to have my dede ;
 And fertes, if it lang had laft,
 I hope I had never thethin past.
 But thorgh his might that tholed wownd
 The storme sedef within a stownde :
 Then wex the weder fayr ogayne,
 And tharof was I wonder fayne ;
 For best comforth of al thing
 Es solace after mislykeing.
 Than saw I sone a mery syght,
 Of al the fowles that er in flyght,
 Lighted so thik upon that tre,
 That bogh ne lese none might I se ;
 So merily than gon thai sing,
 That al the wode bigan to ring ;
 Ful mery was the melody
 Of thaire sang and of thaire cry ;
 Thar herd never man none swilk,
 Bot if ani had herd that ilk.
 And when that mery dyn was done,
 Another noyse than herd I sone,
 Als it war of horfimen,
 Mo than owther nyen or ten.
 Sone than saw I cum a knyght,
 In riche armurs was he dight ;
 And sone when I gan on him loke,
 Mi shelde and sper to me I toke.
 That knight to me hied ful fast,
 And kene wordes out gan he cast :
 He bad that I sold tell him tite
 Whi I did him swilk despite,
 With weders wakend him of rest,
 And done him wrang in his Forest ;
 Tharfore, he sayd, Thou sal aby :
 And with that come he egerly,
 And said, I had ogayn relowne
 Done him grete destrucciowne,
 And might it nevermore amend ;
 Tharfor he bad, I sold me fend :

And sone I smate him on the shelde,
 Mi schaft brac out in the felde;
 And then he bar me sone bi strenkith
 Out of my fadel my speres lenkith:
 I wate that he was largely
 By the shuldres mare than I;
 And by the ded that I sal thole,
 Mi stede by his was bot a fole.
 For mate¹ I lay down on the grownde,
 So was I stonayd in that stownde:
 A worde to me wald he noght say,
 Bot toke my stede, and went his way.
 Ffull farly than thare I sat,
 For wa I wist noght what was what:
 With mi stede he went in hy,
 The same way that he come by;
 And I durft folow him no ferr
 For dout me solde bite werr,
 And also yit by Goddes dome,
 I ne wist whar he bycome.
 Than I thought how I had hight,
 Unto myne ofte the hende knyght,
 And also til his lady bryght,
 To come ogayn if that I myght.
 Mine armurs left I thare ylkane,
 For els myght I noght have gane;
 Unto myne in I come by day:
 The hende knyght and the fayre may,
 Of my come war thai ful glade,
 And nobil semblant thai me made;
 In al thinges thai have tham born
 Als thai did the night biforn.
 Sone thai wist whar I had bene,
 And said, that thai had never sene
 Knyght that ever theder come
 Take the way ogayn home.

I add Sir Ywain's achievement of the same Adventure, with its consequences.

When Ywain was withowten town,
 Of his palfray lighted he down,
 And dight him right wele in his wede,
 And lepe up on his gude stede.
 Furth he rade on one right,
 Until it neghed nere the nyght:
 He passed many high mowntayne
 In wildernes, and mony a playne,
 Til he come to that lethir² sty³

¹ Sleep. [He lay as if he had been dead.—*Ritson*.]

² Wicked, bad.

³ That is, the [lane or path.—*Halliwel*.] MSS. Cott. *Calig.* A. 2. fol. 59.

“Messengeres forth he sent
 Aftyr the mayde fayre and gent
 That was bryght as someres day:
 Messengeres dyghte hem in hye,
 With myche myrthe and melodye
 Forth gon they fare
 Both by *stretes* and by *styz*
 Aftyr that fayr lady.”

And again in the same romance.

That him byhoved pass by :
 Than was he seker for to se
 The Wel and the fayre Tre ;
 The Chapel saw he at the last,
 And theder hyed he ful fast.
 More curtayli and more honowr
 Fand he with tham in that towr,
 And mar conforth by mony falde,
 Than Colgrevaunce had him of talde.
 That night was he herberd thar,
 So wel was he never are.
 At morn he went forth by the strete,
 And with the chereel sone gan he mete
 That sold tel to him the way ;
 He sayned him, the sothe to say,
 Twenty sith, or ever he blan,
 Swilk mervayle had he of that man,
 For he had wonder, that nature
 Myght mak so foul a creature.
 Than to the Wel he rade gude pase,
 And down he lighted in that place ;
 And sone the bacyn has he tane,
 And kest water upon the Stane ;
 And sone thar wex withowten fayle
 Wind and thonor, and rayn and haile :
 When it was sefede, than saw he
 The fowles light upon the tre,
 Thai sang ful fayre upon that thorn
 Right als thai had done byforn.
 And sone he saw cumand a knight
 Als fast so the fowl in flyght,
 With rude sembland and sterne chere,
 And hastily he neghed nere ;
 To speke of luf na time was thar,
 For aither hated uther ful far.
 Togeder smertly gan thai drive,
 Thair sheldes sone bigan to ryve,
 Thair shaftes cheverd to thair hand
 Bot thai war bath ful wele syttand.
 Out thai drogh thair swerdes kene,
 And delt strakes tham bytwene ;
 Al to pieces thai hewed thair sheldes,
 The culpons slegh out in the felde.
 On helmes strake thay so with yre,
 At ilka strake out-braff the fyr ;
 Aither of tham gude buffettes bede,
 And nowther wald styf of the stede.
 Ful kenely thai kyd thair myght,
 And feyned tham noght for to fyght :
 Thair hauberkes that men myght ken
 The blode out of thair bodyes ren.
 Aither on other laid so fast,
 The batayl might noght lang last :
 Hauberkes er broken, and helmes reven,
 Stif strakes war thar gyfen ;
 Thai focht on hors stilly always,
 The batel was wele mor to prays ;
 Bot at the last fyr Ywayne
 On his felow kyd his mayne,
 So egerly he smate him than,

He clefe the helme and the hern pan :¹
 The knyght wist he was nere ded,
 To fle than was his best rede ;²
 And fast he fled with al his mayne,
 And fast folow syr Ywayne,
 Bot he ne might him overtake,
 Tharfore grete murning gan he make :
 He folowd him ful stowtlyk,³
 And wald have tane him ded or quik ;
 He folowd him to the cetè,⁴
 Na man lyfand⁵ met he.
 When thai come to the kastel yate,
 In he folowd fast tharate :
 At aither entre was, I wys,
 Straytly wrought a port culis,
 Shod wele with yren and stele,
 And also grunden⁶ wonder wele :
 Under that then was a swyke⁷
 That made syr Ywain to mylike,
 His hors fote toched thare on ;
 Than fel the port culis onone,⁸
 Bytwyx him and his hinder arfown,
 Thorgh fadel and stede it smate al down,
 His spores of his heles it schare :
 Than had Ywayne murnyng mare,
 But so he wend have passed quite,
 That fel the tother bifor al yte.
 A faire grace yit fel him swa,
 Al if it smate his hors in twa,
 And his spors of aither hele,
 That himself passed fo wele.

¹ So in Minot's Poems [ed. 1795, p. 10],

"And sum lay knocked out thaire hernes."

² Counsel.

³ Stoutly.

⁴ City.

⁵ No man living.

⁶ Ground, sharpened.

⁷ Switch, twig. ["Mr. Ritson, who explains 'swyke' a hole, a ditch, has founded it with 'sike' from the Anglo-Saxon *sich*, *fossa*. In the romance of *Richard Cœur de Lion*, we have the same expression applied to a piece of machinery, constructed for a similar purpose, though apparently not of equal ingenuity.

⁸ Under the brygge ther is a *swyke*,

Corven clos, joynand queyntlyke.

Though thou and thy folke were in y^e mydde

And the pyns mete out were,

Down ye scholde fallen there

In a pyt syxty fadome deep.

Therefore beware and take good keep :

At the passyng ovyr the *trappe*,

Many on has had ful evyl happe."—V. 4081.

The only words to be found in Lye's Saxon Dictionary, to which 'swike' might be referred, are *swican*, decipere; *swica*, proditor; and *beswica*, fraus. But in Alfred's translation of *Orosius* we have 'calle the cyningas mid his *swice* of thoh : ' which Mr. Barrington renders, 'flew all the kings by his deceitful arts.'—*Anon.* Mr. Halliwell (*Arch. DiB.* 1847, in v.) queries "a den or cave," which sense would seem to be admissible as a secondary one, the word in its original meaning being equivalent to deceit or concealment.]

⁹ Traps of this kind are not uncommon in romance. Thus Sir Lancelot, walking round the chambers of a strange castle, treads on a board which throws him into a cave twelve fathoms deep. *Mort. Arth.* B. i. xix. ch. vii.

While Sir Ywaine remains in this perilous confinement, a lady looks out of a wicket which opened in the wall of the gateway, and releafes him. She gives him her ring :

I fal lene the her mi Ring,
Bot yelde it me at myne askyng :
When thou ert broght of al thi payn
Yelde it than to me ogayne :
Als the bark hilles the tre,
Right so fal my Ring do the ;
When thou in hand has the stane,
Der fal thai do the nane,
For the stane es of swilk might,
Of the fal men have na fyght.
Wit ye wel that sir Ywayne
Of thir wordes was ful fayne ;
In at the dore sho hem led,
And did him sit opon hir bed,
A quylt ful nobil lay tharon,
Richer saw be never none, &c.

Here he is secreted. In the mean time, the lord of the castle dies of his wounds, and is magnificently buried. But before the interment, the people of the castle search for Sir Ywayne :

Half his stede thar fand thai
That within the yates lay ;
Bot the knight thar fand thai nocht :
Than was thar mekil sorow unfoght,
Dore ne window was thar nane,
Whar he myght oway gane.
Thai said he sold thare be laft,
Or els he cowth of weche craft,
Or he cowth of nygromancy,
Or he had wenges for to fly.
Hastily than went thai all
And foght him in the maydens hall,
In chambers high es nocht at hide,
And in solers on ilka side.
Sir Ywayne saw ful wele al that,
And still opon the bed he sat :
Thar was nane that anes mynt
Unto the bed at smyte a dynt :
Al about thai smate so fast,
That mani of thair wapins braft ;
Mekyl sorow thai made ilkane,
For thai ne myght wreke thair lord bane.
Thai went oway with dreri chere,
And sone thareafter come the ber ;
A lady folowd white so mylk,
In al that lond was none swilk :
Sho wrang her fingers, outbraft the blode,
For mekil wa sho was nere wode ;
Hir fayr har scho al to drogh,¹

¹ Drew. So in the *Lay of the Erle of Tholouse*, [printed by Ritson, in his *Romances*.] MSS. Mus. Ashmol. 45.

"The erle hymselfe an axe drogh,
A hundred men that day he slough."

And ful oft fel sho down in swogh;
 Sho wepe with a ful dreri voice;
 The hali water and the croyce
 Was born bifore the proceffion;
 Thar folowd mani a moder fon.
 Bifore the cors rade a knyght
 On his stede that was ful wight;
 In his armurs wele arayd,
 With sper and target gudely grayd.
 Than fir Ywayn herd the cry
 And the dole of that fayr lady, &c.

Sir Ywaine desires the damfel's permission to look at the lady of the deceased knight through a window. He falls in love with her. She passeth her time in praying for his soul:

Unto his faul was sho ful hulde:
 Opon a fawter al of gulde:
 To say the fal-mas fast sho bigan.

The damfel, whose name is Lunet,¹ promises Sir Ywaine an interview with the lady. She uses many arguments to the lady, and with much art, to shew the necessity of her marrying again for the defence of her castle:

The maiden redies hyr ful rath,
 Bilive sho gert fyr Ywaine bath,²

¹ There is a damsel of this name in *Morte Arthur*, B. vii. ch. 16.

² In another part of this romance, a knight is dressed by a lady:

"A damisel come unto me
 Lufsumer lifed never in land;
 Hendly scho toke me by the hand,
 And sone that gentyl creature
 Al unlaced myne armure;
 Into a chamber sho me led,
 And with a mantil scho me cled,
 It was of purpur fair and fine,
 And the pane of riche ermine:
 Al the folk war went us fra,
 And thare was none than bot we twa;
 Scho served me hendely to hend,
 Her maners might no man amend,
 Of tong scho was trew and renable,
 And of her semblant soft and stabile;
 Ful fain I wald, if that I might,
 Have woned with that swete wight."

In *Morte Arthur*, Sir Launcelot, going into a nunnery, is unarmed in the abbess's chamber. B. xiii. ch. i. There also Sir Galahad is disarmed, and clothed "in a cote of red sendall and a mantell furred with fyne ermynes," &c. B. xiii. ch. i. In the British lay or romance of *Launval*, (MSS. Cott. *Vespas.* B. xiv. 1.) we have:

"Un cher mantel de blanche ermine,
 Couvert de purpre Alexandrine."

There is a statute, made in 1337, prohibiting any under 100*l.* per annum to wear fur. I suppose the richest fur was ermine which, before the manufactures of gold and silver, was the greatest article of finery in dress. But it continued in use long afterwards, as appears by antient portraits. In the Statutes of Cardinal Wolsey's College at Oxford, given in the year 1525, the students are enjoined, "Ne magis pretiosis aut sumptuosius utantur pellibus." *De Vestitu*, &c. fol. 49, MSS. Cott.

And cled hym sethin in gude scarlet,
 Forord wele, and with gold fret;
 A girdel ful riche for the nanes
 Of perry and of preciows stanes.
 Sho talde him al how he sold do
 Whan that he come the lady to.

He is conducted to her chamber :

Bot yit sir Ywayne had grete drede,
 When he unto chamber yede;
 The chamber, flore, and als the bed,
 With klothes of gold was al over spred.¹

Tit. F. iii. This injunction is a proof that rich furs were at that time a luxury of the secular life. In an old poem written in the reign of Henry the Sixth, about 1436, entitled *The English Policie*, exhorting all England to keep the sea, a curious and valuable record of the state of our traffic and mercantile navigation at that period, it appears that our trade with Ireland, for furs only, was then very considerable. Speaking of Ireland, the writer says :

“Martens goode been her marchandie,
 Hertes hides, and other of venerie,
 Skinnes of otter, squirrell, and Irish hare,
 Of sheepe, lambe, and foxe, is her chaf-fare.”

See Hackluyt's *Voyages*, vol. i. p. 199, edit. 1598. At the sacking of a town in Normandy, Froissart says, “There was founde so moche rycheffe, that the boyes and vyllaynes of the hooftte sette nothyng by goode furred gownes.”—*Berners' Transl.* tom. i. fol. lx. a.

¹ In the manners of romance, it was not any indelicacy for a lady to pay amorous courtship to a knight. Thus in [*The Life*] of *Alexander*, written in 1312, Queen Candace openly endeavours to win Alexander to her love. MS. *penes me*, p. 271. [Cod. Hospit. Linc. 150.] She shews Alexander not only her palace, but her bed-chamber :

“Quoth the quene,
 Go we now myn efteris to seone :
 Oure mete schol, thar bytweone,
 Ygraithed and redy beone.
 Scheo ladde him to an halle of nobleys,
 Then he dude of his harneys ;
 Of Troye was ther men* the storye
 How Gregoys had the victorie :
 Theo bemes ther weore of bras.
 Theo wyndowes weoren of riche glas :
 Theo pinnes weore of ivorie.
 The king went with the ladye,
 Himself alone, from bour to bour,
 And syze much riche trefour,
 Gold and feolwer, and precioufe stones,
 Baudekyns made for the nones,
 Mantellis, robes, and pavelounes,
 Of golde and feolwer riche foyfounes ;
 And heo him asked, par amour,
 Ȝef he syze ever suche a trefour.
 And he said, in his contray
 Trefour he wiste of grete noblay.
 Heo thoȝte more that heo saide.
 To anothir stude heo be gan him lede,
 That hir owne chambre was,

* For *ther men*, read *therein*, as MS. Laud I. 74. (Bibl. Bodl.)

After this interview, she is reconciled to him, as he only in self-defence had slain her husband, and she promises him marriage :

Than hastily she went to Hall,
 Thar abade hir barons all,
 For to hald thair parlement,
 And mari hir by thair asent.

They agree to the marriage :

Than the lady went ogayne
 Unto chameber to sir Ywaine ;
 Sir, sho said, so God me save,
 Other lorde wil I nane have :
 If I the left, I did noght right :
 A king son and a noble knyght.
 Now has the maiden done hir thocht,
 Syr Ywayne out of anger broght,
 The Lady led him unto Hall,
 Ogains him rafe the barons all,
 And al thai said ful sekerly,
 This Knight sal wed the lady :
 And ilkane said thamselb bitwene :
 So fair a man had thai noght sene
 For his bewte in hal and bowr :
 Him semes to be an emperowr.
 We wald that thai war trowth plight,
 And weded sone this ilk nyght.

In al this world richer none nas.
 Theo atyr was therein so riche
 In al thys world nys him non lyche.
 Heo ladde him to a stage,
 And him schewed one ymage,
 And saide, Alexander leif thou me,
 This ymage is made after the ;
 Y dude hit in ymagoure,
 And caste hit after thy vigoure ;
 This othir ȝeir, tho thou nolde
 To me come for love ne for golde,
 Het is the ylyche, leove brother
 So any faucon * is anothir.
 O Alisaunder of grete renoun,
 Thou taken art in my prifoun !
 Al thy streynthe helpethe the nowȝt,
 For womman the haveth bycowȝt,
 For womman the heveth in hire las.
 O, quoth Alisaunder, alas,
 That I were yarmed† wel,
 And hed my sƿeord of browne stel,
 Many an heid wolde y cleove,
 Ar y wolde yn prison bile[o]ve.
 Alysaunder, heo saide, thou ȝaist soth,
 Beo noither adrad no wroth ;
 For here undir this covertour
 Y wil have the to myn amour," &c.

* As one faulcon. In MS. Laud l. 174, *ut sup.* it is *peny*, for *faulcon*.

† Here *y* is the Saxon *i*. See Hearne's *Gl. Rob. Glouc.* p. 738.

The lady set hir on the dese,¹
 And cumand al to hald thaire pefe;
 And bad hir steward sumwhat say,
 Or men went fra cowrt away.
 The steward said, Sirs, understandes,
 Wer is waxen in thir landes;
 The king Arthur es redy dight
 To be her, byn this fowre-tenyght:
 He and his menye ha thought
 To win this land, if thai moght:
 Thai wate ful wele, that he es ded
 That was lord here in this stede:
 None es so wight wapins to welde,
 Ne that so boldly mai us belde,
 And wemen may maintene no stowr:
 Thai most nedes have a governowr.
 Tharfor mi lady most nede
 Be weded hastily for drede,
 And to na lord wil sho take tent,
 Bot if it be by yowr assent.
 Than the lordes al on raw
 Held them wele payd of this saw.²
 Al assented hyr untill³
 To tak a lord at hyr owyn wyll.
 Than said the lady onone right:
 How hald ye yow payd of this knight?
 He profers hym on al wyse
 To myne honor and my servyse,
 And fertes, sirs, the soth to say,
 I saw him never or this day;
 Bot talde unto me has it bene,
 He es the kyng son Uriene:
 He es cumen of hegh parage,⁴
 And wonder doghty of valselage,
 Warand wise, and ful curtayse,
 He yernes me to wife alwayse;
 And nere the lese, I wate, he might
 Have wele better, and so war right.
 With a voice halely thai sayd,
 Madame, ful wele we hald us payd:
 Bot hastes fast al that ye may,
 That ye war wedded this ilk day:
 And grete prayer gan thai make

¹ Deis, the high-table. In the *Geste of Alexander*, we have the phrase of *holding the deis*, MS. *ut supr.* p. 45:

"There was gynnyn a new feste,
 And of gleomen many a geste,
 King Philip was in mal ese,
 Alisaundre held the dese."

² Opinion, word. It is of extensive signification. *Emare*, MS. *ut supr.*—
 "I have herd minfrelles syng in saw."

³ Unto. So Rob. Brunne, of Stonehenge, edit. Hearne, p. cxc.
 "In Afrik were thai compast and wrought,
 Geantz tille Ireland from thithen tham brought."

That is, "Giants brought them from Africa into Ireland."

⁴ Kindred. So in the *Geste of Alexander*, MS. p. 258:—
 "They wer men of gret parage,
 And haden fowrtry wynter in age."

On alwif that ſho ſuld hym take.
 Sone unto the kirk thai went,
 And war wedded in thair preſent;
 Thar wedded Ywaine in plevyne¹
 The riche lady Alundyne,
 The dukes doghter of Landuit,
 Els had hyr lande bene deſtruyt.
 Thus thai made the maryage
 Omang al the riche barnage:
 Thai made ful meykl mirth that day,
 Ful grete feſtes on gude aray;
 Grete mirthes made thai in that ſtede,
 And al forgetyn es now the dede
 Of him that was thair lord fre;
 Thai ſay that this es worth ſwilk thre.
 And that thai luſed him mekil mor
 Than him that lord was thare byfor.
 The bridal² ſat, for ſoth to tell,
 Til king Arthur come to the well

¹ Fr. Plevine. See Du Cange, in v. *Plevina*.

² *Bridal* is Saxon for the nuptial feaſt. So in [the] *Geſte* of Alexander. MS. fol. 41, *peneſ me*:—

“He wiſt nougt of this bridale,
 Ne no man tolde him the tale.”

In *Gamelyn*, or the *Coke's Tale*, v. 1267:

“At every bridale he would ſing and hop.”

Spencer, *Faerie Qu.* b. v. c. ii. ft. 3:

“Where and when the bridale cheare
 Should be ſolemnifed.”

And, vi. x. 13:

“Theſeus her unto his bridale bore.”

See alſo Spenser's *Prothalamion*.

The word has been applied adjectively, for connubial. Perhaps Milton remembered or retained its original uſe in the following paſſage of *Samſon Agoniſtes*, ver. 1196.

“And in your city held my nuptial feaſt:
 But your ill-meaning politician lords,
 Under pretence of bridal friends and gueſts,
 Appointed to await me thirty ſpies.”

“Under pretence of friends and gueſts invited to the Bridal.” But in *Paradiſe Loſt*, he ſpeaks of the evening ſtar haſtning to light the bridal lamp, which in another part of the ſame poem he calls the nuptial torch. viii. 520, xi. 590. I preſume this Saxon Bridale is Bride-Ale, the feaſt in honour of the bride or marriage. Ale, ſimply put, is the feaſt or the merry-making, as in *Pierce Plowman*, fol. xxxii. b. edit. 1550, 4to.

“And then fatten ſome and ſonge at the ale [nale.]”

Again, fol. xxvi. b.

“I am occupied everie daye, holye daye and other,
 With idle tales at the Ale, and otherwhile in churches.”

So Chaucer of his *Freere*, Urr. p. 87, v. 85.

“And they were only glad to fill his purſe,
 And maden him grete feſtis at the nale.”

Nale is Ale. “They feaſted him, or entertained him, with particular repaſt, at the pariſh-feaſt,” &c. Again *Plowman's Tale*, p. 125, v. 2110.

“At the Wreſtling, and at the Wake,
 And the chief chaunters at the Nale.”

[See *Popular Antiquities of Great Britain*, 1870, i. 156.]

With al his knyghtes everilkane,
 Behind leved thar noght ane.
 The king keft water on the stane :
 The storme rafe ful sone onane
 With wikked¹ weders, kene and calde,
 Als it was byfore-hand talde.
 The king and his men ilkane
 Wend tharwith to have bene slane,
 So blew it for with flete and rayne,
 And hastily than syr Ywayne²
 Dight him graythly in his gere,
 With nobil shelde and strong spere :
 When he was dight in seker wede,
 Than he umstrade a nobil stede :
 Him thought that he was als lyght
 Als a fowl es to the flyght.
 Unto the Well fast wendes he,
 And sone when thai myght him se,
 Syr Kay, for he wald noght fayle,
 Smertley askes the batayle.
 And al sone than said the kyng :
 Sir Kay, I grante the thine askyng.

Sir Ywaine is victorious, [and] discovers himself to King Arthur after the battle :

And sone Ywaine gan him tell
 Of al his far, how it byfell ;
 With the knight how that he sped,
 And how he had the Lady wed ;
 And how the Mayden him helpid wele :
 Thus tald he to him ilka dele.
 Sir kyng, he sayd, I yow byseke,
 And al yowr menye milde and meke,
 That ye wald grante to me that grace
 At wend with me to my purchase,
 And se my Kastel and my Towre,
 Than myght ye do me grete honowre.
 The kyng granted him ful right
 To dwel with him a fowretenyght.
 Sir Ywayne thanked him oft fith,
 The knyghtes war al glad and blyth
 With sir Ywaine for to wend :
 And sone a squier has he send
 Unto the kastel ; the way he nome,
 And warned the Lady of thair come,
 And that his Lord come with the kyng.
 And when the Lady herd this thing,
 It es no lifeand man with mowth
 That half hir cumforth tel kowth.
 Hastily that Lady hende
 Cumand al hir men to wende,
 And dight tham in thair best aray,
 To kepe the king that ilk day :
 Thai keped him in riche wede
 Rydeand on many a nobil stede ;

¹ Wicked is here, accursed. In which sense it is used by Shakespeare's Caliban, *Temp.* act i. sc. ii.

"As wicked dew as e'er my mother brush'd
 With raven's feather, &c.

² To defend the fountain, the office of the lord of this castle.

Thai hailfed him ful curtayfly,
 And also al his cumpany :
 Thai said he was worthy to dowl,
 That so fele folk led obowt :
 Thar was grete joy, I yow bihete,
 With clothes spred in ilka strete,
 And damysels danceand ful wele
 With trompes, pipes and with friffele :
 The Castel and the Cetee rang
 With mynstrals and nobil sang.
 Thai ordand tham ilkane in fer
 To kepe the king on faire maner.
 The Lady went withowten towne,
 And with her many balde barowne,
 Cled in purpure and ermyne,
 With girdels al of gold ful fyne.
 The Lady made ful meri chere,
 Sho was al dight with drewries¹ dere ;
 Abowt hir was ful mekyl thrang ;
 The puple cried and sayd omang :
 Welkum ertou, kyng Arthoure !
 Of al this werld thou beres the floure !
 Lord kyng of all kynges,
 And blessed be he that the brynges !
 When the Lady the Kyng saw,
 Unto him fast gan sho draw,
 To hald his sterap whils he lyght ;
 Bot sone when he of hir had lyght,
 With mekyl myrth thai samen met,
 With hende wordes sho him gret ;
 A thousand sithes welkum, sho says,
 And so es syr Gawayne the curtayle.²
 The king said : Lady, white so flowr,
 God gif the joy and mekil honowr :
 For thou ert fayr with body gent ;
 With that he hir in armes hent,
 And ful faire he gan hir falde,
 Thar was many to bihalde :
 It es no man with tong may tell
 The mirth that was tham omell ;
 Of maidens was thar so gude wane,
 That ilka knight myght take ane.

The King stais here eight days, entertained with various sports :

And ilk day thai had solace fere
 Of huntynge, and als of revere :³
 For thar was a ful fayre cuntre,
 With wodes and parkes grete plente ;
 And castels wroght with lyme and stane,
 That Ywayne with his wife had tane.

¹ Gallantries, jewels. [The author of the *Life of Alexander*] says, that in one of Alexander's battles, many a lady lost her drewry, p. 86. Athens is called the *Drywery* of the world. *Ibid.*

² There are [several] old poems on the exploits of Gawain, one of the heroes of this romance. [An account of them may be found in Sir F. Madden's *Sir Gawayne*, 1839, 4to.] There is [one] in the Scot[is]h dialect by Clerke of Tranent, an old Scot[is]h poet. [Dunbar alludes to it in his *Lament for the Makaris*. *Quhen he wes feke :*]

³ Hawking [for herons, ducks, &c.—*Park*.]

I have an ancient manuscript alliterative poem, in which a despairing lover bids farewell to his mistress. At the end is written, "Explicit Amôr p. Ducem Ebôrr nup. fact. I will here cite a few of the stanzas of this unknown prince :¹

Farewell Lady of grete pris,
Farewell wys, both fair and free,
Farewell freefull flourdelys,
Farewell buril, bright of ble !—
Farewell mirthe that y do myffe,
Farewell Prowesse in purpull pall !
Farewell creatur comely to kisse,
Farewell Faucon, fare you befall !

" Clerk of Tranent eik he hes tane,
That maid the awnteris of Gawane."

Dunbar's *Poems*, ed. 1834, i. 214.]

The two heroes of this romance, Ywain and Gawain, are mentioned jointly in a very old French version of the British or Armorican *Lay of Launval* :

" Ensemble od eus Gawayns,
E lis cōfins li beus Ywayns."

[*Le Chevalier au Lion*, written by Chrestien de Troyes before 1192, and printed by Lady C. Gueff in the *Mabinogion*, 1838] but not by Thomas Chestre, who translated, or rather paraphrased *Launval* or *Sir Launfall*, and who seems to have been master of a more copious and poetic style. It is not however unlikely, that Chestre translated from a more modern French copy of *Launval*, heightened and improved from the old simple Armorican tale of which I have here produced a short extract. [The only ancient copy of the [English version] is contained in the Cotton MS. Galba, E. ix. which seems to have been written in the time of Richard II., or towards the close of the fourteenth century.—*Ritson*.] The same perhaps may be said of the English metrical romance *Emare*, who marries the king of Galys or Wales, originally an Armorican tale, before quoted. MSS. Cott. *Calig.* A. 2. fol. 69. [See Dis. prefixed to the first volume and Mr. Ritson's *Metrical Romances*, vol. ii. where it is printed.—*Price*.] The last stanza confirms what has been advanced in the *First Dissertation* concerning the connection between Cornwall and Bretagne, or Armorica, fol. ult.

" A grette feste thar was holde
Of erles and barons bolde,
As testymonieth thys story :
Thys is on of Brytayne layes,
That was used in olde dayes,
Men callys playn the garye."

I believe the last line means, "Made for an entertainment,"—"Which men call playing the Garye." The reader may perhaps recollect, that the old Cornish Miracle interlude was called the *Guare Mirakil*, that is, the *Miracle Play*. In Cornish, *Plân an guare* is the level place, the plain of sport and pastime, the theatre of games, &c. *Guare* is a Cornish verb, to sport, to play. In affinity with which, is probably *Gariſh*, gay, splendid. Milton, *Il Pens.*, v. 141, [has:] "Day's gariſh eye." Shakespeare, *Rom. Jul.* iii. 4, [speaks of] "the gariſh sun:" in *King Richard the Third*, of "a gariſh ſtag." Compare Lye, Sax. Dict. V. *geapnian*; to dress fine.

Who was the translator of *Emare*, it is not known. I presume it was translated in the reign of Henry the Sixth, and very probably by Thomas Chestre, the translator of *Launval* [unless he was merely the copyist, which seems equally likely.]

¹ [Qu. Edward Duke of York, eldest son of Edmond of Langley? See *Noble Authors*, i. 183, ed. 1806.—*Park*.]

Farewell amerouse and amyable,
 Farewell worthy, witty, and wys,
 Farewell pured pris prifable,
 Farewell ryal rose in the rys.—

Farewell derworth of dignite,
 Farewell grace of governaunce,
 However y fare, farewell ye,
 Farewell prymerose my plefaunce!



SECTION XLIV.

WARTON, upon reflection, placed the beautiful ballad of the *Not-browne Mayd*, which is inserted in the first edition [1502] of Arnold's *Chronicle* and its successor under the reign of Henry the Eighth.] Prior who, about the year 1718, paraphrased this poem, without improving its native beauties, supposes it to have been three hundred years old. It appears from two letters preserved in the British Museum, written by Prior to Wanley, Lord Oxford's librarian, that Prior consulted Wanley about this ancient ballad.¹ It is, however, certain that Wanley, an antiquary of unquestionable skill and judgment in these niceties, whatever direction and information he might have imparted to Prior on this subject, could never have communicated such a decision. He certainly in these letters gives no such opinion.² This is therefore the hasty conjecture of Prior, who thought that the curiosity which he was presenting to the world would derive proportionable value from its antiquity: who was better employed than in the petty labour of ascertaining dates, and who knew much more of modern than ancient poetry.

The *Not-browne Mayde* first appeared in Arnold's *Chronicle, or Customs of London*, [of which, as it has been intimated, the first edition appeared at Antwerp, probably in 1502; and Mr. Wright has shown from a very curious MS. at Oxford, that in 1520 the ballad was on sale on a stall at the sister University in the form of a broadside, price one penny.³] This is perhaps the most heterogeneous and multifarious miscellany that ever existed. The collector sets out with a catalogue of the mayors and sheriffs, the customs and charters, of the city of London. Soon afterwards we have receipts to pickle surgeon, to make vinegar, ink and gunpowder; how to raise parsley

¹ MSS. Harl. 3777.

² These letters are printed in the *Additions to Pope's Works*, in two volumes, published about two years ago. [Namely, in 1776. This publication has been attributed to the late George Steevens, Esq.; but I heard from Mr. Isaac Reed that it was culled by Baldwin from the communications of Mr. Steevens in the St. James's Chronicle, and put forth with a preface by William Cooke, Esq.—*Park*.]

³ [Ed. of *N.-B. M.* 1836, Introd.]

in an hour; the arts of brewery and soap-making; an estimate of the livings in London; an account of the last visitation of Saint Magnus's church: the weight of Essex cheese, and a letter to Cardinal Wolsey. The *Not-browne Mayde* is introduced between an estimate of some subsidies paid into the exchequer and directions for buying goods in Flanders. In a word, it seems to have been this compiler's plan, by way of making up a volume, to print together all the notices and papers, whether ancient or modern, which he could amass, of every sort and subject. It is supposed that he intended an antiquarian repertory: but as many recent materials were admitted, that idea was not at least uniformly observed; nor can any argument be drawn from that supposition, that this poem existed long before, and was inserted as a piece of antiquity.

[Capell] infers,¹ from an identity of rhythmus and orthography, and an affinity of words and phrases, that this poem appeared after Sir Thomas More's *Jest of the Serjeant* [that would learn to be a Friar] which, as I have observed, was written [and printed] about the year 1500.² This reasoning, were not other arguments obvious, would be inconclusive, and might be turned to the opposite side of the question. But it is evident from the language of the *Notbrowne Mayde*, that it was not written earlier than the beginning, at least, of the sixteenth century. There is hardly an obsolete word, or that requires a glossary, in the whole piece: and many parts of Surrey and Wyatt are much more difficult to be understood. Reduce any two stanzas to modern orthography, and they shall hardly wear the appearance of ancient poetry. The reader shall try the experiment on the two following, which occur accidentally:

HE. Yet take good hede / For euer I drede
 That ye wude not sustein
 The thorney wayes / The depe valeis /
 The snow / the frost / the reyn
 The colde / the hete / For drye nor wete /
 We must lodge on the playn :
 And vs abowe / Noon other roue /
 But a brake bussh or twayne /
 Whiche sone shulde greue / You / I beleue /
 And ye wolde gladly than /
 That I had too the grenewode goo
 Alone a banyfshd man.

SHE. Amonge the wylde dere fuche an archier
 As men say that ye bee /
 Ne may not fayle of good vitayle /
 Where is so grete plente :
 And water cleere of the ryuere
 Shalbe ful swete to me /
 With whiche in hele I shal right wele
 Endure as ye shal see /
 And er we go / a bed or twoo /
 I can prouide a noon :

¹ *Prolusions*, Pref. p. vii.

² *Handb. of Early Engl. Lit.* 1867, in v. MORE.]

For in my mynde / Of all mankynde
I loue but you alone.¹

The simplicity of which passage Prior has thus decorated and dilated :

HENRY.

Those limbs, in lawn and softest silk array'd,
From sun-beams guarded, and of winds afraid ;
Can they bear angry Jove ? can they resist
The parching dog-star, and the bleak north-east ?
When, chill'd by adverse snows and beating rain,
We tread with weary steps the longsome plain ;
When with hard toil we seek our evening food,
Berries and acorns from the neighbouring wood ;
And find among the cliffs no other house,
But the thin covert of some gather'd boughs ;
Wilt thou not then reluctant send thine eye
Around the dreary waste ; and weeping try
(Though then, alas ! that trial be too late)
To find thy father's hospitable gate,
And seats, where ease and plenty brooding fate ?
Those seats, whence long excluded thou must mourn ;
That gate, for ever barr'd to thy return :
Wilt thou not then bewail ill-fated love,
And hate a banish'd man, condemn'd in woods to rove ?

EMMA.

Thy rise of fortune did I only wed,
From it's decline determin'd to recede ?
Did I but purpose to embark with thee
On the smooth surface of a summer's sea ?
While gentle Zephyrs play in prosperous gales,
And Fortune's favour fills the swelling sails ;
But would forsake the ship, and make the shore,
When the winds whistle, and the tempests roar ?
No, Henry, no : one sacred oath has tied
Our loves ; one destiny our life shall guide ;
Nor wild nor deep our common way divide.
When from the cave thou risest with the day,
To beat the woods, and rouse the bounding prey,
The cave with moss and branches I'll adorn,
And cheerful sit, to wait my lord's return :
And, when thou frequent bring'st the smitten deer
(For seldom, archers say, thy arrows err),
I'll fetch quick fuel from the neighbouring wood,
And strike the sparkling flint, and dress the food ;
With humble duty and officious haste
I'll cull the farthest mead for thy repast ;
The choicest herbs I to thy board will bring,
And draw thy water from the freshest spring :
And, when at night with weary toil oppress,
Soft slumbers thou enjoy'st and wholesome rest ;
Watchful I'll guard thee, and with midnight prayer
Weary the Gods to keep thee in their care ;
And joyous ask, at morn's returning ray,
If thou hast health, and I may bless the day.
My thoughts shall fix, my latest wish depend,
On thee, guide, guardian, kinsman, father, friend :

¹ [*Remains of the Early Popular Poetry of England*, vol. ii. pp. 282-3.]

By all these sacred names be Henry known
 To Emma's heart; and grateful let him own
 That she, of all mankind, could love but him alone! }

What degree of credit this poem maintained among our earlier ancestors I cannot determine. I suspect the sentiment was too refined for the general taste. Yet it is enumerated among the popular tales and ballads by Laneham, in his narrative of Queen Elizabeth's entertainment at Kenilworth-castle, in 1575. I have never seen it in manuscript. I believe it was never reprinted from Arnold's *Chronicle*, where it appeared in [1502 and] 1521, till 1707. It was [in] that year revived in a collection called the [*Muses' Mercury* for June], and prefaced with a little essay on our ancient poets and poetry. Fortunately for modern poetry, this republication suggested it to the notice of Prior, who perhaps from the same source might have adopted or confirmed his hypothesis, that it was coeval with the commencement of the fifteenth century.

Whoever was the original inventor of this little dramatic dialogue, he has shewn no common skill in contriving a plan, which powerfully detains our attention, and interests the passions, by a constant succession of suspense and pleasure, of anxiety and satisfaction. Betwixt hopes perpetually disappointed, and solicitude perpetually relieved, we know not how to determine the event of a debate, in which new difficulties still continue to be raised, and are almost as soon removed. In the midst of this vicissitude of feelings, a striking contrast of character is artfully formed and uniformly supported, between the seeming unkindness and ingratitude of the man and the unconquerable attachment and fidelity of the woman, whose amiable compliance unexpectedly defeats every objection, and continually furnishes new matter for our love and compassion. At length, our fears subside in the triumph of suffering innocence and patient sincerity. The Man, whose hard speeches had given us so much pain, suddenly surprises us with a change of sentiment, and becomes equally an object of our admiration and esteem. In the disentanglement of this distressful tale, we are happy to find that all his cruelty was tenderness, and his inconstancy the most invariable truth; his levity an ingenious artifice, and his perversity the friendly disguise of the firmest affection. He is no longer an unfortunate exile, the profligate companion of the thieves and ruffians of the forest, but an opulent Earl of Westmoreland: and [he] promises that the lady, who is a baron's daughter, and whose constancy he had proved by such a series of embarrassing proposals, shall instantly be made the partner of his riches and honours! Nor should we forget to commend the invention of the poet, in imagining the modes of trying the lady's patience, and in feigning so many new situations: which at the same time open a way to description and to a variety of new scenes and images.

I cannot help observing here, by the way, that Prior has misconceived and essentially marred his poet's design, by softening the sternness of the Man, which could not be intended to admit of any

degree of relaxation. Henry's hypocrisy is not characteristically nor consistently sustained. He frequently talks in too respectful and complaisant a style. Sometimes he calls Emma *my tender maid*, and *my beauteous Emma*; he fondly dwells on the ambrosial plenty of her flowing ringlets gracefully wreathed with variegated ribands, and expatiates with rapture on the charms of her snowy bosom, her slender waist, and harmony of shape. In the ancient poem, the concealed lover never abates his affectation of rigour and reserve, nor ever drops an expression which may tend to betray any traces of tenderness. He retains his severity to the last in order to give force to the conclusion of the peace, and to heighten the effect of the final declaration of his love. Thus, by diminishing the opposition of interests, and by giving too great a degree of uniformity to both characters, the distress is in some measure destroyed by Prior. For this reason, Henry, during the course of the dialogue, is less an object of our aversion, and Emma of our pity. But these are the unavoidable consequences of Prior's plan, who presupposes a long connection between the lovers, which is attended with the warmest professions of a reciprocal passion. Yet this very plan suggested another reason why Prior should have more closely copied the cast of his original. After so many mutual promises and protestations, to have made Henry more obdurate would have enhanced the sufferings and the sincerity of the amiable Emma.

It is highly probable that the metrical romances of *Richard Cœur de Lion*, *Guy Earl of Warwick*, and *Sir Bevis of Southampton*, were modernised in this reign from more ancient and simple narrations.¹ The first was printed by Wynkyn de Worde, in [1509 and] 1528. The second [most probably was printed both by Pynson and De Worde, as fragments in the types characteristic of those printers respectively are extant. But the oldest impression known at present in a perfect state is one by William Copland, about 1550.] I mean that which begins thus:

[S]ithen the tyme that God was borne,
And crystendome was set and sworne.

Richard Pynson printed *sir Bevis* without date. Many prose romances were printed between 1510 and 1540. Of these, *Kynge Appolyn of Thyre* is not one of the worst.

¹ [These three romances were pronounced by Ritson to be extant in MSS. above 300 years old; and one of them, at least (*Sir Bevis*) excepting the typographical incorrectness of the old printed copy, differs no otherwise from it than in its orthography and the slight variations inseparable from repeated transcription. The ancient MS. copy of *Richard Cœur de Lion* is as long at least as the old editions. But some MSS. copies are so totally different from each other, as not to have two lines in common; being translations from the French by different hands. This is the case with respect to *Sir Guy*; there are two distinct translations, both very old, one of which is line for line the same with the printed copy: but it will not be found that the phraseology or style is more polished, or the story more amplified or intricate, in the editions than they are in the MSS. Simplicity, indeed, is a fault of which few people will have reason to complain in the perusal of an old metrical romance, let its antiquity be what it may. Ritson's *Obs.* p. 35.—*Park.*]

In 1521, Wynkyn de Worde printed a set of Christmas Carols.¹ I have seen [the last leaf] of this book, and it preserves the colophon. These were² festal chansons for enlivening the merriments of the Christmas celebrity: and not such religious songs as are current at this day with the common people under the same title, and which were substituted by those enemies of innocent and useful mirth, the Puritans. The boar's head soufed was anciently the first dish on Christmas day, and was carried up to the principal table in the Hall with great state and solemnity. Holinshed says that, in the year 1170, upon the day of the young prince's coronation, King Henry the First "served his sonne at the table as sewer, bringing up the Bores head with trumpets before it, according to the manner."³ For this indispenfable ceremony, as also for others of that season, there was a Carol, which Wynkyn de Worde has given us in the miscellany just mentioned, as it was sung in his time, with the title, *A Caroll bryngyng in the bores heed*:

*Caput apri defero,
Reddens laudes domino.*

The bores heed in hande bring I,
With garlands gay and rosemary;
I praye you all syng merely,
Quis estis in convivio.

The bores heed I understande,
Is the chefe seruyce⁴ in this lande:
Loke where euer it be fande
Servite cum cantico.

Be gladde, lordes, bothe more and lasse,
For this hath ordeyned our stewarde
To chere you all this Christmasse,
The bores heed with mustarde.⁵

This carol, yet with many innovations, is retained at Queen's college in Oxford. Other ancient Christmas carols occur with Latin Burthens or Latin intermixtures. As thus:

Puer nobis natus est de Virgine Maria.

Be glad lordynges, be the more or lesse,
I brynge you tydynges of gladnesse.⁶

The Latin scraps were banished from these jocund hymns, when the Reformation had established an English liturgy. At length appeared ["Slatyer's *Psalmes or Songs of Sion*, turned into the language,

¹ For many small miscellaneous pieces under the reign of Henry the Eighth the more inquisitive reader is referred to MSS. Cott. *Vesp. A.* 25. [For the title of W. de Worde's book of Carols, 1521, see *Handb. of E. E. L.* 1867, v. CHRISTMAS.]

² [See Ritson's *Ancient Songs*, p. 126.—Park.]

³ *Chron.* vol. iii. p. 76. See also Polyd. *Virg. Hist.* p. 212, 10, ed. 1534.

⁴ That is, the chief dish served at a feast.

⁵ [Rimbault's *Little Book of Christmas Carols* (circa 1845), last page. The boar's head, at Queen's College, Oxford, has long, I understand, degenerated into a counterfeit of the original.]

⁶ MSS. *Harl.* 5396, fol. 4, fol. 18. [*Handb. of E. E. Lit.* 1867, art. CHRISTMAS, No. 5.]

and set to the tunes, of a strange land, by W. S., intended for Christ-mas Carols, and fitted to divers of the most noted and solemn, but common, tunes, everywhere in this land familiarly used and known." [circa 1642.] 8vo.]

It was impossible that the Reformation of religion could escape without its rhyming libels. Accordingly, among others, we have *An answer to a papyflicall exhortacyon, pretendinge to avoide false doctrine, under that colour to mayntayne the same*, printed [about] 1548, and beginning:

Every pilde pedlar
Will be a medlar.

In the year 1533 [1553], a proclamation was promulged, prohibiting evil-disposed persons to preach, either in public or private, "after their *own braine*, and by playing of enterludes, and printing of false fond bookes, ballades, rhymes, and other lewd treatyses in the English tongue, concerning doctrines in matters now in question and controverfie," &c.¹ But this popular mode of attack, which all understood, and in which the idle and unlearned could join, appears to have been more powerful than royal interdictions and parliamentary censures.

In the year 1540, Thomas Lord Cromwell, during the short interval which Henry's hasty passion for Catherine Howard permitted between his commitment and execution, was insulted in a ballad, [now conjectured to be lost], written by a defender of the declining cause of popery, who certainly shewed more zeal than courage, in reproaching a disgraced minister and a dying man. This satire, however unseemly, gave rise to a religious controversy in verse [between Thomas Smyth and W[illiam] G[ray?], of which the Society of Antiquaries of London appears to have a complete set, all printed on broadsides about 1540.²

I find a poem of thirty octave stanzas, printed in 1546, called the *Downfal of Antichristes Mas*, or *Mas*, in which the nameless satirist is unjustly severe on the distresses of that ingenious class of mechanics who got their living by writing and ornamenting service-books for the old papistic worship, now growing into decay and disuse; insinuating at the same time, in a strain of triumph, the great blow their *craft* had received, by the diminution of the number of churches in the dissolution of the monasteries.³ It is, however, certain that this

¹ Fox, *Martyrolog.* f. 1339, edit. 1576. [This seems to be a mistake on Fox's part, and, if so, has misled all our modern writers. I do not see it noticed that Stow (*Annales*, 1615, *sub anno* 1509), speaks of the lampoons made at that time against the Promoters or, as they were afterwards called, Projectors; more particularly of one (which he had seen), written by Cornish of the King's Chapel upon Sir Richard Empson.]

² [*Handb. of E. E. Lit.* arts. ESSEX and SMYTH, and Lemon's *Catalogue of the Printed Broad-sides in the Library of the Soc. of Antiq.* Lond. 1866, pp. 2 *et seq.*]

³ In a roll of John Morys, warden of Winchester College, 1397, are large articles of disbursement for grails [*Gradualia*], legends, and other service-books for the choir of the chapel, then just founded. It appears that they bought the parch-

busy and lucrative occupation was otherwise much injured by the invention and propagation of typography, as several Catholic rituals were printed in England : yet still they continued to employ writers and illuminators for this purpose. The finest and the latest specimen of this sort I have seen, is Cardinal Wolsey's *Lectionary*, now preserved at Christchurch in Oxford, a prodigious folio on vellum, written and embellished with great splendour and beauty by the most elegant artists, either for the use of his own private chapel, or for the magnificent chapel which he had projected for his college, and peculiarly characteristic of that prelate's predominant ideas of ecclesiastical pomp.

Wynkyn de Worde printed a [*Lytel Treatyse of the Byrth and Prophecy of Marlyn* in 1510, which was reprinted by the same typographer in 1529.] Metrical and prosaic prophecies attributed to the magician Merlin, all originating from Geoffrey of Monmouth's historical romance, and of oriental growth, are numerous and various. Merlin's predictions were successfully accommodated by the minstrel-poets to the politics of their own times. There are many among the Cotton manuscripts, both in French and English, and in other libraries.¹ Laurence Minot above cited, who wrote about 13[52], and in the northern dialect, has applied some of them to the numerous victories of Edward the Third.²

ment; and hired persons to do the business of writing, illuminating, noting, and binding, within the walls of the college. As thus : "*Item in xi doseyen iiij pellibus emptis pro i legenda integra, que incipit folio secundo Quia dixerunt, continente xxxiiij quaterniones, (pret. doseyen iiij. vid. pret. pellis iiij. d. ob.) lis. Item in scriptura ejusdem Legende, lxxijs. Et in illuminatione et ligacione ejusdem, xxxs. Item in vj. doseyen de velum emptis pro factura vj Processionalium, quorum quilibet continet xv quaterniones (pret. doseyen iiij. s. vid.), xxvijs. Et in scriptura, notacione, illuminatione, et ligacione eorundem, xxiijs.*" The highest cost of one of these books is 7*l.* 13*s.* Vellum, for this purpose, made an article of *staurum*, or store. As "*Item in vj doseyen de velum emptis in staurum pro aliis libris inde faciendis, xxxiijs xjd.*" The books were covered with deer-skin. As, "*Item in vj pellibus cervinis emptis pro libris predictis cooperiendis, xiijs. iiij. d.*" In another roll (xix Ric. ii. A.D. 1396.) of warden John Morys above mentioned, disbursements of diet for Scriptores enter into the quarterly account of that article. "*Expense extraneorum superveniencium, iij Scriptorum, viij serviencium, et x choristarum, ixl. iiij. s. xd.*" The whole diet expenses this year, for strangers, writers, servants, and choristers, amount to 20*l.* 19*s.* 10*d.*—"Computus magistri Johis Morys Custodis a die Sabbati proxime post festum Annunciationis beate Marie anno regni Regis Ricardi Secundi post conquestum xvij^{mo}, usque diem Veneris proxime ante festum sancti Michaelis extunc proxime sequens anno regis predicti xvij^{mo}, vid^{et} per xxvj septimanas." It is indorsed, "*Computus primus post ingressum in Collegium. Anno octavo post inceptionem Operis.*"

In another roll of 1399 (Rot. Comp. Burf. 22 Ric. ii.) writers are in commons weekly with the regular members of the society.

¹ See *Geoffr. Monm.* vol. vii. p. 3. And *Rob. Glouc.* pp. 132, 133, seq. 254, 256. Of the authority of Merlin's Prophecies in England in 1216, see [an edit. of the *Breviat Chronicle*, printed by H. Wykes.] Merlin's Prophecies were printed in French at Paris, in 1498. And [*La Vita di Merlino*, at Venice in 1480, and often afterwards. See Brunet, *Manuel du Libraire*, 1862, art. MERLINUS.]

² [Minot's *Poems*, ed. 1795, p. 26.]

I have seen one of Merlin's *Prophecies*, probably translated from the French, which begins thus :

Listeneth now to Merlins saw,
And I woll tell to aw,
What he wrat for men to come,
Nothor by greffe, ne by plume.¹

¹ I know not when this piece was written. But the word *greffe* is old French for *Graphium*, or *Stylus*. It is generally supposed, and it has been positively asserted by an able French antiquary, that the ancient Roman practice of writing with a style on waxen tablets, lasted not longer than the fifth century. Hearne also supposes that the pen had succeeded to the style long before the age of Alfred.—*Lel. Itin.* vol. vii. Pref. p. xxii. I will produce an instance of this practice in England so late as the year 1395. In the accompt-roll of Winchester-college, of that year, is the following disbursement: "Et in i tabula ceranda cum viridi cera pro intitulatione capellanorum et clericorum Capelle ad missas et alia psallenda, viijd." This very curious and remarkable article signifies, that a tablet covered with green wax was kept in the chapel, for noting down with a style the respective courses of daily or weekly portions of duty, alternately assigned to the officers of the choir. So far, indeed, from having ceased in the fifth century, it appears that this mode of writing continued throughout all the dark ages. Among many express proofs that might be produced of the centuries after that period, Du Cange cites these verses from a French metrical romance, written about the year 1376. *Lat. Gloss.* v. GRAPHIUM [and STYLISONUS]:

"Les uns se prennent a ecrire,
Des greffes* en tables de cire;
Les autres suivent la coustume
De fournir lettres a la plume."

Many ample and authentic records of the royal household of France, of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, written on waxen tablets, are still preserved. Waxen tablets were constantly kept in the French religious houses, for the same purpose as at Winchester-college. Thus, in the Ordinary of the Priour of Saint Lo at Rouen, written about 1250: "Qui ad missam lectiones aut tractus dicturi sunt, in tabula cerea primitus recitentur," p. 261. Even [much later,] several of the collegiate bodies in France, more especially the chapter of the cathedral of Rouen, retain this usage of marking the successive rotation of the ministers of the choir. See Le Brun's *Voyage Liturgique*, 1718, p. 275. The same mode of writing was used for registering the capitular acts of the monasteries in France. Du Cange, in reciting from an ancient manuscript the *Signs* enjoined to the monks of the order of Saint Victor at Paris, where the rule of silence was rigorously observed, gives us, among others, the tacit signals by which they called for the style and tablet. "*Pro SIGNO Gressi.*—Signo metalli præmisso, extenso pollice cum indice [simula] scribentem. *Pro SIGNO Tabularum.*—Manus ambas complica, et ita disjunge quasi aperiens Tabulas."—*Gloss.* ut supr. v. SIGNA, tom. iii. p. 866, col. 2, edit. vet. Among the implements of writing allowed to the Carthusians, *Tabule* and *Graphium* are enumerated.—*Statut. Antiq. Carthusian.* part 2, cap. xvi. § 8. That, however, at Winchester-college, is the only express specification which I have found of the practice, in the religious houses of England. But see Wanley's account of the text of S. Chad, *Catal. Codd. Anglo-Sax.* p. 289, seq. Yet in many of our old collegiate establishments it seems to be pointed out by the implication: and the article here extracted from the roll at Winchester-college, explains the manner of keeping the following injunction in the Statutes of Saint Elizabeth's-college at Winchester, now destroyed, which is a direction of the same kind, and cannot be well understood without supposing a waxen tablet. These statutes were given in 1301. "Habeat itaque idem præcentor unam Tabulam semper in capella appensam, in

* Styles. Lat. *Graphium*.

The public pageantries of this reign are proofs of the growing familiarity and national diffusion of classical learning. I will select an instance, among others, from the shews exhibited with great magnificence at the coronation of Queen Anne Boleyn, in the year 1533. The procession to Westminster abbey began from the Tower; and the queen, in passing through Gracechurch-street, was entertained with a representation of Mount Parnassus. The fountain of Helicon, by a bold fiction unknown to the bards of antiquity, ran in four streams of Rhenish wine from a basin of white marble. On the summit of the mountain sat Apollo, and at his feet Calliope. On either side of the declivity were arranged four of the Muses, playing

qua scribat quolibet die sabbati post prandium, et ordinet, qualem Missam quis eorum capellanorum in sequenti septimana debeat celebrare; quis qualem lectionem in crastino legere debeat; Et sic de cæteris divinis officiis in prædicta capella faciendis. Et sic cotidie post prandium ordinet idem præcentor de servicio diei sequentis: hoc diligentius observando, quod capellani Missam, ad quam die sabbati, ut præmittitur, intitulatur, per integram celebrent septimanam."—Dugd. *Monast.* tom. iii.; *Eccles. Coll.* i. 10. Nothing could have been a more convenient method of temporary notation, especially at a time when parchment and paper were neither cheap nor common commodities, and of carrying on an account, which was perpetually to be obliterated and renewed: for the written surface of the wax being easily smoothed by the round or blunt end of the style, was soon again prepared for the admission of new characters. And among the Romans, the chief use of the style was for fugitive and occasional entries. In the same light, we must view the following parallel passage of the ordination of Bishoph Wykeham's sepulchral chantry, founded in Winchester cathedral, in the year 1404. "Die sabbati cujuflibet septimanæ futuræ, monachi prioratus nostri in ordine sacerdotali constituti, valentes et dispositi ad celebrandum, ordinentur et intitulentur in Tabula seriatim ad celebrandum Missas prædictas cotidie per septimanam tunc sequentem," &c. B. Lowth's *Wykeham*, Append. p. xxxi. edit. 1777. Without multiplying superfluous citations,* I think we may fairly conclude that whenever a *Tabula pro Clericis intitulantibus* occurs in the more ancient rituals of our ecclesiastical fraternities, a Pugillare or waxen tablet, and not a schedule of parchment or paper, is intended. The inquisitive reader, who wishes to see more foreign evidences of this mode of writing during the course of the middle ages, is referred to a Memoir drawn up with great diligence and research by M. l'Abbé Lebeuf.—*Mem. Litt.* tom. xx. p. 267, edit. 4to.

The reasonings and conjectures of Wise and others, who have treated of the Saxon Aetel, more particularly of those who contend that King Alfred's Style is still in being at Oxford, may perhaps receive elucidation or correction from what is here casually collected on a subject which needs and deserves a full investigation.

To a note already labouring with its length, I have only to add, that without supposing an allusion to this way of writing, it will be hard to explain the following lines in Shakespeare's *Timon of Athens*, act i. sc. i.:

"My free drift
Halts not particularly, but moves itself
'In a wide sea of wax.'"

Why Shakespeare should here allude to this peculiar and obsolete fashion of writing, to express a poet's design of describing general life, will appear, if we consider the freedom and facility with which it is executed. It is not yet, I think, discovered on what original Shakespeare formed this drama. [But see Dyce's second edit. of *Shakespeare*, 1868, vol. vi. pp. 504 and 571, in the latter of which places Dyce seems to question the accuracy of the reading *wax*.]

* See *Statut. Eccles. Cath. Lichf.* Dugd. *Mon.* vol. iii. p. 244, col. 2, 10; p. 247, col. 2, 20; *Statut. Eccles. Collegiat. de Tonge*, ibid.; *Eccles. Coll.* p. 152, col. 2, 40

on their respective musical instruments. Under them were written epigrams and poesies in golden letters, in which every Muse praised the queen, according to her character and office. At the Conduit in Cornhill appeared the three Graces before whom, with no great propriety, was the spring of grace perpetually running wine. But when a conduit came in the way, a religious allusion was too tempting and obvious to be omitted. Before the spring, however, sat a poet, describing in metre the properties or functions of every grace; and then each of these Graces allotted in a short speech to the queen the virtue or accomplishment over which she severally presided. At the Conduit in Cheapside, as my chronicler says, she was saluted with "a rich pageant full of melodie and song." In this pageant were Pallas, Juno and Venus: before them stood Mercury, who presented to her majesty, in the name of the three goddesses, a golden ball or globe divided into three parts, signifying, wisdom, riches, and felicity. At entering St. Paul's gate, an ancient portal leading into the churchyard on the east, and long since destroyed, three ladies richly attired showered on her head wafers, in which were contained Latin distichs. At the eastern side of Saint Paul's Church-yard, two hundred scholars of Saint Paul's School addressed her in chosen and apposite passages from the Roman poets, translated into English rhymes. On the leads of Saint Martin's church stood a choir of boys and men who sung, not spiritual hymns, but new ballads in praise of her majesty. On the conduit without Ludgate, where the arms and angels had been refreshed, was erected a tower with four turrets, within each of which was placed a Cardinal Virtue, symbolically habited. Each of these personages in turn uttered an oration, promising to protect and accompany the queen on all occasions.¹ Here we see the Pagan history and mythology predominating in those spectacles, which were once furnished from the *Golden Legend*. Instead of saints, prophets, apostles, and confessors, we have Apollo, Mercury, and the Muses. Instead of religious canticles and texts of scripture, which were usually introduced in the course of these ceremonies, we are entertained with profane poetry, translations from the classics, and occasional verses; with exhortations, not delivered by personified doctors of the church, but by the heathen divinities.²

It may not be foreign to our purpose, to give the reader some distinct idea of the polite amusements of this reign, among which the masque, already mentioned in general terms, seems to have held the first place. It chiefly consisted of music, dancing, gaming, a banquet, and a display of grotesque personages and fantastic dresses. The performers, as I have hinted, were often the king and the chief of the

¹ Hall's *Chronicle*, fol. ccxii. Among the Orations spoken to the Queen, is one too curious to be omitted. At Leadenhall sat Saint Anne with her numerous progeny, and Mary Cleophas with her four children. One of the children made "a goodlie oration to the queene, of the fruitfulness of Saint Anne, and of her generation; trusting the like fruit should come of hir."

² [There is a contemporary tract, giving an account of the Coronation of Anne Boleyn. See *Handb. of E. E. Lit.* art. HENRY VIII.]

nobility of both sexes, who under proper disguises executed some preconcerted stratagem, which ended in mirth and good humour. With one of these shews, in 1530, the king formed a scheme to surprise Cardinal Wolsey, while he was celebrating a splendid banquet at his palace of Whitehall.¹ At night his majesty in a masque, with twelve more masquers all richly but strangely dressed, privately landed from Westminster at Whitehall stairs. At landing, several small pieces of cannon were fired, which the King had before ordered to be placed on the shore near the house. The cardinal, who was separately seated at the banquet in the presence-chamber under the cloth of state, a great number of ladies and lords being seated at the side-tables, was alarmed at this sudden and unusual noise : and immediately ordered Lord Sandys [or Sands, of the Vine,²] the king's chamberlain, who was one of the guests and in the secret, to enquire the reason. Lord Sands brought answer, that thirteen foreign noblemen of distinction were just arrived, and were then waiting in the great hall below : having been drawn thither by the report of the cardinal's magnificent banquet, and of the beautiful ladies who were present at it. The cardinal ordered them immediately into the banquetting-room, to which they were conducted from the hall with twenty new torches and a concert of drums and fifes. After a proper refreshment, they requested in the French language to dance with the ladies, whom they kissed, and to play with them at mum-chance :³ producing at the same time a great golden cup filled with many hundred crowns. Having played for some time with the ladies, they designedly lost all that remained in the cup to the cardinal ; whose sagacity was not easily to be deceived, and who now began, from some circumstances, to suspect one of them to be the king. On finding their plot in danger, they answered, " If your grace can point him out, he will readily discover himself." The cardinal pointed to a mask with a black beard, but he was mistaken, for it was Sir Edward Nevil. At this the king could not forbear laughing aloud ; and pulling off his own and Sir Edward Nevil's masque, convinced the cardinal with much arch complaisance, that he had for once guessed wrong. The king and the masquers then retired into another apartment to change their apparel : and in the meantime the banquet was removed, and the table covered afresh with perfumed clothes. Soon afterwards the king, with his company, returned, and took his seat under the cardinal's canopy of state. Immediately two hundred dishes⁴ of the most costly cookery and confectionery were served up ; the contrivance and success of the royal joke afforded much pleasant conver-

¹ It then belonged to Wolsey.

² [Courthope's *Historic Peerage of England*, 1857, p. 420.]

³ A game of hazard with dice.

⁴ [Can we imagine that though the cardinal was giving such a magnificent entertainment, he would have had 200 costly dishes in reserve, ready to set on, if he had not been in the secret about the king's masked visit? As to the mistake about his person, this might be real or pretended.—*Ashby*.]

sation, and the night was spent in dancing, dice-playing, banquetting and other triumphs.¹ The chronicler Hall, a cotemporary and a curious observer, acquaints us, that at Greenwich, in 1512, "on the daie of the Epiphanie at night, the king with a xi. other were disguised after the maner of Italie, called a maske, a thyng not seen afore in Englande; thei were appareled in garmentes long and brode, wrought all with gold, with visers and cappes of gold, and after the banquet doen, these Maskers came in, with sixe gentlemen disguised in silke, bearyng staffe torches, and desired the ladies to daunce; some were content, and some that knew the fashion of it, refused, because it was not a thyng commonly seen. And after thei daunced and communed together, as the fashion of the Maske is, thei tooke their leave and departed, and so did the Queene, and all the ladies."²

I do not find that it was a part of their diversion in these entertainments to display humour and character.³ Their chief aim seems to have been to surprise by the ridiculous and exaggerated oddity of the visors, and by the singularity and splendour of the dresses. Every thing was out of nature and propriety. Frequently the Masque was attended with an exhibition of some gorgeous machinery, resembling the wonders of a modern pantomime. For instance, in the great hall of the palace, the usual place of performance, a vast mountain covered with tall trees arose suddenly, from whose opening caverns issued hermits, pilgrims, shepherds, knights, damsels, and gipsies who, being regaled with spices and wine danced a morisco, or morris-dance. They were then again received into the mountain, which with a symphony of rebecs and recorders closed its caverns, and tumbling to pieces, was replaced by a ship in full sail, or a castle besieged. To be more particular: the following device was shown in the hall of the palace at Greenwich. A castle was reared, with numerous towers, gates, and battlements; and furnished with every military preparation for sustaining a long siege. On the front was inscribed *Le fortresse dangerus*. From the windows looked out six ladies, clothed in the richest russet satin, "laide all ouer with leues of Golde, and euery owde knit with laces of blewe silke and golde, on their heddes coyfes, and cappes all of gold." This castle was moved about the hall; and when the queen had viewed it for a time, the king entered the hall with five knights, in embroidered vestments, spangled and plated with gold of the most curious and costly workmanship. They assaulted the castle; and the six ladies, finding them to be champions of redoubted prowess, after a parley, yielded their perilous fortrefs, descended, and danced with their assailants. The ladies then led the knights into the castle which immediately vanished, and the company retired.⁴ Here we see

¹ Holinsh. *Chron.* vol. iii. p. 921, *seq.*

² *Chron.* fol. xv. [edit. 1809, p. 526.]

³ [Of these there was probably about as much as would be found in a modern masquerade, consisting of the king and his court, lords of the bed-chamber and maids of honour.—*Ashby.*]

⁴ Holinsh. vol. iii. p. 812. [For a much earlier example of this kind of display I might refer to the *Venetian Annals of the 14th Century*, but my reference is mislaid.]

the representation of an action. But all these magnificent mummeries, which were their evening amusements on festivals, (notwithstanding a parley¹ which my historian calls a communication, is here mentioned,) were yet in dumb shew,² and without dialogue.

But towards the latter part of Henry's reign, much of the old cumbersome state began to be laid aside. This I collect from a set of new regulations given to the royal household about the year 1526, by Cardinal Wolsey. In the chapter *For keeping the Hall and ordering of the Chapel*, it is recited that by the frequent intermission and disuse of the solemnities of dining and supping in the great hall of the palace, the proper officers had almost forgot their duty, and the manner of conducting that very long and intricate ceremonial. It is therefore ordered, that when his majesty is not at Westminster, and with regard to his palaces in the country, the formalities of the Hall, which ought not entirely to fall into desuetude, shall be at least observed when he is at Windsor, Beaulieu or Newhall³ in Essex, Richmond, Hampton-court, Greenwich, Eltham, and Woodstock. And that at these places only, the whole choir of the chapel shall attend. This attempt to revive that which had begun to cease from the nature of things and from the growth of new manners, perhaps had but little or no lasting effect. And with respect to the chapel my record adds that when the king is on journeys or progresses, only six singing boys and six gentlemen of the choir shall make a part of the royal retinue; who "daylie in absence of *the residue* of the chapel shall have a Masse of our Ladie before noon, and on Sondaies and holidais masse of the day besides our Lady-masse, and an anthemne in the afternoone: for which purpose no *great carriage* of either vestiments or bookes shall require."⁴ Henry never seems to have been so truly happy, as when he was engaged in one of these progresses: in other words, moving from one seat to another, and enjoying his ease and amusements in a state of royal relaxation. This we may collect from a curious passage in Holinshed who had pleased and perhaps informed us less,

¹ [About the terms on which to surrender the fortress that six fine ladies had defended.—*Ashby*.]

² But at a most sumptuous Disguising in 1519, in the hall at Greenwich the figure of Fame is introduced, who, "in French, declared the meaning of the trees, the rocks, and turneie." But as this shew was a political compliment, and many foreigners present, an explanation was necessary. See Hall, *Chron.* fol. lxvi. This was in 1512. But in the year 1509, a more rational evening-amusement took place in the Hall of the old Westminster-palace, several foreign ambassadors being present. "After supper, his grace [the king] with the queene, lords, and ladies, came into the White Hall, which was hanged richlie; the hall was scaffolded and railed on all parts. There was an Enterlude of the gentlemen of his chappell before his grace, and diverse freshe songes."—Hall, *Chron.* fol. xi. xii. [I suppose that it is what Stow intends, when (*Annales*, 1615, *sub anno* 1510) he speaks of "great banquettings, dauncings, and other pastimes."]

³ A new house built by Henry the Eighth. Holinsh. *Chron.* vol. iii. p. 852.

⁴ "ORDENAUNCES made for the kinges household and chambrea." Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Laud K. 48, fol. 1. It is the original on vellum. In it Sir Thomas More is mentioned as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.

had he never deserted the dignity of the historian. "From thence the whole court removed to Windsor, then beginning his progresse, and exercising himselfe daillie in shooting, finging, danfing, wrestling, casting of the barre, plaieing at the recorders, flute, virginals, in setting of songes, and making of ballades.—And when he came to Oking,¹ there were kept both justes and turneies."² I make no apology for these seeming digressions. The manners and the poetry of a country are so nearly connected, that they mutually throw light on each other.

The same connection subsists between the state of poetry and of the arts; to which we may now recall the reader's attention with as little violation of our general subject.

We are taught in the mythology of the ancients, that the three Graces were produced at a birth. The meaning of the fable is, that the three most beautiful imitative arts were born and grew up together. Our poetry now beginning to be divested of its monastic barbarism, and to advance towards elegance, was accompanied by proportionable improvements in painting and music. Henry employed many capital painters, and endeavoured to invite Raphael and Titian into England. Instead of allegorical tapestry, many of the royal apartments were adorned with historical pictures. Our familiarity with the manners of Italy, and affectation of Italian accomplishments, influenced the tones and enriched the modulation of our musical composition. Those who could read the sonnets of Petrarch must have relished the airs of Palestrina. At the same time, Architecture, like Milton's lion pawing to get free, made frequent efforts to disentangle itself from the massy incumbrances of the Gothic manner, and began to catch the correct graces, and to copy the true magnificence, of the Grecian and Roman models. Henry was himself a great builder; and his numerous edifices, although constructed altogether on the ancient system, are sometimes interspersed with chaste ornaments and graceful mouldings, and often marked with a legitimacy of proportion and a purity of design before unattempted. It was among the literary plans of Leland, one of the most classical scholars of this age, to write an account of Henry's palaces, in imitation of Procopius who is said to have described the palaces of the Emperor Justinian. Frequent symptoms appeared, that perfection in every work of taste was at no great distance. Those clouds of ignorance, which yet remained, began now to be illuminated by the approach of the dawn of truth.

¹ Woking in Surrey, near Guildford, a royal seat.

² *Chron.* vol. iii. p. 806.

SECTION XLV.



THE reformation of our church produced an alteration for a time in the general system of study, and changed the character and subjects of our poetry. Every mind, both learned and unlearned, was busied in religious speculation; and every pen was employed in recommending, illustrating, and familiarising the Bible, which was now laid open to the people.

The poetical annals of King Edward the Sixth, who removed those chains of bigotry which his father Henry had only loosened, are marked with metrical translations of various parts of the sacred scripture. Of these the chief is the versification of the Psalter by Sternhold and Hopkins: a performance which has acquired an importance, and consequently claims a place, in our series not so much from any merit of its own, as from the circumstances with which it is connected.

It is extraordinary, that the protestant churches should be indebted to a country in which the reformation had never begun to make any progress, and even to the indulgence of a society which remains to this day the grand bulwark of the Catholic theology, for a very distinguishing and essential part of their ritual.

About the year 15[3]0, Clement Marot, a valet of the bedchamber to King Francis the First, was the favourite poet of France. This writer, having attained an unusual elegance and facility of style, added many new embellishments to the rude state of the French poetry. It is not the least of his praises, that La Fontaine used to call him his master. He was the inventor of the rondeau, and the restorer of the madrigal: but he became chiefly eminent for his pastorals, ballads, fables, elegies, epigrams, and translations from Ovid and Petrarch.¹ At length, being tired of the vanities of profane poetry, or rather privately tinctured with the principles of Lutheranism, he attempted, with the assistance of his friend Theodore Beza,² and by the encouragement of the professor of Hebrew in the university of Paris, a version of David's Psalms into French rhymes. This translation, which did not aim at any innovation in the public worship, and which received the sanction of the Sorbonne as containing nothing contrary to sound doctrine, he dedicated to his master Francis

¹ [Hence was it observed in a poem before quoted:

" In Fraunce did Marot rayne,
And neighbour thearunto
Was Petrark marching full with Dante,
Who erst did wonders do."—*Park.*]

[⁽²⁾ See respecting Beza, *inter alia*, Ellis, *Or. Letters*, 3rd S. iii. 373.]

the First, and to the Ladies of France.¹ In the dedication to the Ladies or *les Dames de France*, whom he had often before addressed in the tenderest strains of passion or compliment, he seems anxious to deprecate the raillery which the new tone of his versification was likely to incur, and is embarrassed how to find an apology for turning faint. Conscious of his apostasy from the levities of life, in a spirit of religious gallantry he declares that his design is to add to the happiness of his fair readers, by substituting divine hymns in the place of *chansons d'amour*, to inspire their susceptible hearts with a passion in which there is no torment, to banish that fickle and fantastic deity Cupid from the world, and to fill their apartments with the praises, not of the *little god*, but of the true Jehovah.

E voz doigts sur les espinettes
Pour dire saintes chançonnettes.

He adds, that the golden age would now be restored, when we should see the peasant at his plough, the carman in the streets, and the mechanic in his shop, solacing their toils with psalms and canticles: and the shepherd and shepherdess, reposing in the shade, and teaching the rocks to echo the name of the Creator.

Le Laboureur a sa charruë,
Le Charretier parmy le ruë,
Et l'Artisan en sa boutique,
Avecques un Pseaume ou Cautique,
En son labour se soulager.
Heureux qui orra le Berger
Et la Bergere au bois estans,
Fair que rochers et estangs,
Après eux chantant la hauteur
Du saint nom de Createur."

Marot's psalms soon eclipsed the brilliancy of his madrigals and sonnets. Not suspecting how prejudicial the predominant rage of psalm-singing might prove to the ancient religion of Europe, the Catholics themselves adopted these sacred songs as serious ballads, and as a more rational species of domestic merriment. They were the common accompaniments of the fiddle. They were sold so rapidly, that the printers could not supply the public with copies. In the festive and splendid court of Francis the First, of a sudden nothing was heard but the psalms of Clement Marot. By each of the royal family and the principal nobility of the court a psalm was chosen, and fitted to the ballad tune which each liked best.² The dauphin Prince Henry, who delighted in hunting, was fond of *Ainsi qu'en oit le cerf bruire*, or, *Like as the Hart desireth the water-brooks*,

[¹ The first edition known to Brunet (*Man. du Libraire*, last edit. in v.) was that of 1541, but in the catalogue of the library of La Morgue, 1781, an impression of 1535, according to Brunet, is noticed.]

² Les Oeuvres de Clement Marot de Cahors, valet de chambre du roy, &c. A Lyon, 1551. 12mo. See *Ad calc. Traditions*, &c. p. 192.

³ [This mode of adaptation may be seen in the Godly and Spirituall Songs, &c. printed at Edinburgh in 1578, 1600, and 1621], and [partly] reprinted there in 1801.—*Park*. But Mr. David Laing has since republished the edition of 1578, Edinb. 1868, 8vo.]

which he constantly sung in going out to the chase. Madame de Valentinois, between whom and the young prince there was an attachment, took *Du fond de ma pensée*, or, *From the depth of my heart*, O Lord. The queen's favourite was, *Ne vueilles pas*, O Sire, that is, O Lord, rebuke me not in thine indignation, which she sang to a fashionable jig.¹ Antony King of Navarre sung, *Revenge moy, pren le querelle*, or *Stand up, O Lord, to revenge my quarrel*, to the air of a dance of Poitou.² It was on very different principles that psalmody flourished in the gloomy court of Cromwell. This fashion does not seem in the least to have diminished the gaiety and good humour of the court of Francis.

At this period John Calvin, in opposition to the discipline and doctrines of Rome, was framing his novel church at Geneva: in which the whole substance and form of divine worship were reduced to praying, preaching, and singing. In the last of these three, he chose to depart widely from the catholic usage; and, either because he thought that novelty was sure to succeed, that the practice of antiphonal chanting was superstitious, or that the people were excluded from bearing a part in the more solemn and elaborate performance of ecclesiastical music, or that the old papistic hymns were unedifying, or that verse was better remembered than prose, he projected, with the advice of Luther, a species of religious song, consisting of portions of the psalms intelligibly translated into the vernacular language, and adapted to plain and easy melodies, which all might learn, and in which all might join. This scheme, either by design or accident, was luckily seconded by the publication of Marot's metrical psalms at Paris, which Calvin immediately introduced into his congregation at Geneva.³ Being set to simple and almost monotonous notes by Guillaume de Franc, they were soon established as the principal branch in that reformer's new devotion, and became a characteristic mark or badge of the Calvinistic worship and profession. Nor were they sung only in his churches. They exhilarated the convivial assemblies of the Calvinists, were commonly heard in the streets, and accompanied the labours of the artificer. The

¹ [Jig does not here signify a dance, but a tune.—*Park*.]

² See Bayle's *DiB.* v. MAROT.

³ [Marot's French translation of the Psalms, said the late Mr. Mason, became popular in the court where it had its origin; not, as it seems, because it was a version of the Psalms, but as being a version in *rhyme*, and what the taste of the time deemed good poetry. Devotion, it must be believed, had little to do in this matter, the version was fashionable! Calvin conceived it might be turned to a pious purpose. The verses were easy and prosaic enough to be intelligible to the meanest capacity. The melodies to which they were set rivalled the words in plainness and simplicity. They who could read the one would find little difficulty in learning to sing the other. As, therefore, it was the Protestant father's aim to open the Scriptures entirely which had been so long shut up in a dead language, nothing would come more opportune than this version of the Psalter; which, united with prayer in their own tongue, would enable his congregation to understand and join in the one, and become choristers of the other. *Essays, &c., on English Church Music.*—*Park*.]

weavers and woollen manufacturers of Flanders, many of whom left the loom and entered into the ministry, are said to have been the capital performers in this science. At length Marot's psalms formed an appendix to the catechism of Geneva, and were interdicted to the Catholics under the most severe penalties. In the language of the orthodox, psalm-singing and heresy were synonymous terms.

It was Calvin's system of reformation, not only to strip religion of its superstitious and ostensible pageantries, of crucifixes, images, tapers, superb vestments, and splendid processions, but of all that was estimable in the sight of the people, and even of every simple ornament, every significant symbol and decent ceremony; in a word, to banish every thing from his church which attracted or employed the senses, or which might tend to mar the purity of an abstracted adoration, and of a mental intercourse with the Deity. It is hard to determine, how Calvin could reconcile the use of singing, even when purged from the corruptions and abuses of popery, to so philosophical a plan of worship. On a parallel principle, and if any artificial aids to devotion were to be allowed, he might at least have retained the use of pictures in the church. But a new sect always draws its converts from the multitude and the meanest of the people, who can have no relish for the more elegant externals. Calvin well knew that the manufacturers of Germany were no judges of pictures. At the same time, it was necessary that his congregation should be kept in good humour by some kind of pleasurable gratification and allurements, which might qualify and enliven the attendance on the more rigid duties of praying and preaching. Calvin, therefore, intent as he was to form a new church on a severe model, had yet too much sagacity to exclude every auxiliary to devotion. Under this idea, he permitted an exercise which might engage the affections, without violating the simplicity of his worship; and sensible that his chief resources were in the rabble of a republic, and availing himself of that natural propensity which prompts even vulgar minds to express their more animated feelings in rhyme and music, he conceived a mode of universal psalmody, not too refined for common capacities, and fitted to please the populace. The rapid propagation of Calvin's religion, and his numerous proselytes, are a strong proof of his address in planning such a sort of service. France and Germany were instantly infatuated with a love of psalm-singing which, being admirably calculated to kindle and diffuse the flame of fanaticism, was peculiarly serviceable to the purposes of faction, and frequently served as the trumpet to rebellion. These energetic hymns of Geneva, under the conduct of the Calvinistic preachers, excited and supported a variety of popular insurrections; they filled the most flourishing cities of the Low Countries with sedition and tumult, and fomented the fury which defaced many of the most beautiful and venerable churches of Flanders.

This infectious frenzy of sacred song soon reached England, at the very critical point of time when it had just embraced the reformation: and the new psalmody was obtruded on the new English

liturgy by some few officious zealots, who favoured the discipline of Geneva, and who wished to abolish, not only the choral mode of worship in general, but more particularly to suppress the *Te Deum*, *Benedictus*, *Magnificat*, *Jubilate*, *Nunc dimittis*, and the rest of the liturgic hymns, which were supposed to be contaminated by their long and ancient connection with the Roman missal, or at least in their profane form to be unsuitable to the new system of worship.

Although Wyat and Surrey had before made translations of the Psalms into metre, Thomas Sternhold was the first whose metrical version of the Psalms was used in the Church of England. Sternhold was a native of Hampshire, and probably educated at Winchester college. Having passed some time at Oxford, he became groom of the robes to King Henry the Eighth. In this department, either his diligent services or his knack at rhyming so pleased the king, that his majesty bequeathed him a legacy of one hundred marks. He continued in the same office under Edward the Sixth, and is said to have acquired some degree of reputation about the court for his poetry. Being of a serious disposition, and an enthusiast to reformation, he was much offended at the lascivious ballads which prevailed among the courtiers, and with a laudable design to check these indecencies, undertook a metrical version of the Psalter, "thinking thereby," says Antony Wood, "that the courtiers would sing them instead of their sonnets, *but did not*, only some few excepted."¹ Here was the zeal, if not the success, of his fellow labourer Clement Marot. A singular coincidence of circumstances is, notwithstanding, to be remarked on this occasion. Vernacular versions, for general use, of the Psalter, were first published both in France and England by laymen, by court poets, and by servants of the court. Nor were the respective translations entirely completed by themselves: and yet they translated nearly an equal number of psalms, Marot having versified fifty, and Sternhold fifty-one.² Sternhold

¹ *Ath. Oxon.* i. 76.

² ["Henry the Eighth," says Brathwaite, "for a few psalmes of David translated and turned into English metre by Sternhold, made him groom of his privie chamber."—*English Gentleman*, p. 191, 1630. Against George Wither of Lincoln's Inn, who had published *Hymnes and Songs of the Church*, by royal licence in 1623, it was alleged that he had "indecently obtruded upon the divine calling;" to which he indignantly replied, "I wonder what *divine calling* Hopkins and Sternhold had, more than I have, that *their* metrical Psalms may be allowed of rather than my Hymnes. Surely, yf to have been *groomes of the privie-chamber* were sufficient to qualify them, that profession [the law] which I am of, may as well fitt me for what I have undertaken."—*Schollers Purgatory*, [1625,] p. 40. Wither proceeds to say: "Excuse me, if I seeme a little too playne in discovering the faultines of *that* whereof so many are overweening: for I do it not to disparage the pious endeavours of those who tooke paynes in that translation; but rather, commending their laborious and Christian intention, do acknowledge that (considering the tymes they lived in, and of what *quality* they were), they made so worthye an attempt, as may justly shame us who came after, to see it no better seconded, during all the flourishing tymes which have followed their troublesome age: especially seeing howe curiously our language and expressions are refined in our triviall discourses." Yet Wither, like his predecessors, professes to have used

died in the year 1549. [During his life-time, at least two impressions of a partial translation from his pen saw the light. Both are undated, and from the same press. The first contained only nineteen Psalms as a specimen. But there is another edition of the book in 4to (the preceding two having been in duodecimo) purporting to have appeared during the author's life, and comprising fifty-one Psalms. In 1549 the work was republished, and from that time forth its editions were very numerous.] He probably lived to prepare the three earliest editions for the press; the first is dedicated by himself to King Edward the Sixth.

Cotemporary with Sternhold and his coadjutor was John Hopkins, of whose life nothing more is known than that he was a clergyman and a schoolmaster of Suffolk, and perhaps a graduate at Oxford about the year 1544. Of his abilities as a teacher of the classics, he has left a specimen in some Latin stanzas prefixed to Fox's *Martyrology*. He is rather a better English poet than Sternhold, and translated fifty-eight of the Psalms, distinguished by the initials of his name.

Of the rest of the contributors to this undertaking the chief, at least in point of rank and learning, was William Whyttingham, promoted by Robert Earl of Leicester to the deanery of Durham, yet not without a strong reluctance to comply with the use of the canonical habiliments. Among our religious exiles in the reign of Mary, he was Calvin's principal favourite, from whom he received ordination. So pure was his faith, that he was thought worthy to succeed to the congregation of Geneva, superintended by Knox, the Scotch reformer who, from a detestation of idols, proceeded to demolish the churches in which they were contained. It was one of the natural consequences of Whyttingham's translation from Knox's pastorate at Geneva to an English deanery, that he destroyed or removed many beautiful and harmless monuments of ancient art in his cathedral. To a man, who had so highly spiritualised his religious conceptions, as to be convinced that a field, a street, or a barn, were fully sufficient for all the operations of Christian worship, the venerable structures raised by the magnificent piety of our ancestors could convey no ideas of solemnity, and had no other charms than their ample endowments. Besides the Psalms he translated,¹ all of which bear his initials, by way of innovating still further on our established formulary, he versified the Decalogue, the Nicene, Apostolic and Athanasian Creeds, the Lord's Prayer, the Te Deum, the Song of

that "simplicity of speech which best becometh the subject," and to have as naturally and as plainly expressed the sense of Scripture, as most prose translations have done. Few things, perhaps, are more difficult in metrical composition, than to unite simplicity with gracefulness. Some of our most distinguished modern poets have failed to produce such union.—*Park*. Of late years, the tendency seems to have been towards an eclectic or *variorum* translation of the Psalms; and there is no question that by taking the best part from each version, a fair result might be obtained in substitution for the wretched doggerel of the old version.]

¹ Among them is the hundredth, and the hundred and nineteenth.

the three Children, with other hymns which follow the book of psalmody. How the Ten Commandments and the Athanasian Creed, to say nothing of some of the rest, should become more edifying and better suited to common use, or how they could receive improvement in any respect or degree, by being reduced into rhyme, it is not easy to perceive. But the real design was, to render that more tolerable which could not be entirely removed, to accommodate every part of the service to the psalmodic tone, and to clothe our whole liturgy in the garb of Geneva. All these, for he was a lover of music, were sung in Whyttingham's church of Durham under his own directions. Heylin says, that from vicinity of situation he was enabled to lend considerable assistance to his friend Knox in the introduction of the Presbyterian hierarchy into Scotland. I must indulge the reader with a stanza or two of this dignified fanatic's divine poetry from his Creeds and the Decalogue. From the Athanasian Creed :

The Father God is, God the Son,
God Holy Ghost *also*,
Yet are there not three Gods *in all*,
But one God and *no mo*.

From the Apostolic Creed :

From thence shall he come for to judge
All men both dead and quick ;
I in the holy ghost believe,
And church that's catholicick.

The Ten Commandments are thus closed :

Nor his man-servant, nor his maid,
Nor ox, nor ass *of his* ;
Nor any other thing that *to*
Thy neighbour *proper is*.

These were also verified by Clement Marot.

Twenty-[eight] of the Psalms were turned into metre by Thomas Norton.¹ He was [born in 1532 at Sharpenhoe, in the parish of Streatley, co. Bedford, and was bred to the law. In 1565, he entered at Pembroke Hall, Oxford, and during his stay there, and afterwards, occupied himself with the composition of several pamphlets² on subjects of the day. In the opinion] and phraseology of the Oxford biographer, [he was] a bold and busy Calvinist about the beginning of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He was patronised by the Protector Somerset, at whose desire he translated [when a youth of eighteen]

¹ Marked N. [Mr. Haslewood, who took great pains to examine the distinct claims of the several contributors to this collective version of the Psalms, has apportioned 28 to Norton, 25 to Kethe, 16 to Whyttingham, 43 to Sternhold, and 56 to Hopkins. John Pullain contributed two, Robert Wisdome one, and T. C. [Thomas Churchyard?] a different version of the 136th ; D. Cox supplied a version of the Lord's Prayer, and likewise a grace before and after meat, in sixteen lines each of alternate rhyme, in *A Manuel of Christian Prayers*, by Abr. Flemming, 1594. Initials occur before other specimens, which with their conjectural appropriations may be seen in *Cens. Lit.* vol. x. p. 7.—*Park*. Compare Mr. W. D. Cooper's edit. of *Ralph Roister Doister* and *Gorboduc*, 1847, Introduc. xxxviii.

² [See the full titles in Herbert's *Ames*.]

an epistle, addressed by Peter Martyr to Somerset, into English.¹ He translated also Calvin's *Institutes* [at the request of his dear friends Reginald Wolfe and Edward Whitchurche, the printers, "that so great a jewel might be made most beneficial, that is to say, applied to most common use."² The translation was executed at Whitchurch's house.]

Robert Wisdom, a Protestant fugitive in the calamitous reign of Queen Mary, afterwards archdeacon of Ely,³ and who had been nominated to an Irish bishopric by King Edward the Sixth, rendered the twenty-fifth psalm of this version.⁴ But he is chiefly memorable for his metrical prayer, intended to be sung in the church, against the Pope and the Turk, of whom he seems to have conceived the most alarming apprehensions. It is probable that he thought Popery and Mahometanism were equally dangerous to Christianity, at least the most powerful and the sole enemies of our religion. This is the first stanza :

Preserve us, Lord, by thy dear word,
From Pope and Turk defend us, Lord !⁵
Which both would thrust out of thy throne
Our Lord Jesus Christ, thy dear Son !

Happily we have hitherto survived these two formidable evils ! Among other orthodox wits, the facetious Bishop Corbet has ridiculed these lines. He supposes himself seized with a sudden impulse to hear or to pen a puritanical hymn, and invokes the ghost of Robert Wisdom, as the most skilful poet in this mode of composition, to come and assist. But he advises Wisdom to steal back again to his tomb, which was in Carfax Church at Oxford, silent and unperceived, for fear of being detected and intercepted by the Pope or the Turk. But I will produce Corbet's epigram, more especially as it contains a criticism written in the reign of Charles the First on the style of this sort of poetry :

To the Ghost of Robert Wisdom.

Thou once a body, now but aire,
Arch-botcher of a psalme or prayer,
From Carfax come !
And patch mee up a zealous lay

¹ [Printed in October, 1550, 8vo.]

² [Norton died at Sharpenhoe, March 10, 1582-3.]

³ [After holding the rectory of Settrington, in Yorkshire, he was presented to this archdeaconry by Queen Elizabeth in 1559-60. In Bishop Cox's *Certificatorium* (MS. Benet Coll. Lib.) he was returned as a priest and B.D., usually residing upon his living at Wilberton, appropriated to the archdeaconry of Ely, as qualified for preaching, and licensed thereunto by the Queen's Majesty. See Mr. Gilchrist's complete edition of Corbet's poems, p. 228.—*Park.*]

⁴ See Strype's *Crammer*, pp. 274, 276, 277. Psalms 70, 104, 112, 122, 125, and 134, are marked with W[illiam] K[ethe], Psalm 136 with T[homas] C[hurchyard].

⁵ [Wither, in a tract quoted above, thus glances at this church solecism: "My booke of hymnes being allowed by authority, are as fitt, I trust, to keepe company with Davids Psalmes as Robert Wisdomes Turke and Pope and those other apocryphal songs and praises which the Stationers add to the Psalme Booke for their more advantage."—*Schol. Purg.* p. 35. "From Turke and Pope" is used by Wither to designate a certain psalm tune. See Table to his *Lyric Version*, p. 300.—*Park.*]

With an old *ever and for ay*,¹
Or, *all and some*.

Or such a spirit lend mee,
As may a hymne downe send mee
To purge my braine:
So, Robert, looke behind thee,
Left Turk or Pope doe find thee,
And goe to bed againe.²

The entire version of the psalter was at length published in 1562, attached for the first time to the common prayer, and entitled, *The whole Booke of Psalmes collected into English metre by T. Sternhold, J. Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Ebrue, with apt Notes to sing them withall*. Calvin's music was intended to correspond with the general parsimonious spirit of his worship: not to captivate the passions and seduce the mind by a levity, a variety or a richness of modulation, but to infuse the more sober and unravishing ecstasies. The music he permitted, although sometimes it had wonderful effects, was to be without grace, elegance and elevation. These apt notes were about forty tunes of one part only and in one unisonous key, remarkable for a certain uniform strain of sombre gravity, and applicable to all the psalms in their turns, as the stanza and sense might allow. They also appear in the subsequent impressions, particularly of 1564 and 1577. They are believed to contain some of the original melodies, composed by French and German musicians. Many of them, particularly the celebrated one of the hundredth psalm, are the tunes of Goudimel and Le Jeune, who are among the first composers of Marot's French psalms.³ Not a few were probably imported by the Protestant manufacturers of cloth of Flanders and the Low Countries, who fled into England from the persecution of the Duke de Alva, and settled in those counties where their art now chiefly flourishes. It is not, however, unlikely that some of our own musicians who lived about the year 1562, and who could always tune their harps to the religion of the times, such as Marbeck, Tallis, Tye, and Parsons, were employed on this occasion, yet under the restriction of conforming to the jejune and unadorned movements of the foreign composers. I presume much of the primitive harmony of all these ancient tunes is now lost by additions, variations, and transpositions.

¹ [This patching or eking out of Wisdom's psalmody is thus glanced at in Jordan's *Piety and Poesy contracyed*, under *A Fancy upon Words*:

"If long he to that idol pray
His fight by Love's inflaming ray
Is lost *for ever and for ay*."—*Rob. Wisdom*.

Overbury, in his *Characters*, makes a precisian declare—He "had rather heare one of Robert Wisdomes Psalmes then the best hymne a cherubin can sing:" and Sir J. Birkenhead farcastically observes, in his *Assembly-man*, "When Rous stood forth for his trial, Robin Wisdom was found the better poet."—*Park*.]

² *Poems* [edit. 1807, p. 229].

³ See this matter traced with great skill and accuracy by Hawkins, *Hist. Mus.* iii. p. 518.

This version is said to be *conferred with the Ebrue*. But I am inclined to think that the translation was altogether made from the vulgate text, either in Latin or English.

It is evident that the prose psalms of our Liturgy were chiefly consulted and copied, by the perpetual assumption of their words and combinations: many of the stanzas are literally nothing more than the prose-verses put into rhyme, as,

Thus were they stained with the workes
Of their owne filthie way;
And with their owne inventions did
A whoring go astray.¹

Whyttingham, however, who had travelled to acquire the literature then taught in the foreign universities, and who joined in the translation of Coverdale's Bible, was undoubtedly a scholar and an adept in the Hebrew language.

It is certain that every attempt to clothe the sacred Scripture in verse will have the effect of misrepresenting and debasing the dignity of the original.² But this general inconvenience, arising from the nature of things, was not the only difficulty which our versifiers of the Psalter had to encounter, in common with all other writers employed in a similar task. Allowing for the state of our language in the middle of the sixteenth century, they appear to have been but little qualified either by genius or accomplishments for poetical composition. It is for this reason that they have produced a translation entirely destitute of elegance, spirit and propriety.³ The truth is, that they undertook this work, not so much from an ambition of literary fame or a consciousness of abilities, as from motives of piety, and in compliance with the cast of the times. I presume I am communicating no very new criticism when I observe, that in every part of this translation we are disgusted with a languor of versification and a want of common prosody. The most exalted effusions of thanksgiving, and the most sublime imageries of the divine majesty, are lowered by a coldness of conception, weakened by frigid interpolations, and disfigured by a poverty of phraseology. John Hopkins expostulates with the deity in these ludicrous, at least trivial, expressions:

Why dost withdrawe thy hand aback,
And hide it in thy lappe?

¹ *Psalm* cvi. 38.

² [Dr. Johnson, in his *Life of Waller*, opined that "poetical devotions cannot often please," and assigned strong reasons for such opinion: but these (as Mr. Dunster observed) are not irrefragable. The observer's own feelings, indeed, furnished a strong confutation, when with the hymns of Addison before him he declared that "such devotional poetry must always please." And in truth the dogma of Dr. Johnson, that "contemplative piety cannot be poetical," is completely refuted by the *Talk of Cowper*, inasmuch as contemplative piety forms one of the most powerful charms by which that devout and Christian poet accomplishes his poetical enchantment. See Hayley's *Life*.—*Park*.]

³ ["But had they been better poets," said Mr. Warton in his MSS. memoranda, "their performances had been less popular."—*Park*.]

O plucke it out, and be not slack
To give thy foes a rappe!¹

What writer who wished to diminish the might of the supreme Being, and to expose the style and sentiments of Scripture, could have done it more skilfully, than by making David call upon God not to consume his enemies by an irresistible blow, but to give them a rap? Although some shadow of an apology may be suggested for the word rap, that it had not then acquired its present burlesque acceptation or the idea of a petty stroke, the vulgarity of the following phrase, in which the practice or profession of religion, or more particularly God's covenant with the Jews, is degraded to a trade, cannot easily be vindicated on any consideration of the fluctuating sense of words:²

¹ Ps. lxxiv. 12. Perhaps this verse is not much improved in the translation of King James the First, who seems to have rested entirely on the image of, *Why withdrawest thou not thine hand?* which he has expressed in Hopkins's manner:

"Why dost thou thus withdraw thy hand,
Even thy right hand refraineth?
Out of thy bosom, for our good,
Drawe backe the same againe!"

In another stanza he has preserved Hopkins's rhymes and expletives, and, if possible, lowered his language and cadences. Ps. lxxiv. 1.

"Oh why, our God, for evermore
Hast thou neglected us?
Why smoaks thy wrath against the sheep
Of thine own pasture thus?"

Here he has chiefly displayed the smoking of God's wrath, which kindles in Hopkins. The particle *thus* was never so distinguished and dignified. And it is hard to say, why his majesty should choose to make the divine indignation smoke, rather than burn, which is suggested by the original.

[George Wither, who printed in the Netherlands, 1632, a lyric version of the Psalms, says he was commanded to perfect that translation by King James, and finished the same about the time of that monarch's translation to a better kingdom, viz. about March 1625. It was designed, he tells us, to be brief, plain and significant, and to combine the fulness of the sense with the relish of the Scripture phrase. In some of his efforts he assuredly has been successful. I will cite two verses from the first Psalm:

"Bless'd is he who neither straies
Where the godless man misguideth,
Neither stands in sinners waies,
Nor in scorners chair abideth;
But in Gods pure lawe delights,
Thereon musing daies and nights.
"Like a tree, sett near the springs,
He doth alway freshlie flourish;
Still his fruits he timely brings,
And his leaf shall never perish:
Ev'rie thing shall prosper too,
Which he undertakes to do, &c."—*Park*.

But Wither left behind him a MS. copy of his version of the Psalms, with an altered title and a revised text. See *Handb. of E. E. Lit.* 1867, art. WITHER.]

² ["In the whole book of Psalms," says Dr. Brown, "as they are verified by

For why, their hearts were nothing bent,
To him nor to his trade.¹

Nor is there greater delicacy or consistency in the following stanza :

Confound them that apply
And seeke to worke my shame ;
And at my harme do laugh, and cry,
So, So, there goeth the game.²

The psalmist says, that God has placed the sun in the heavens, "which cometh forth as a bridegroom out of his chamber." Here is a comparison of the sun rising to a bridegroom who, according to the Jewish custom, was ushered from his chamber at midnight with great state, preceded by torches and music. Sternhold has thus metrified the passage :³

In them the Lord made for the sun
A place of great renown,
Who like a bridegroom ready trimm'd
Doth from his chamber come.

The translator had better have spared his epithet to the bridegroom : which, even in the sense of ready-dressed, is derogatory to the idea of the comparison. But ready-trimm'd, in the language of that time, was nothing more than fresh-shaved. Sternhold as often impairs a splendid description by an impotent redundancy, as by an omission or contraction of the most important circumstances.

The miraculous march of Jehovah before the Israelites through the wilderness in their departure from Egypt, with other marks of his omnipotence, is thus imaged by the inspired psalmist. "O God, when thou wentest forth before the people, when thou wentest through the wilderness : the earth shook, and the heavens dropped at the presence of God ; even as Sinai also was moved at the presence of God, who is the God of Israel. Thou, O God, sentest a gracious rain upon thine inheritance, and refreshedst it when it was weary. The chariots of God are twenty thousand, even thousands of angels ; and the Lord is among them, as in the holy place of Sinai." Sternhold has thus represented these great ideas :

When thou didst march before thy folk
The Egyptians from among,
And brought them from the wilderness,
Which was both wide and long :

The earth did quake, the raine pource downe,
Heard were great claps of thunder ;
The mount Sinai shooke in such sorte,
As it would cleave in sunder.

Sternhold and his companions, there are few stanzas which do not present expressions to excite the ridicule of some part of every congregation. This might well be abolished, as it exposeth one of the noblest parts of divine service to contempt." *Disj. on Poetry and Music*, p. 213.—*Park.*]

¹ Ps. lxxviii. 37.

² Ps. lxx. 3. [This seems to have been a technical expression.—*Park.*]

³ Ps. xix. 4.

Thy heritage with drops of rain
Abundantly was waſht,
And if ſo be it barren was,
By thee it was refreſht.

God's army is two millions,
Of warriours good and ſtrong,
The Lord alſo in Sinai
Is preſent them among.¹

If there be here any merit, it ariſes ſolely from preſerving the expreſſions of the proſe verſion. And the tranſlator would have done better had he preſerved more, and had given us no feeble or foreign enlargements of his own. He has ſhewn no independent ſkill or energy. When once he attempts to add or dilate, his weakneſs appears. It is this circumſtance alone, which ſupports the two following well-known ſtanzas:²

The Lord deſcended from above,
And bowde the heavens high;
And underneath his feet he caſt
The darkneſſe of the ſkie.

On Cherubs and on Cherubims
Full roiallie he rode;
And on the winges of all the windes³
Came flying all abrode.

Almoſt the entire contexture of the proſe is here literally tranſferred, unbroken and without tranſpoſition, allowing for the ſmall deviations neceſſarily occaſioned by the metre and rhyme. It may be ſaid, that the tranſlator has teſtified his judgment in retaining ſo much of the original, and proved he was ſenſible the paſſage needed not any adventitious ornament. But what may ſeem here to be judgment or even taſte, I fear, was want of expreſſion in himſelf. He only adopted what was almoſt ready done to his hand.

To the diſgrace of ſacred muſic, ſacred poetry, and our eſtabliſhed worſhip, theſe Pſalms ſtill continue to be ſung in the Church of England. It is certain, had they been more poetically tranſlated, they would not have been acceptable to the common people. Yet however they may be allowed to ſerve the purpoſes of private edification, in adminiſtering ſpiritual conſolation to the manufacturer and mechanic: as they are extrinſic to the frame of our liturgy and incompatible with the genius of our ſervice, there is, perhaps, no impropriety in wiſhing that they were remitted and reſtrained to that church in which they ſprang, and with whoſe character and conſtitution they ſeem ſo aptly to correſpond. Whatever eſtimation in point of compoſition they might have attracted at their firſt appearance in a ruder age, and however instrumental they might have been at the infancy of the Reformation in weaning the minds of

¹ Ps. lxxiii. 7, ſeq.

² Ps. xviii. 9, 10.

³ [Dryden honoured theſe verſes with high commendation, and conferred additional honour by an imitation of them in his *Annus Mirabilis* :

“On winges of all the winds to combat flies.” St. 55.—*Park*.]

men from the papistic ritual, all these considerations can now no longer support even a specious argument for their being retained. From the circumstances of the times, and the growing refinements of literature, of course they become obsolete and contemptible. A work grave, serious, and even respectable for its poetry, in the reign of Edward the Sixth, at length in a cultivated age has contracted the air of an absolute travestie. Voltaire observes, that in proportion as good taste improved, the Psalms of Clement Marot inspired only disgust; and that, although they charmed the court of Francis the First, they seemed only to be calculated for the populace in the reign of Louis the Fourteenth.¹

To obviate these objections, attempts have been made from time to time to modernize this ancient metrical version, and to render it more tolerable and intelligible by the substitution of more familiar modes of diction. But, to say nothing of the unskilfulness with which these arbitrary corrections have been conducted, by changing obsolete for known words, the texture and integrity of the original style, such as it was, have been destroyed; and many stanzas, before too naked and weak, like a plain old Gothic edifice stripped of its few signatures of antiquity, have lost that little and almost only strength and support which they derived from ancient phrases. Such alterations, even if executed with prudence and judgment, only corrupt what they endeavour to explain, and exhibit a motley performance belonging to no character of writing, and which contains more improprieties than those which it professes to remove. Hearne is highly offended at these unwarrantable and incongruous emendations, which he pronounces to be abominable in any book, "much more in a sacred work;" and is confident, that were Sternhold and Hopkins "now living, they would be so far from owning what is ascribed to them, that they would proceed against the innovators as cheats."² It is certain that this translation in its genuine and unsophisticated state, by ascertaining the signification of many radical words now, perhaps, undeservedly disused, and by displaying original modes of the English language, may justly be deemed no inconsiderable monument of our ancient literature, if not of our ancient poetry.³ In condemning the practice of adulterating this primitive version, I would not be understood to recommend another in its place, entirely new. I reprobate any version at all, more especially if intended for the use of the church.⁴

¹ *Hist. Mod.* ch. ccvii.

² *Gloss. Rob. Gl.* p. 699. [Hearne complains also that these innovators have in several places changed the very initial letters that were to represent the several parts of the Psalms that every one turned into metre.—*Park.*]

³ [Sir John Hawkins observes, that the early translation of the Psalms into metre "was the work of men as well qualified for the undertaking as any that the times they lived in could furnish; and he deemed Fuller had not greatly erred in saying that 'match these verses for their ages, they shall go abreast with the best poems of those times.'" *Hist. of Music*, vol. iii. p. 512.—*Park.*]

⁴ [Dr. Huntingford, Bishop of Gloucester, represented Mr. Warton as strongly

In the mean time, not to insist any longer on the incompatibility of these metrical Psalms with the spirit of our liturgy, and the barbarism of their style, it should be remembered that they were never admitted into our church by lawful authority. They were first introduced by the Puritans, and afterwards continued by connivance. But they never received any royal approbation or parliamentary sanction,¹ notwithstanding it is said in their title-page, that they are "set forth and allowed to be sung in all churches of all the people together before and after evening prayer, and also before and after sermons: and moreover in private houses for their godly solace and comfort, laying apart all ungodly songs and ballads, which tend only to the nourishing of vice and the corrupting of youth." At the beginning of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, when our ecclesiastical reformation began to be placed on a solid and durable establishment, those English divines who had fled from the superstitions of Queen Mary to Frankfort and Geneva, where they had learned to embrace the opposite extreme, and where, from an abhorrence of Catholic ceremonies, they had contracted a dislike to the decent appendages of divine worship, endeavoured in conjunction with some of the principal courtiers to effect an abrogation of our solemn church service, which they pronounced to be antichristian and unevangelical. They contended that the metrical Psalms of David, set to plain and popular music, were more suitable to the simplicity of the Gospel, and abundantly adequate to all the purposes of edification: and this proposal they rested on the authority and practice of Calvin, between whom and the Church of England the breach was not then so wide as at present. But the queen and those bishops to whom she had delegated the business of supervising the liturgy, among which was the learned and liberal Archbishop Parker, objected that too much attention had already been paid to the German theology. She declared that the foreign reformers had before interposed, on similar deliberations, with unbecoming forwardness: and that the Common Prayer of her brother Edward had been once altered to quiet the scruples, and to gratify the cavils, of Calvin, Bucer and Fagius.

attached to the Church of England in all the offices of her liturgy. "This attachment," says Mr. Mant, "mixed with a decided antipathy to Calvinistic doctrine and discipline, may have disposed our historian not only to regard choral service with fondness, but to have reprobated somewhat too severely the practice of popular psalmody in our churches." *Life of Warton*, p. cvi.—*Park*.]

¹ [This is humorously attested by Sir John Birkenhead in his witty character of an Assembly-man or Independent, who is made to tear the liturgy, and burn the book of Common Prayer: yet he has mercy (he adds) on Hopkins and Sternhold, because their metres are sung *without authority* (no statute, canon, or injunction at all)—only like himself, first crept into private houses, and then into churches. Wither gravely confirms the same in the following paragraph from his *Schollers Purgatory*, before quoted: "By what publicke example did we sing Davids Psalms in English meeter before the raigne of King Edward the Sixth? or by what *command* of the church do we sing them as they are now in use? Verily by none. But tyme and Christian devotion having first brought forth that practice, and custome ripening it, long toleration hath in a manner fully authorized the same."—*Park*.]

She was therefore invariably determined to make no more concessions to the importunate partisans of Geneva, and peremptorily decreed that the choral formalities should still be continued in the celebration of the sacred offices.¹

SECTION XLVI.

THE spirit of versifying the psalms and other parts of the Bible, at the beginning of the Reformation, was almost as epidemic as psalm-singing. William Hunnis, a gentleman of the chapel under Edward the Sixth, and afterwards chapel-master to Queen Elizabeth, rendered into rhyme many select psalms,² which had not the good fortune to be rescued from oblivion by being incorporated into Hopkins's collection, nor to be sung in the royal chapel. They were printed in 1550 with this title, *Certayne Psalmes Chosen out of the Psalter of David, and drawen furth into Englysh meter by William Hunnis servant to the ryght honourable syr William Harberd knight. Newly collected and imprinted.*³

[In 1581, was licensed to Henry Denham the stationer, *viz Steppes to beauen, alias the vij [penitential] psalmes reduced into meter by Will. Hunnys: the Honny suckles, and the Wydoes myte.* This was at least reprinted in 1585, under the title of *Seuen Sobs of a Sorrowfull Soule for Sinne, &c.* and often after. [These poems] are dedicated to Frances Countess of Suffex,⁴ whose attachment to the gospel he much extols,⁵ and who was afterwards the foundress of Sydney college in Cambridge. Hunnis also, under the happy title of a *Handful of Honny-suckles*, published *Blessings out of Deuteronomie, Prayers to Christ, Athanasius's Creed, and Meditations,*⁶ in metre with musical notes. But his

¹ See *Canons and Injunctions*, A.D. 1559, Num. xlix.

² [On the back of the title to a copy of Sir Thomas More's works, 1557, (presented to the library of Trin. Coll. Oxon, by John Gibbon, 1630,) the following lines occur, which bear the signature of our poet in a coeval hand :

“ MY LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT.

To God my soule I do bequeathe, because it is his owen,
My body to be layd in grave, where to my frends best knowne :
Executors I wyll none make, thereby great stryffe may grow ;
Because the goods that I shall leave, wyll not pay all I owe.

W : Hunnys.—*Park.*]

³ [See for a list of the works of W. Hunnis, *Handb. of E. E. Lit.* art. HUNNIS.] I have also seen Hunnis's *Abridgement or brief meditation on certayne of the Psalmes in English metre*, printed by R. Wier, 4to. [8vo. says Bishop Tanner.—*Park.*]

⁴ [The love of alliteration had before produced a *Surge of Sorrowing Sobs*, in the “gorgeous gallery of gallant inventions,” 1578.—*Park.*]

⁵ [Her ladyship's virtue and courtesie are extolled; but godlie fear, firm faith, &c. are only enumerated among the dedicatory's wishes.—*Park.*]

⁶ [To these were added the *poore Widowes mite, Comfortable Dialogs betweene Christ and a Sinner, a Lamentation of youths follies, a psalme of rejoicing, and a praier for the good estate of Queen Elizabeth.* The last being the shortest is here given : for Hunnis was rather a prosaic penman :

spiritual nosegays are numerous. To say nothing of his *Recreations on Adams Banishment, Christ his Cribb and the Lost Sheep*, [first printed in 1588,] he translated into English rhyme the whole book of Genesis, which he calls a *Hive full of Honey* [1578, 4to.]¹ But his honey-suckles and his honey are now no longer delicious. He was a contributor to the *Paradise of Dainty Devises*, [1576, to the *Princelie Pleasures at Kenilworth*, 1575,² and to *Englands Helicon*, 1600.]

In the year 1550, John Hall, a surgeon of Maidstone in Kent, and author of [a translation of Lanfranc's *Chirurgie*, 1565, to which he appended an original tract against the abuses of physic and surgery, published] *Certaine chapters taken out of the proverbes of Solomon, with other chapters of the holy Scripture, and certayne Psalmes of David translated into English metre by John Hall*.³ By the remainder of the title it appears, that the proverbs had been in a former impression unfairly attributed to Thomas Sternhold. The other chapters of Scripture are from Ecclesiasticus and Saint Paul's Epistles. We must not confound this John Hall with his cotemporary Eliseus Hall, who pretended to be a missionary from heaven to the queen, prophesied in the streets, and wrote a set of metrical visions.⁴ Metre was now become the vehicle of enthusiasm, and the Puritans seem to have appropriated it to themselves, in opposition to our service which was in prose.⁵

"Thou God that guidst both heaven and earth,
On whom we all depend;
Preserve our Queene in perfect health,
And hir from harme defend.
Conserve hir life, in peace to reigne,
Augment hir joyes withall;
Increase hir friends, maintaine hir cause,
And heare us when we call.
So shall all we that faithfull be
Rejoise and praise thy name:
O God, ô Christ, ô Holie-Ghost,
Give care, and grant the same. Amen."—*Park*.]

¹ [It is inscribed to Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, in an acrostic on his name which is followed by another on the versifiers "to the friendlye reader." Thos. Newton has verses prefixed "in commendation of this his Frenches travayle," which was written, as it seems, "in the winter of his age." He names as previous productions of Hunnis, *Enterludes and gallant layes, and rondelets and songs, his Nosegay and his Widowes Myte, with other fancies of his forge*. And he tells us, that in the prime of youth his pen "had depainted *Sonets Sweete*." This probably is allusive to his contributions in the *Paradise of Daintie Devises*. Wood calls Hunnis a crony of Thomas Newton, the Latin poet. *Ath. Oxon.* i. 152.—*Park*.]

² [Gascoigne's *Poems*, Roxburghe Library edit. 1869-70, ii. 92 *et alibi*.]

³ [Lond. 1549, 8vo.] The edition in quarto dedicated to King Edward the Sixth has this title, *The Psalmes of David translated into English metre by T. Sternhold, Sir T. Wyat, and William Hunnis, with certayne chapters of the Proverbes and select Psalmes by John Hall*. Hall has a copy of verses prefixed to Gale's *Enchiridion of Surgery*, 1563. See John Reade's Preface to his translation of F. Arcaeus's *Anatomy*.

⁴ Strype, *Ann.* i. p. 291, ch. xxv. ed. 1725.

⁵ [I suppose that church service of chant and anthem is here meant; otherwise, their preaching and praying was at least as bad prose as ours.—*A/bby*.]

[Hall also published a version of the entire *Book of Wisdom*, with a selection from the Psalms, in 8vo. This book he inscribed to "Mayster John Bricket, of Eltham, Esquyre." He is the author of the *Court of Virtue*, a reply to the *Court of Venus*, which had given great offence by the licentiousness of its contents, Lond. 1565, 12mo; and of *A Posse in forme of a Vision*, directed against the necromancers and other practitioners of the occult sciences, Lond. 1563, 12mo.]

William Baldwin, of whom more will be said when we come to the *Mirroure for Magistrates*, published [*The Canticles or Balades of Salaman, phraselyke declared in Englyshe metres*, Lond. 1549, 4to.] It is dedicated to Edward the Sixth. Baldwin, in the dedication to his royal patron, expresses a pious wish that these sweet and mystical songs may drive out of office "the bawdy balades of lecherous love," which were indited and sung by idle courtiers in the houses of princes and noblemen. To forward the same purpose, he tells us his Majesty [Edward VI.] had given a notable example, "in causing the Psalmes, brought into fine Englysh meter, by his godly disposed servaunt Thomas Sternholde, to be song openly before his grace, in the hearyng of all his subiectes." Baldwin's metrical paraphrase of the *Song of Solomon* exhibits a greater facility of versification than the psalmody of his predecessor, and the lyrical varieties of his metre render it far more pleasing. I extract a few short specimens from different parts of the volume :

Loe, thou my love art fayer ;
Myselfe have made thee so :
Yea, thou art fayer, in dede,
Wherefore thou shalt not nede
In beautie to dispayer :
For I accept thee, lo,
For fayer.

For fayer, because thyne eyes
Are like the culvers, whyte ;
Whose simplenes in dede
All others do excede :
Thy judgement wholly lyes
In true sence of [the] spryte,
Moste wyse.¹

In wysedome of the flesh, my bed,
Finde truste in wurkes of mannes devise,
By nyght, in darkenes of the dead,
I sought for Christe, as one unwyse,
Whome my soule loveth.

I sought hym long, but founde him not,
Because I sought hym not aryght ;
I sought in wurkes, but now, I wot,
He is found by fayth, not in the nyght,
Whome my soule loveth.²

Ye faythfull, would ye know
As full what one he is ?
My wit and learnyng is too low
To shew that shape of his.

¹ Sign. B 3, b.

² Sign. E 1, a.

My love is suche a gem,
 My frende also is he :
 Ye daughters of Jerusalem
 Suche is my love to me.¹

A fantastical and almost unintelligible pamphlet was printed in [1561, according to Ritfon,] but at all events in 1570 and 1584, called *Beware the Cat*, and was attributed to one Stremer: but in the library of the Society of Antiquaries a black letter copy of verses is preserved, which ascribes the production peremptorily to the pen of Baldwin in these cryer-like lines:—

Wheras ther is a boke called Beware the Cat,
 The verie truth is so that Stremer made not that :
 Nor no suche false fabels fell ever from his pen,
 Nor from his hart or mouth, as knoe mani honest men.
 But wil ye gladli knoe who made that boke in dede,
 One Wylliam Baldewine : God graunt him wel to spede.

Nineteen of the psalms are extant in rhyme by Francis Seagar,² printed in 1553 with musical notes, and dedicated to Lord Ruffel.³

[Seager published in 1557 or earlier (for the edition of 1557 is evidently not the first) a tract called *The Schoole of Vertue and booke of good Nourtire for children*, of which there were several later impressions, with additions from other hands. This is a translation into metre of many of the less exceptional Latin hymns anciently used by the Catholics, and still continuing to retain among the Protestants a degree of popularity. One of these begins, *Jam lucis orto sydere*. At the end are prayers and graces in rhyme. This book, which in Wood's time had been degraded to the stall of the ballad-singer, and is now only to be found on the shelf of the antiquary, was intended to supersede or abolish the original Latin hymns, which were only offensive because they were in Latin, and which were the recreation of scholars in our universities after dinner on festival days. At an archiepiscopal visitation of Merton College in Oxford, in the year 1562, it was a matter of enquiry whether the *superstitious* hymns, appointed to be sung in the Hall on holidays, were changed for the psalms in metre: and one of the fellows is accused of having attempted to prevent the singing of the metrical *Te Deum* in the refectory on All-saints day.⁴

A more brief and much more prosaic version of Solomon's *Canticum Canticorum* was published, in [1575] by [Jud Smith, in] *A mysticall devise of the spirituall and godly love betweene Christ the spouse and the Church or Congregation*. A single stanza may suffice:

¹ Sign. H 3, a.

² [Sir Thomas Smith, the learned secretary to Edward VI. and to his sister Elizabeth, while a prisoner in the Tower in 1549, translated eleven of David's psalms into English metre, and composed three metrical prayers, which are now in the British Museum, MSS. Reg. 17, A. xvii.—*Park*. Specimens of this version may be seen in Brydges' *Refutata*, iv. 185-90.]

³ At the end is a poem entitled, *A description of the lyfe of man, the worlde, and vanities therof*. Princ. "Who on earth can justly rejoyce?"

⁴ Strype's *Parker*, B. xi. ch. ii. pp. 116, 117. Compare *Life of Sir Thomas Pope*, 2nd edit. p. 354.

Come, wend unto my garden gay,
 My sifter and my spowse :
 For I have gathered mirre with spice,
 And other goodly bowes.

Archbishop Parker also versified the Psalter ; not from any opposition to our liturgy, but either for the private amusement and exercise of his religious exile, or that the people, whose predilection for psalmody could not be suppressed, might at least be furnished with a rational and proper translation. It was finished in 1557, [and published, or at least printed, about 1560, 4to.] with this title : *The whole Psalter translated into English metre, which containeth an hundred and fifty psalmes. The first Quinquagene.*¹ In the metrical preface prefixed, he tries to remove the objections of those who censured versifications of Scripture ; he pleads the comforts of such an employment to the persecuted theologist who suffers voluntary banishment, and thus displays the power of sacred music :

The psalmist stayde with tuned songe
 The rage of myndes agast,
 As David did with harpe among
 To Saule in fury cast.
 With golden stringes such harmonie
 His harpe so sweete did wrest,
 That he reliev'd his phrenesie
 Whom wicked sprites possesst.²

Whatever might at first have been his design, it is certain that his version, although printed, was never published ; and notwithstanding the formality of his metrical preface above mentioned, which was professedly written to shew the spiritual efficacy or virtue of the psalms in metre, and in which he directs a distinct and audible mode of congregational singing, he probably suppressed it because he saw that the practice had been abused to the purposes of fanaticism, and adopted by the Puritans in contradiction to the national worship ; or at least that such a publication, whatever his private sentiments might be, would not suit the nature and dignity of his high office in the church. Some of our musical antiquaries, however, have justly conjectured that the archbishop, who was skilled in music, and had formerly founded a music-school in his college of Stoke Clare,³ intended these psalms, which are adapted to compli-

¹ The second quinquagene follows, fol. 146. The third and last, fol. 280. Among the prefaces are four lines from Lord Surrey's *Ecclesiastes*. Attached to every psalm is a prose collect. At the end of the psalms are versions of *Te Deum*, *Benedictus*, *Quicumque vult*, &c.

² He thus remonstrates against the secular ballads :

"Ye songes so nice, ye sonnets all,
 Of lothly lovers layes,
 Ye worke mens myndes but bitter gall
 By phanxies peevish playes."

³ [In the county of Suffolk. From the statutes of which college, as framed by Dr. Parker, Sir John Hawkins has given the following curious extract : "Item to be found in the college, henceforth a number of quiristers, to the number of eight or

cated tunes of four parts, probably constructed by himself, and here given in score, for the use of cathedrals, at a time when compositions in counterpoint were uncommon in the church, and when that part of our choir-service called the motet or anthem, which admits a more artificial display of harmony, and which is recommended and allowed in Queen Elizabeth's earliest ecclesiastical injunctions, was yet almost unknown, or but in a very imperfect state. Accordingly, although the direction is not quite comprehensible, he orders many of them to be sung by the *rector chori* or chantor, and the *quier* or choir, alternately. That at least he had a taste for music, we may conclude from the following not inelegant scale¹ of modulation, prefixed to his eight tunes above mentioned :

"The Nature of the Eyght Tunes.

The first is meke, devout to see,
The second sad, in maiesty :
The third doth rage, and roughly brayth,
The fourth doth fawne, and flattery playth :
The fifth deligth, and laugheth the more,
The sixth bewayleth, it wepeth full sore.
The seventh tredeth stoute in froward race,
The eyghte goeth milde in modest pace."

What follows is another proof that he had proposed to introduce these psalms into the choir-service. "The tenor of these partes be for the people when they will syng alone, the other partes put for the greater quiers, or to suche as will syng or play them privately."²

How far this memorable prelate, perhaps the most accomplished

ten or more, as may be borne conveniently of the flock, to have sufficient meat, drink, broth, and learning. Of which said quiristers, after their breasts (*i. e.* voices) be changed, we will the most apt of wit and capacity be helpen with exhibition of forty shillings, four marks, or three pounds apiece, to be students in some college in Cambridge." *Hist. of Music*, iii. 508.—*Park.*]

¹ ["This scale, however elegant," says Mr. Ashby, "will not alone prove Archbishop Parker's right to this version of the psalms; because it is not only likely in general, that the translator would be a lover of music, but it so happens that the other claimant, John Keeper, had studied music and poetry at Wells." I presume that the following extract from the archbishop's diary will establish his claim to the performance: "This 6 August (his birth-day), Ann. Dom. 1557, I persist in the same constancy, upholden by the grace and goodness of my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, by whose inspiration I have finished the Book of Psalms, turned into vulgar verse." (*Strype's Life of Archbishop Parker.*)]

² As the singing-psalms were never a part of our liturgy, no rubrical directions are anywhere given for the manner of performing them. In one of the Prefaces, written about 1550, it is ordered, "Whereas heretofore there hath been great diversitie of saying and singing in churches within this realm, some following Salisbury use, some Hereford use, some the use of Bangor, some of York, some of Lincoln; now from henceforth all the whole realm shall have but one use." But this is said in reference to the chants, responds, suffrages, versicles, introites, kyrie-eleeysons, doxologies, and other melodies of the Book of Common Prayer, then newly published under lawful authority, with musical notes by Marbeck, and which are still used; that no arbitrary variations should be made in the manner of singing these melodies, as had been lately the case with the Roman missal, in performing which some cathedrals affected a manner of their own. The Salisbury missal was most famous and chiefly followed.

scholar that had yet filled the Archbishopric of Canterbury, has succeeded in producing a translation of the psalter preferable to the common one, the reader may judge from these stanzas of a psalm highly poetical, in which I have exactly preserved the translator's peculiar use of the hemistic punctuation:

To feede my neede : he will me leade
 To pastures greene and fat :
 He forth brought me : in libertie,
 To waters delicate.
 My soule and hart : he did conuert,
 To me he shewth the path :
 Of right wisenes : in holiness,
 His name such vertue hath.
 Yea though I go : through Death his wo
 His vale and shadow wyde :
 I feare no dart : with me thou art
 With rod and staffe to guide.
 Thou shalt prouyde : a table wyde,
 For me against theyr spite :
 With oyle my head : thou hast bespred,
 My cup is fully dight.

I add, in the more sublime character, a part of the eighteenth psalm, in which Sternhold is supposed to have exerted his powers most successfully, and without the interruptions of the pointing, which perhaps was designed for some regulations of the music, now unknown:

The earth did shake, for feare did quake,
 The hills theyr bases shooke;
 Removed they were, in place most fayre,
 At Gods ryght fearfull looke.
 Darke smoke rose to hys face therefro,
 Hys mouthe as fire consumed,
 That coales as it were kyndled bright
 When he in anger fumde.
 The heavens full lowe he made to bowe,
 And downe dyd he ensue;
 And darknes great was underfete
 His feete in clowdy hue.
 He rode on hye, and dyd so flye,
 Upon the Cherubins;
 He came in sight, and made his flight
 Upon the wyng of wyndes.
 The Lorde from heaven sent downe his leaven
 And thundred thence in ire;
 He thunder cast in wondrous blast
 With hayle and coales of fyre.¹

Here is some degree of spirit, and a choice of phraseology. But on the whole, and especially for this species of stanza, Parker will be found to want facility, and in general to have been unpractised in writing English verses. His abilities were destined to other studies, and adapted to employments of a more archiepiscopal nature.

¹ Fol. 35.

The industrious Strype, Parker's biographer, after a diligent search, never could gain a sight of this translation.¹ In Mr. West's library there was a superb copy, once belonging to Bishop Kennet, who has remarked in a blank page, that the archbishop permitted his wife, Dame Margaret, to present the book to some of the nobility. It is certainly at this time extremely scarce, and would be deservedly deemed a fortunate acquisition to those capricious students who labour only to collect a library of rarities. Yet it is not generally known, that there are two copies in the Bodleian library of this anonymous version, which have hitherto been given to an obscure poet by the name of John Keeper. One of them, in 1643, appears to have been the property of Bishop Barlow : and on the opposite side of the title, in somewhat of an ancient hand, is this manuscript insertion : "The auctor of this booke is one John Keeper,² who was brought upp in the clofe of Wells." [In the Lambeth library is a beautiful copy of this edition of the Psalms, on

¹ [Mr. Todd describes a copy very curiously bound in the church library of Canterbury. See his *Milton*, vol. vi. p. 116.—*Park.*]

² [John Keeper, or Keyper, occurs in the *Arbor of Amitie* by Thomas Howell. Lond. 1568, 8vo.; and he is also the translator of Romei's *Courtiers Academie*, n. d. 4to. Among the recommendatory copies of verses is one signed "John Keeper, student." See also "J. K. to his friend H.," fol. 27 a; and "H. to K.," *ibid.* Again, fol. 33 b, 34 a, 38, 39, &c.

Howell [likewise wrote] *Devises for his owne exercise and his Friends pleasure*, 1581, [a copy of which, bought at Pearson's sale in 1788 by Malone, is now in the Bodleian. The *Arbor of Amitie* is also there,] and denotes him to have had a contraction of metrical spirit, which fitly adapts itself to posies for rings; *ex. gr.*

"As flowres freshe to-day,
To-morrow in decay;
Such is th' uncertaine stay,
That man hath here alway."

The following lines from a poem wherein a lover "describes his loss of liberty and craves return of love," are the very best I could trace in the volume, which is deemed unique, and therefore claimed an entire perusal :

"When first I cast my carelesse eye
Upon thy hue, that drew the dart,
I little thought thou shouldest lye
So deepe sunck downe in my poore hart;
I would full faine forgo my holde,
My free estate by wit to folde.

"As birde alurde in winters sore,
On limed twigges that often bee,
Thinks he is free as late before
Untill he 'saves his flight to flee :
He cries, he flies, in vaine he tries,
On twigge in bondage there he lies.

"So I, by lure of thy good grace,
That thought my hart at libertie,
Was wrapt unwares by featurde face,
With most extreme captivitie :
A Beautie hath me bondman made,
By love sincere, that shall not vade." Fol. 2.—*Park.*

See *Handb. of E. E. Lit.* art. HOWELL.]

the back of the title of which is written : "To the right vertuouse and honorable Ladye the Countesse of Shrewsburye, from your lovinge frende, Margaret Parker." This is written in the hand of the time when she lived ; and the binding of the book, which is richly gilded, seems also of the same date.]¹

A considerable contributor to the metrical theology was Robert Crowley, educated in Magdalen college at Oxford, where he obtained a fellowship in 1542. In the reign of Edward the Sixth, he commenced printer and preacher in London. He lived in Ely-rents in Holborn, "where," says Wood, "he sold books, and at leisure times exercised the gift of preaching in the great city and elsewhere."² In 1550 he printed the first edition of *Pierce Plowmans Vision*, but with the ideas of a controversialist, and with the view of helping forward the Reformation by the revival of a book which exposed the absurdities of Popery in strong satire, and which at present is only valuable or useful, as it serves to gratify the harmless researches of those peaceable philosophers who study the progression of ancient literature. His pulpit and his press, those two prolific sources of faction, happily co-operated in propagating his principles of predestination : and his shop and his sermons were alike frequented. Possessed of those talents which qualified him for captivating the attention and moving the passions of the multitude, under Queen Elizabeth he held many dignities in a church, whose doctrines and polity his undiscerning zeal had a tendency to destroy. He translated into popular rhyme, not only the Psalter, but the litany, with hymns, all which he printed together in 1549. In the [following] year, and in the same measure, he published *The Voice of the last Trumpet blown by the seventh angel*. This piece contains twelve several lessons, for the instruction or amendment of those who seemed at that time chiefly to need advice ; and among whom he enumerates lewd priests, scholars, physicians, beggars, yeomen, gentlemen, magistrates, and women. He also attacked the abuses of his age in thirty-one *Epigrams*, first printed in 1550. The subjects are placed alphabetically. In his first alphabet are *Abbayes, Alehouses, Alleys, and Almshouses*. The second, *Bailiffs, Bawds, Beggars, Bear-bayting, and Brawlers*. They display, but without spirit or humour, the reprehensible practices and licentious manners which then prevailed. He published in 1551 a kind of metrical sermon, [entitled :

*Pleasure and Payne, Heaven and Hell :
Remember these foure, and all shall be well.*

¹ There is a metrical English version of the Psalms among the Cotton manuscripts about the year 1320, which has merit. [Mr. E. A. Bond, Keeper of the MSS. in the British Museum, writes : "The Cotton Psalter in English, referred to by Warton, is probably *Vespasian D. vii.*, a MS. not so early as 1320, but probably of the middle or latter part of the century. You will find another English Psalter in Harley MS., 1770, fol. 156, of the middle of the 14th century ; and still another in Egerton MS. 614, of about the same age. All these are in verse."]

² *Ath. Oxon.* vol. i. p. 235.

Compyled by Roberte Crowley. Anno Domini, MDLI. Some] of these, to say nothing of his controversial tracts in prose, had repeated editions, and from his own press. But one of his treatises, to prove that Lent is a human invention and a superstitious institution, deserves notice for its plan: it is a Dialogue between Lent and Liberty. The personification of Lent is a bold and a perfectly new prosopopeia. In [*The Examination of the masse*, a prose dialogue],¹ against the papists, written by Doctor William Turner, the Mass or Mistress Missa is personified, who, arrayed in all her meretricious trappings, must at least have been a more theatrical figure.²

It will not be foreign to our purpose to remark here, that when Doctor Cofins, prebendary of Durham, afterwards bishop, was cited before the Parliament in 1640 for reviving or supporting papistic usages in his cathedral, it was alleged against him, that he had worn an embroidered cope, had repaired some ruinous cherubims, had used a consecrated knife for dividing the sacramental bread, had renovated the blue cap and golden beard of a little image of Christ on Bishop Hatfield's tomb, had placed two lighted tapers on the altar which was decorated with emblematic sculpture, and had forbidden the Psalms of Sternhold and Hopkins to be sung in the choir.³

SECTION XLVII.



UT among the theological versifiers of these times, the most notable is Christopher Tye, a doctor of music at Cambridge in 1545, and musical preceptor to Prince Edward and probably to his sisters the Princesses Mary and Elizabeth. In the reign of Elizabeth he was organist of the royal chapel, in which he had been educated. To his profession of music he joined some knowledge of English literature; and having been taught to believe that rhyme and edification were closely connected, and being persuaded that every part of the Scripture would be more instructive and better received if reduced into verse, he projected a translation of the *Acts of the Apostles* into familiar metre. It appears that the *Book of Kings*, which for many reasons was more capable of shining under the hands of a translator, had before been versified. But the most splendid historical book, I

¹ The speakers are: "Mistres Missa, Master Knowledge, Master Fremouth, Master Justice of the peace; Peter Preco, the Cryer; Palemon, the Judge; Doctor Porphyry; Sir Philip Philargirye."—*Park*.]

² See Strype, *Eccles. Mem.* vol. ii. p. 138. See the speakers in Ochin's *Dialogue against the Pope*, Englished by Poynt, printed in 1549. Strype, *ibid.* p. 198.

³ Neale's *Hist. Purit.* vol. ii. ch. vii. p. 387, edit. 1733; Nalson's *Collections*, vol. i. p. 789.

mean the most susceptible of poetic ornament, in the Old or New Testament, would have become ridiculous when clothed in the fashionable ecclesiastical stanza. Perhaps the plan of setting a narrative of this kind to music, was still more preposterous and exceptionable. However, he completed only the first fourteen chapters, and they were printed in 1553 [8vo.].¹ It is dedicated in Sternhold's stanza, "To the Vertuous and Godlye learned Prynce, Edwarde the vi." As this singular dedication contains, not only anecdotes of the author and his work, but of his majesty's eminent attention to the study of the Scripture, and of his skill in playing on the lute, I need not apologise for transcribing a few dull stanzas; especially as they will also serve as a specimen of the poet's native style and manner, unconfined by the fetters of translation.

Your grace may note, from tyme to tyme
That some doth vnder take :
Upon the Psalmes to wryte in ryme,
The verse pleasaunt to make.

And some doth take in hande to wryte
Out of the booke of Kynges ;
Because they se your Grace delyte
In suche like Godlye thynges.²

And last of all, I youre poore man
Whose doinges are full base,
Yet glad to do the best I can
To geue vnto your grace,
Haue thought it good nowe to recyte
The storyes of the Actes
Euen of the Twelue, as Luke doth wryte
Of all their worthy factes.

Unto the text I do not ad,
Nor nothyng take awaye ;
And though my style be grosse and bad,
The truth perceyue you maye.

• • • • •
My callynge is another waye,
Your grace shall here in fynde
By notes set forth to synge or playe,
To recreate the mynde.

And thoughe they be not curious,³
But for the letter mete :
Ye shall them fynde harmonious,
And eke pleasaunt and swete.

A young monarch singing the *Acts of the Apostles* in verse to his lute, is a royal character of which we have seldom heard. But he proceeds,

¹ [*Handb. of E. E. Lit.* Art. TYE. There are two editions.]

² Strype says, that "Sternhold composed several psalms at first for his own solace. For he set and sung them to his organ. Which music King Edward vi. sometime hearing, for he was a Gentleman of the privy-chamber, was much delighted with them. Which occasioned his publication and dedication of them to the said king." *Eccles. Memor.* B. i. ch. 2, p. 86.

³ That is, they are plain and unisonous ; the established character of this sort of music.

That such good thinges your grace might moue
 Your lute when ye assaye,
 In stede of songes of wanton loue,
 These stories then to playe.
 So shall your grace please God the Lorde
 In walkynge in hys waye,
 His lawes and statutes to recorde
 In your heart nyght and daye.
 And eke your realme shall florysh styll,
 No good thyng shall decaye,
 Your subiectes shal with right good wyll,
 These wordes recorde and saye:
 "Thy lyfe, O kynge, to us doth thyne,
 As Gods boke doth thee teache;
 Thou dost vs fede with suche doctrine
 As Christes elect dyd preache."

From this sample of his original vein, my reader will not perhaps hastily predetermine, that our author has communicated any considerable decorations to his *Acts of the Apostles* in English verse. There is as much elegance and animation in the two following initial stanzas of the fourteenth chapter, as in any of the whole performance, which I shall therefore exhibit.

It chaunced in Iconium,
 As they¹ oft tymes dyd use,
 Together they into dyd cum
 The Sinagoge of Jewes.
 Where they dyd Preache and only seke
 Gods grace them to atcheue;
 That they so spake to Jewe and Greke
 That many dyd byleue.

Doctor Tye's *Acts of the Apostles* were sung for a time in the royal chapel of Edward the Sixth. But they never became popular.² The impropriety of the design, and the impotency of the execution, seem to have been perceived even by his own prejudiced and undiscerning age. This circumstance, however, had probably the fortunate and seasonable effect of turning Tye's musical studies to another and a more rational system: to the composition of words judiciously selected from the prose psalms in four or five parts. Before the middle of the reign of Elizabeth, at a time when the more ornamental and intricate music was wanted in our service, he concurred with the celebrated Tallis and a few others in setting several anthems, which are not only justly supposed to retain much of the original strain of our ancient choral melody before the reformation, but in respect of harmony, expression, contrivance, and general effect, are allowed to be perfect models of the genuine ecclesiastic style. Fuller informs us, that Tye was the chief restorer of the loss which the music of the church had sustained by the destruction of the monasteries.³

¹ Apostles.

² [Nash said, in 1596, "Dr. Tye was a famous musitian some few years since." See *Have with you to Saffron Walden*.—Park.]

³ *Worthies*, vol. ii. p. 244. Tallis here mentioned, at the beginning of the reign of

It is not my intention to pursue any further the mob of religious rhymers who, from principles of the most unfeigned piety, devoutly laboured to darken the lustre, and enervate the force, of the divine pages.¹ And perhaps I have been already too prolix in examining a species of poetry, if it may be so called, which even impoverishes prose, or rather by mixing the style of prose with verse, and of verse with prose, destroys the character and effect of both. But in surveying the general course of a species of literature, absurdities as well as excellencies, the weakness and the vigour of the human mind, must have their historian. Nor is it unpleasing to trace and to contemplate those strange incongruities, and false ideas of perfection, which at various times either affectation, or caprice, or fashion, or opinion, or prejudice, or ignorance, or enthusiasm present to the conceptions of men, in the shape of truth.

I must not, however, forget, that King Edward the Sixth is to be ranked among the religious poets of his own reign. Fox has published his metrical instructions concerning the eucharist, addressed to Sir Antony Saint Leger. Bale also mentions his comedy called the *Whore of Babylon* which Holland the heresiologist, who [almost certainly] had never seen it, and knew not whether it was a play or a ballad, in verse or prose, pronounces to be a most elegant performance.² Its elegance with some will not perhaps apologise or atone for its subject: and it may seem strange that controversial ribaldry should have been suffered to enter into the education of a great monarch. But the genius, habits, and situation of his age should be considered. The Reformation was the great political topic of Edward's court. Intricate discussions in divinity were no longer confined to the schools or the clergy. The new religion, from its novelty as well as importance, interested every mind, and was almost the sole object of the general attention. Men emancipated from the severities of a spiritual tyranny reflected with horror on the slavery they had so long suffered, and with exultation on the triumph they had obtained.

Elizabeth, and by proper authority enriched the music of Marbeck's liturgy. He set to music the *Te Deum*, *Benedictus*, *Magnificat*, *Nunc Dimittis* and other offices, to which Marbeck had given only the *canto fermo*, or plain chant. He composed a new Litany still in use, and improved the simpler modulation of Marbeck's Suffrages, Kyries after the Commandments, and other versicles, as they are sung at present. There are two chants of Tallis, one to the *Venite Exultemus*, and another to the Athanasian Creed.

¹ I had almost forgotten to observe, that John Mardley, clerk of the king's Mint, called Suffolk-house, in Southwark, translated twenty-four of David's Psalms into English verse, about 1550. He wrote also *Religious Hymns*. Bale, par. post. p. 106. See another of his pieces on [the real presence] and in rhyme, presented and dedicated to Queen Elizabeth, MSS. Reg. 17 B. xxxvii. The Protector Somerset was his patron. [For three other books or tracts by Mardley, see *Handb. of E. E. Lit.* It is uncertain, on what authority Warton states that he translated some of the Psalms.]

² *Heroolog.* p. 27. [This treatise, which seems to have been a disquisition in prose, was entitled, according to Bale, quoted by Nichols (*Literary Remains of Edward VI.* 1857, i. xvii.), *De Meretrice Babylonica*, and consisted only of book the first. It is no longer known. Bale gives the exordium: "Quid deplorandum magis est mortal[ibus]?"']

These feelings were often expressed in a strain of enthusiasm. The spirit of innovation which had seized the times often transgressed the bounds of truth. Every change of religion is attended with those ebullitions, which growing more moderate by degrees afterwards appear eccentric and ridiculous.

We who live at a distance from this great and national struggle between Popery and Protestantism, when our church has been long and peaceably established, and in an age of good sense, of politeness and philosophy, are apt to view these effusions of royal piety as weak and unworthy the character of a king. But an ostentation of zeal and example in the young Edward, as it was natural, so it was necessary, while the Reformation was yet immature. It was the duty of his preceptors to impress on his tender years an abhorrence of the principles of Rome and a predilection to that happy system which now seemed likely to prevail. His early diligence, his inclination to letters, and his seriousness of disposition seconded their active endeavours to cultivate and to bias his mind in favour of the new theology, which was now become the fashionable knowledge. These and other amiable virtues his contemporaries have given young Edward in an eminent degree. But it may be presumed that the partiality which youth always commands, the specious prospects excited by expectation, and the flattering promises of religious liberty secured to a distant posterity, have had some small share in dictating his panegyric.¹

The new settlement of religion, by counteracting inveterate prejudices of the most interesting nature, by throwing the clergy into a state of contention, and by disseminating theological opinions among the people, excited so general a ferment, that even the popular ballads and the stage were made the vehicles of the controversy between the Papal and Protestant communions.²

The *Ballad of Luther; the Pope, a Cardinal, and a Husbandman*, written in 1550 in defence of the Reformation, has some spirit, and supports a degree of character in the speakers.³ There is another written about the same time, which is a lively satire on the English Bible, the vernacular liturgy, and the book of homilies. The measure of the last is that of *Pierce Plowman*, with the addition of rhyme: a sort of versification which now was not uncommon.

Strype has printed a poem called [*A Pore Helpe*, originally printed abroad, and from the character of the type and the ornaments on the title-page probably by Hans Lufft at Marbech about 1540.⁴] It is

¹ [The best account of Edward's literary performances will be found in the Introduction to Nichols's edition of his *Literary Remains*, 1857, 4to.]

² See instances already given, before the Reformation had actually taken place.

³ [Printed from a broadside in the Pepysian by Percy (*Reliques*, ed. 1812, vol. 123).]

⁴ [It may suffice to extract the passage relating to Miles Hoggard:

“And also maister huggarde
Doth shewe hym selfe no sluggarde,
Nor yet no drunken druggarde,
But sharpeth vp hys wyt
And frameth it so fyt

a lampoon against the new preachers or gospellers, not very elegant in its allusions, and in Skelton's style. The anonymous satirist mentions with applause *Maiſter Huggarde*, or Miles Hoggard, a shoemaker [or, according to Wood, a hofier] of London, who wrote ſeveral virulent pamphlets againſt the Reformation, which were made important by extorting laboured answers from ſeveral eminent divines.¹ He alſo mentions a *nobler clarke*, whoſe learned *Balad* in defence of the *boly Kyrke* had triumphed over all the raillery of its numerous opponents.² The ſame induſtrious annaliſt has alſo preſerved *A ſong on Biſhop Latimer*, in the octave rhyme, by a poet of the ſame perſuaſion.³ And in the catalogue of modern Engliſh prohibited books delivered in [1531 and] 1542 to the pariſh prieſts, to the intent that their authors might be diſcovered and puniſhed, there is the *Burying of the Maſs in Engliſh rithme*:⁴] this is no other than William Roy's celebrated ſatire againſt Wolfey, entitled

Rede me, and be not wrothe,
For I ſpeke no thynge but trothe,

fiſt printed, as it is ſuppoſed, at Worms in 1526, and republiſhed at Weſell twenty years later, with ſome of the paſſages ſomewhat ſoftened.] But it is not my intention to make a full and formal collection of theſe fugitive religious paſquinades, which died with their reſpective controversies.

In the year 1547, a proclamation was publiſhed to prohibit preaching. This was a temporary expedient to ſuppreſs the turbulent harangues of the Catholic miniſters, who ſtill compoſed no ſmall part of the parochial clergy: for the Court of Augmentations took care perpetually to ſupply the vacant benefices with the diſincorporated monks, in order to exonerate the exchequer from the payment of their annuities. Theſe men, both from inclination and intereſt, and hoping to reſtore the church to its ancient orthodoxy and opulence, exerted all their powers of declamation in combating the doctrines of Proteſtantiſm, and in alienating the minds of the people from the new doctrines and reformed rites of worſhip. Being ſilenced

Theſe yonkers for to hyt
And wyll not them permyt
In errour ſtyll to ſyt,
As it maye well apeare
By his clarkely anſwere
The whiche intituled is
Agaynſt what meaneth this.”—*Park.*

The piece is reprinted entire in *Remains of the Early Popular Poetry of England*, vol. ii.]

¹ [In 1549, Miles Huggard wrote, but did not publiſh, a tract in verſe called the *Aſſault of the Sacrament of the Altar*, being an attack on thoſe who had written or ſpoken againſt the Sacrament. This appears to have been circulated in MS., and to have produced a controversy between Huggard and Robert Crowley, the poetical printer and preacher. See *Handb. of E. E. Lit. arts.* CROWLEY and HUGGARD.]

² Strype, *Eccl. Mem.* ii. Append. i. p. 34.

³ Ibid. vol. i. Append. xlv. p. 121.

⁴ Burnet, *Hiſt. Ref.* vol. i. *Rec. Num.* xxvi. p. 257.

by authority, they had recourse to the stage; and from the pulpit removed their polemics to the play-house. Their farces became more successful than their sermons. The people flocked eagerly to the play-house, when deprived not only of their ancient pageantries, but of their pastoral discourses, in the church. Archbishop Cranmer and the protector Somerset were the chief objects of these dramatic invectives.¹ At length the same authority, which had checked the preachers found it expedient to control the players: and a new proclamation was promulgated in the following terms.² The inquisitive reader will observe, that from this instrument plays appear to have been long before a general and familiar species of entertainment, that they were acted not only in London but in the great towns, that the profession of a player, even in our present sense, was common and established; and that these satirical interludes were forbidden only in the English tongue: "For asmuche as a greate number of those that be common plaiers of Enterludes and Plaies, as well within the cite of London as elsewhere within the realme, do for the moste part plaie suche Interludes as contain matter tending to sedition and contemptynng of fundery good orders and lawes; where upon are growen and daily are like to growe and ensue, muche disquiet, division, tumultes and uproares in this realme:³ the Kynges maiestie, by the advise and consent of his dereft Uncle Edward Duke of Somerset, Governour of his persone, and Protector of his realmes, dominions, and subiectes, and the rest of his highnes privie Counsell, straightly chargeth and commaundeth al and every his Maiesties subjects, of what soever state, order, or degree thei bee, that from the ix. day of this present moneth of August untill the feast of all Saintes nexte commynng, thei ne any of them, openly or secretly plaie in the English tongue, any kynde of Interlude, Plaie, Dialogue, or other matter set furth in forme of Plaie, in any place publique or private within this realme, upon pain that whosoever shall plaie in Englishe any such Play, Interlude or other matter, shall suffre imprisonment, and other punishment at the pleasure of his Maiestie."⁴ But when the short date of this proclamation expired, the reformers, availing themselves of the stratagems of an enemy, attacked the papists with their own weapons; [at least two] of the comedies on the side of reformation still remain.⁵ [Of one] the writer, while his own religion from its simple and impalpable form was much less exposed to the ridicule of scenic exhibition, has not taken advantage of that opportunity which the papistic ceremonies so obviously afforded to burlesque and drollery from their visible pomp, their number and their absurdities:

¹ Fuller, *Ch. Hist.* B. vii. Cent. xvi. p. 390.

² Dat. 3 Edward vi. Aug. 8. [*English Drama and Stage*, Roxburghe Library, 1869, p. 8.]

³ It should, however, be remarked that the reformers had themselves shewn the way to this sort of abuse long before.

⁴ Fuller, *ibid.* p. 391. See also [*Engl. Drama and Stage*, ut supra, pp. 3-7,] Stat. 2, 3, Edw. VI., A.D. 1548. Gibs. *Cod.* i. p. 261, edit. 1761.

⁵ Gibs. *Cod.* i. p. 191, edit. 1761.

nor did he perceive an effect which he might have turned to his own use, suggested by the practice of his Catholic antagonists in the drama, who, by way of recommending their own superstitious solemnities, often made them contemptible by theatrical representation.

This piece is [Wever's] *Lusty Juventus*: lively describing the Frailtie of youth: of Nature prone to Vyce: by Grace and Good Councell traynable to vertue.¹ Hypocrisy, who is its best character, laments the loss of her superstitions to the devil, and recites a long catalogue of the trumpery of the Popish worship in the metre and manner of Skelton.² The chapter and verse of Scripture are often announced: and in one scene, a personage, called God's mercifull Promises, cites Ezekiel as from the pulpit:

The Lord by his prophet Ezekiel sayeth in this wise playnlye,
As in the xxiii. chapter it doth appere:
Be converted, O ye children, &c.

From this interlude we learn that the young men, which was natural, were eager to embrace the new religion, and that the old were unwilling to give up those doctrines and modes of worship, to which they had been habitually attached, and had paid the most implicit and reverential obedience from their childhood. To this circumstance the devil, who is made to represent the Scripture as a novelty, attributes the destruction of his spiritual kingdom.

The old people would beleve stil in my lawes,
But the yonger fort lead them a contrary way;
They wyll not beleve, they playnly say,
In old traditions as made by men,
But they wyll lyve as the Scripture teacheth them *

The devil then, in order to recover his interest, applies to his son Hypocrisy, who attempts to convert a young man to the ancient faith, and says that the Scripture can teach no more than that God is a good man,⁴ a phrase which Shakespeare with great humour has put into the mouth of Dogberry.⁵ But he adds an argument in jest, which the Papists sometimes seriously used against the Protestants, and which, if we consider the poet's ultimate intention, had better have been suppressed.

The world was never mery,
Since children were so bolde:
Now every boy will be a teacher,
The father a foole, and the chyld a preacher.⁶

¹ See Hawkins's *Old Plays*, i. p. 135.

² From Bale's *Three Lawes* [edit. 1562,] Sign. B. v.

"Here have I pratyne gynnes,
Both brouches, beades, and pynnes,
With such as the people wynnes
Unto idolatrye," &c.

³ *Ibid.* p. 133.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 141. [This phrase is from *Lusty Juventus*, and might even be a popular expression prior to that play.—*Ashby*.]

⁵ [*Much Ado about Nothing*, iii. 5, Dyce's edit. 1868, ii. 117.]

⁶ Bale's *Three Lawes*, p. 143.

It was among the reproaches of Protestantism, that the inexperienced and the unlearned thought themselves at liberty to explain the Scriptures, and to debate the most abstruse and metaphysical topics of theological speculation. The two songs in the character of Youth at the opening and close of this interlude, are flowery and not elegant.¹

[Another dramatic production, composed with the same object as *Lusty Juventus*, is the interlude of *New Custome*, not printed till 1573, but written many years before.²]

The Protestants continued their plays in Mary's reign : for Strype has exhibited a remonstrance from the Privy-council to the Lord President of the North, representing, that "certain lewd [ignorant³] persons, to the number of six or seven in a company, naming themselves to be servants of Sir Francis Lake, and wearing his livery or badge on their sleeves, have wandered about those north parts, and representing certain Plays and Enterludes," reflecting on her majesty and King Philip, and the formalities of the mass.⁴ These were family-minstrels or players, who were constantly distinguished by their master's livery or badge.

When the English liturgy was restored at the accession of Elizabeth, after its suppression under Mary, the Papists renewed their hostilities from the stage, and again tried the intelligible mode of attack by ballads, farces, and interludes. A new injunction was then necessary, and it was again enacted [May 16.] 1559, [that "they (Lieutenants of Counties, Justices, &c.) permyt none to be played, wherein either matters of religion or of the governance of the estate of the commōweale shalbe handled or treated."⁵] But under Henry the Eighth, so early as the year 1542, before the reformation was fixed or even intended on its present liberal establishment, yet when men had begun to discern and to reprobate many of the impostures of Popery, it became an object of the legislature to curb the bold and seditious spirit of popular poetry. No sooner were the Scriptures translated and permitted in English, than they were brought upon the stage : they were not only misinterpreted and misunderstood

¹ Bale's *Three Lawes*, p. 121. 153.

² [This drama will be found reprinted in Doddsley's *Old Plays*, ed. 1825, i.]

³ [So in Puttenham's *Arte of Poesie*, "making the lewd well learned."—*Park*.]

⁴ [*The English Drama and Stage*, ut sup. p. 19.] *Eccl. Mem.* iii. *Append.* lii. p. 185. Dat. 1556. Sir Francis Lake is ordered to correct his servants so offending.

Henry Nicholas, a native of Amsterdam, who imported his own translations of many enthusiastic German books into England, about the year 1550, translated and published "*Comœdia*, a worke in rhyme, conteyning an interlude of Myndes witnessing mans fall from God and Cryst, set forth by H. N. and by him newly perused and amended. Translated out of base Almayne into Englysh." Without date, in duodecimo. It seems to have been printed abroad, [and is said to be "newly perused and amended" in the only copy I have seen. It is to be presumed therefore that there was an earlier impression, unless Nicholas simply meant that he had made additions, &c. to his Low-German original.] Our author was the founder of one of the numerous offsets of Calvinistic fanaticism, called the Family of Love.

⁵ Ann. i. Eliz.

by the multitude, but profaned or burlesqued in comedies and mummeries. Effectually to restrain these abuses, Henry, who loved to create a subject for persecution, who commonly proceeded to disannul what he had just confirmed, and who found that a freedom of enquiry tended to shake his ecclesiastical supremacy, framed a law, that not only Tyndale's *English Bible*, and all the printed English commentaries, expositions, annotations, defences, replies, and sermons, whether orthodox or heretical, which it had occasioned, should be utterly abolished, but that the kingdom should also be purged and cleansed of all religious plays, interludes, rhymes, ballads, and songs, which are equally "pestiferous and noysome" to the peace of the church.¹

Henry appears to have been piqued as an author and a theologian in adding the clause concerning his own *Institution of a Christian man*, which had been treated with the same sort of ridicule. Yet, under the general injunction of suppressing all English books on religious subjects, he formally excepts, among others, some not properly belonging to that class, such as the *Canterbury Tales*, the works of Chaucer and Gower, *Cronicles*, and *Stories of mens lives*.² There is also an exception added about plays, and those only are allowed which were called Moralities, or perhaps interludes of real character and action, "for the rebuking and reproaching of vices and the setting forth of virtue." Mysteries are totally rejected.³ The reservations which follow, concerning the use of a corrected English Bible which was permitted, are curious for their quaint partiality, and they shew the embarrassment of administration, in the difficult business of confining that benefit to a few, from which all might reap advantage, but which threatened to become a general evil without some degrees of restriction. It is absolutely forbidden to be read or expounded in the church. The Lord Chancellor, the Speaker of the House of Commons, "captaines of the wars," justices of the peace, and recorders of cities, may quote passages to enforce their public harangues, as has been accustomed. A nobleman or gentleman may read it, in his house, orchards, or garden, yet quietly and without disturbance "of good order." A merchant also may read it to himself privately. But the common people, who had already abused this liberty to the purpose of division and dissensions, and under the denomination of women, artificers, apprentices, journeymen, and servingmen, are to be punished with one month's imprisonment, as often as they are detected in reading the Bible either privately or openly.

It should be observed, that few of these had now learned to read. But such was the privilege of peerage, that ladies of quality might read "to themselves alone and not to others" any chapter either in the Old or New Testament.⁴ This has the air of a sumptuary law, which indulges the nobility with many superb articles of finery, that

¹ *Stat. Ann.* 34, 35 Henr. the Eighth, cap. i.

² *Ibid.* Artic. ix.

⁴ *Ibid.* Artic. x. *seq.*

³ *Ibid.* Artic. vii.

are interdicted to those of inferior degree.¹ Undoubtedly the duchesses and countesses of this age, if not from principles of piety, at least from motives of curiosity, became eager to read a book which was made inaccessible to three parts of the nation. But the partial distribution of a treasure to which all had a right could not long remain. This was a *manna* to be gathered by every man. The claim of the people was too powerful to be overruled by the bigotry, the prejudice, or the caprice of Henry.

I must add here, in reference to my general subject, that the translation of the Bible, which in the reign of Edward the Sixth was admitted into the churches, is supposed to have fixed our language. It certainly has transmitted and perpetuated many ancient words which would otherwise have been obsolete or unintelligible. I have never seen it remarked, that at the same time this translation contributed to enrich our native English at an early period, by importing and familiarising many Latin words.²

These were suggested by the Latin vulgate, which was used as a medium by the translators. Some of these, however, now interwoven into our common speech, could not have been understood by many readers even above the rank of the vulgar, when the Bible first appeared in English. Bishop Gardiner had, therefore, much less reason than we now imagine for complaining of the too great clearness of the translation when, with an insidious view of keeping the people in their ancient ignorance, he proposed that instead of always using English phrases, many Latin words should still be preserved, because they contained an inherent significance and a genuine dignity, to which the common tongue afforded no correspondent expressions of sufficient energy.³

To the reign of Edward the Sixth belongs Arthur Kelton, a

¹ [There is] an old *Dietarie for the Clergy*, I think by Archbishop Cranmer, in which an archbishop is allowed to have two swans or capons in a dish, a bishop two. An archbishop six blackbirds at once, a bishop five, a dean four, an archdeacon two. If a dean has four dishes in his first course, he is not afterwards to have custards or fritters. An archbishop may have six snipes, an archdeacon only two. Rabbits, larks, pheasants, and partridges, are allowed in these proportions. A canon residentiary is to have a swan only on a Sunday. A rector of sixteen marks, only three blackbirds in a week. See a similar instrument, Strype's *Parker*, Append., p. 65.

In the British Museum there is a beautiful manuscript on vellum of a French translation of the Bible, which was found in the tent of John, King of France, after the battle of Poitiers. Perhaps his majesty possessed this book on the plan of an exclusive royal right. [As, perhaps, there were few such copies in that great kingdom, and very little spirit of reading in the laity.—*A/shby*.]

² More particularly in the Latin derivative substantives, such as *divination, perdition, adoption, manifestation, consolation, contribution, administration, consummation, reconciliation, operation, communication, retribution, preparation, immortality, principality*, &c. &c. And in other words, *frustrate, inexcusable, transfigure, concupiscence*, &c. &c.

³ Such as *IdololatRIA, contritus, holocausta, sacramentum, elementia, humilitas, satisfactio, ceremonia, absolutio, mysterium, penitentia*, &c. See Gardiner's proposals in Burnet, *Hist. Ref.* vol. i. b. iii. p. 315; and Fuller, *Ch. Hist.* b. v. Cent. xvi. p. 238.

native of Shropshire or Wales. He wrote *A Cronycle with a genealogie declaryng that the Brittons and Welshmen are lineallye dyscended fram Brute*, in verse.¹ It is dedicated to the young king, who seems to have been the general patron, and was printed in 1547, [16mo.] Wood allows that he was an able antiquary; but laments that he, "being withall poetically given, must forsooth write and publish his lucubrations in verse; whereby, for rime's sake, many material matters and the due timing of them are omitted, and so consequently rejected by historians and antiquarians."² Yet he has not supplied his want of genealogical and historical precision with those strokes of poetry which his subject suggested; nor has his imagination been any impediment to his accuracy. At the end of his *Chronicle* is the *Genealogy of the Brutes*, in which the pedigree of King Edward the Sixth is lineally drawn, through thirty-two generations, from Osiris the first King of Egypt. Here, too, Wood reproaches our author for his ignorance in genealogy. But in an heraldic inquiry, so difficult and so new, many mistakes are pardonable. It is extraordinary that a Welshman should have carried his genealogical researches into Egypt, or rather should have wished to prove that Edward was descended from Osiris: but this was with a design to show that the Egyptian monarch was the original progenitor of Brutus, the undoubted founder of Edward's family. Bale says that he wrote, and dedicated to Sir William Herbert, afterwards Earl of Pembroke, a most elegant poetical panegyric on the Cambro-Britons.³ But Bale's praises and censures are always regulated according to the religion of his authors.

The first *Chanson à boire*, or *Drinking ballad*, of any merit in our language, appeared in [the comedy of *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, usually assigned to 1566, and to the pen of Bishop Still. But Mr. Dyce has pointed out a version of this song considerably older than the date of the play, showing that the dramatist merely adopted a popular production, which was ready at hand. The older form of the com-

¹ Pr. "In the golden time when all things." [Margaret and Jane Seymour, the daughters of the Duke of Somerset, penned in this reign some verses on Margaret of Valois. See *Letters of R. and Ill. Ladies*, vol. iii. p. 199.] ["It appears to have been written (Herbert states) in the time of King Henry VIII., but he dying before it was printed, the author then dedicated it to K. Edward VI."—*Typ. Ant.* vol. i. p. 523. Arthur Kelton's work opens with a personal invective against Buchanan for his rejection of the Brute tradition, proceeds with an affected division of his subject into three portions, which he terms Anthropology, Chronology, and Topography; and concludes with three farcastic "supposes of a student concerning Historie." The tract is pompous, pedantic, and silly. Warner, in his *Albions England*, 1586, traces the genealogy of Brute (the conqueror of this island, which from him "had Brutaine unto name") through all the wild fictions of mythology and allegory up to antediluvian origin, making him at once the grandson of Æneas, and calculating his descent to be thrice five degrees from Noah, and four times six from Adam. Warner's *Chronicle* is in metre, except an addition to his second book, which contains a brief history of the history of Æneas to the birth of his grandson Brutus. I do not observe, however, that any reference is made by him to Arthur Kelton.—*Park.*]

² *Ath. Oxon.* vol. i. p. 73.

³ Bale, vol. xi. p. 97.

position may be seen in Mr. Dyce's edition of Skelton. Warton's transcript has been left as it stood.] It has a vein of ease and humour, which we should not expect to have been inspired by the simple beverage of those times. I believe I shall not tire my reader by giving it at length, and am only afraid that in this specimen the transition will be thought too violent, from the poetry of the Puritans to a convivial and *ungodly* ballad :

I cannot eat but little meat,
My stomach is not good ;
But sure I think, that I can drink
With him that wears a hood.
Though I go bare, take ye no care,
I nothing am a colde ;
I stuffe my skin so full within,
Of joly goode ale and olde.
*Backe and side go bare, go bare,
Booth foot and hand go colde ;
But, belly, God send thee good ale inoughe,
Whether it be new or olde !*

I love no roft, but a nut-browne tofte,
And a crab laid in the fire ;
A little bread shall do me stead,
Moche bread I noght desire.
No frost, no snow, no winde, I trowe,
Can hurt me if I wolde,
I am so wrapt, and throwly lapt
Of joly good ale and olde.
Backe and side, &c.

And Tib my wife, that as her life
Loveth well good ale to seeke,
Full oft drinkes shee, till ye may see
The teares run downe her cheeke.
Then doth she trowle to me the bowle
Even as a mault-worm sholde ;
And,¹ faith, Sweet heart, I tooke my part
Of this joly good ale and olde.
Backe and side, &c.

Now let them drinke, till they nod and winke,
Even as good fellows should do :
They shall not misse to have the blisse
Good ale doth bringe men to.
And al goode sowles that have scoured bowles,
Or have them lustely trolde,
God save the lives, of them and their wives,
Whether they be yong or olde !
Backe and side, &c.

This song opens the second act of *Gammer Gurton's Needle* [which, as has been already stated, was about 1566] acted at Christ's College in Cambridge. In the title of the old edition it is said to have been written "by Mr. S.,² master of artes," a member of

¹ Having drank, she says.

² [*i. e.* Still, afterwards Bishop of Bath and Wells : from an original head of whom at Cambridge Mr. Steevens had a plate engraved which, after a few im-
pressions were taken off, he destroyed.—*Park.*]

that society. This is the [second] comedy in our language: that is, the [second] play which was neither Myſtery nor Morality, and which handled a comic ſtory with ſome diſpoſition of plot, and ſome diſcrimination of character. The writer has a degree of jocularity which ſometimes riſes above buffoonery, but is often diſgraced by lowneſs of incident.¹ Yet in a more poliſhed age he would have choſen, nor would he perhaps have diſgraced, a better ſubject. It has been thought ſurpriſing that a learned audience could have endured ſome of theſe indelicate ſcenes. But the eſtabliſhed feſtivities of ſcholars were groſs, and agreeable to their general habits; nor was learning in that age always accompanied by gentleneſs of manners. When the ſermons of Hugh Latimer were in vogue at court, the univerſity might be juſtified in applauding *Gammer Gurton's Needle*.²

SECTION XLVIII.



TRUE genius, unſeduced by the cabals and unalarmed by the dangers of faction, deſies or neglects thoſe events which deſtroy the peace of mankind, and often exerts its operations amidſt the moſt violent commotions of a ſtate. Without patronage and without readers, I may add without models, the earlier Italian writers, while their country was ſhaken by the intestine tumults of the Guelfs and Ghibellines, continued to produce original compositions both in proſe and verſe, which yet ſtand unrivalled. The age of Pericles and of the Peloponeſian war was the ſame. Careleſs of thoſe who governed or diſturbed the world, and ſuperior to the calamities of a quarrel in which two mighty leaders contended for the prize of univerſal dominion, Lucretius wrote his ſublime didactic poem on the ſyſtem of nature, Virgil his bucolics, and Cicero his books of philoſophy. The proſcriptions of Auguſtus did not prevent the progreſs of the Roman literature.

In the turbulent and unpropitious reign of Queen Mary,³ when

¹ [Perhaps, as they were in general graver at Cambridge than at the inns of court, when they did unbend, they were more apt to exceed.—*Abbey*.]

² [Warton's eſtimate of Latimer as a preacher ſeems to be altogether unjuſt. That eminent divine, at a period when familiarity of alluſion and a popular treatment of ſubjects were almoſt unknown, endeavoured by ſtriking points and attractive anecdotes to force attention to prevailing abuſes; the court of Edward the Sixth liſtened with reſpect and admiration to his diſcourſes; and the latter will never ceaſe to be valued and quoted, recommending themſelves by the picturesqueneſs and vivacity of their ſtyle, their graceful, yet weighty diction, and their richneſs in illuſtrations of manners and ideas.]

³ [See a Proteſtant poem addreſſed to Q. Mary, Oct. 1, 1553, in *Letters of R. and Ill. Ladies*, vol. iii. pp. 282-3.]

controversy was no longer confined to speculation, and a spiritual warfare polluted every part of England with murders more atrocious than the slaughters of the most bloody civil contest, a poem was planned, although not fully completed, which illuminates with no common lustre that interval of darkness which occupies the annals of English poetry from Surrey to Spenser: entitled, *A Mirror for Magistrates*.¹

More writers than one were concerned in the execution of this piece; but its primary inventor and most distinguished contributor was Thomas Sackville, the first Lord Buckhurst and first Earl of Dorset. Much about the same period the same author wrote the first genuine English tragedy, which I shall consider in its proper place.

Sackville was born at Buckhurst, a principal seat of his ancient and illustrious family in the parish of Wit[hy]am in Suffex. [He was the son of Sir Richard Sackville, by Winifred, daughter of Sir John Brydges, a member of a collateral branch of the Chandos Brydges; and according to an inquisition, taken after the death of his father in 1556, he was born about 1527.]² Discovering a vigorous understanding in his childhood, from a domestic tuition he was removed, as it may reasonably be conjectured, to Hart-hall, now Hertford College, in Oxford. But he appears to have been a Master of Arts at Cambridge.³ At both universities he became celebrated as a Latin and English poet; and he carried his love of poetry, which he seems to have almost solely cultivated, to the Inner Temple. It was now fashionable for every young man of fortune, before he began his travels, or was admitted into Parliament, to be initiated in the study of the law. But instead of pursuing a science which could not be his profession, and which was unaccommodated to the bias of his genius, he betrayed his predilection to a more pleasing species of literature, by composing the tragedy just mentioned for the entertainment and honour of his fellow-students. His high birth, however, and ample patrimony soon advanced him to more important situations and employments. His eminent accomplishments and abilities having acquired the confidence and esteem of Queen Elizabeth, the poet was soon lost in the statesman, and negotiations and embassies extinguished the milder ambitions of the ingenuous Muse. Yet it should be remembered, that he was uncorrupted amidst the intrigues of an artful court, that in the character of a

¹ A new edition of the *Mirror for Magistrates*, printed from that of 1587, and collated with those of 1559, 63, 71, 75, 78, and 1610, appeared in 1815 under the editorship of Mr. Haslewood.—*Price*.]

² [Brydges' *Memoirs of the Peers of England during the reign of James I.*, p. 443; *Works of Sackville*, ed. 1859, Introd.] Archbishop Abbot, in Sackville's *Funeral Sermon*, says he was aged 72 when he died, in the year 1608. [But the archbishop was probably mistaken.]

³ Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* vol. i. f. 767. ["He was educated both at Oxford and Cambridge, and according to tradition was a member of Hart Hall in the former university, and at S. John's College here."—Cooper's *Athene Cantab.*, vol. ii. p. 434.]

first minister he preserved the integrity of a private man, and that his family refused the offer of an apology to his memory, when it was insulted by the malicious insinuations of a rival party. Nor is it foreign to our purpose to remark, that his original elegance and brilliancy of mind sometimes broke forth in the exercise of his more formal political functions. He was frequently disgusted at the pedantry and official barbarity of style with which the public letters and instruments were usually framed: and Naunton relates that his "secretaries had difficulty to please him, he was so *facete* and choice in his phrase and stile."¹ Even in the decisions and pleadings of that rigid tribunal the Star Chamber, which was never esteemed the school of rhetoric, he practised and encouraged an unaccustomed strain of eloquent and graceful oratory: on which account, says Lloyd, "so flowing was his invention, that he was called the star-chamber bell."² After he was made a peer [in 1567] by the title of Lord Buckhurst, and had succeeded to a most extensive inheritance, and was now discharging the business of an envoy to Paris, he found time to prefix a Latin epistle to Clerke's Latin translation of Castilio[gne]'s *Courtier*, printed in 1571, which is not an unworthy recommendation of a treatise remarkable for its polite Latinity.³ It was either because his mistress Elizabeth paid a sincere compliment to his singular learning and fidelity, or because she was willing to indulge an affected fit of indignation against the object of her capricious passion, that when Sackville, in 1591, was a candidate for the chancellorship of the University of Oxford, she condescended earnestly to solicit the university in his favour, and in opposition to his competitor, the Earl of Essex. At least she appears to have approved the choice, for her majesty soon afterwards visited Oxford, where she was entertained by the new chancellor with splendid banquets and much solid erudition. It is neither my design nor my province to develop the profound policy with which he conducted a peace with Spain, the address with which he penetrated or baffled the machinations of Essex, and the circumspection and success with which he managed the treasury of two opulent sovereigns. I return to Sackville as a poet, and to the history of the *Mirror of Magistrates*.⁴

About the year 1557, he formed the plan of a poem, in which all the illustrious but unfortunate characters of the English history, from the conquest to the end of the fourteenth century, were to pass in review before the poet, who descends like Dante into the infernal region, and is conducted by Sorrow. Although a descent into hell had been suggested by other poets, the application of such a fiction

¹ *Fragm. Regal.* p. 70.

² Lloyd's *Worthies*, p. 678.

³ [Warton does not mention that he has a sonnet before Hoby's English version of the *Cortegiano*, 1561.]

⁴ Many of his Letters are in the *Cabala*, [and eleven are inserted in the edit. of his *Works*, 1859, xxviii.-xlvi.] In the university register at Oxford (Mar. 21, 1591), see his Letter about the Habits. See also Howard's *Coll.* p. 297.

to the present design is a conspicuous proof of genius and even of invention. Every personage was to recite his own misfortunes in a separate soliloquy.¹ But Sackville had leisure only to finish a poetical preface called an *Induction*, and one legend, which is the *Life of Henry Stafford Duke of Buckingham*. Relinquishing therefore the design abruptly, and hastily adapting the close of his *Induction* to the appearance of Buckingham, the only story he had yet written, and which was to have been the last in his series, he recommended the completion of the whole to [William] Baldwin and George Ferrers.

Baldwin seems to have been graduated at Oxford about the year 1532. He was an ecclesiastic, and engaged in the education of youth.² I have already mentioned his metrical version of *Solomon's Song*, dedicated to King Edward the Sixth. His patron was Henry Lord Stafford.³

George Ferrers, a man of superior rank, was born at St. Albans, educated at Oxford, and a student of Lincoln's Inn. Leland, who has given him a place in his *Encomia*, informs us that he was patronised by Lord Cromwell.⁴ He was in parliament under Henry the Eighth, and in 1542 imprisoned by that whimsical tyrant, perhaps very unjustly, and for some cabal now not exactly known. About the same time, in his juridical capacity, he translated the *Magna Charta* from French into Latin and English, with some other statutes of England.⁵ In William Patten's [account of the Protector Somerset's *Expedition to Scotland*, printed in 1548],⁶ and partly incorporated into Holinshed's history, it appears from the following passage that he was of the suite of the protector Somerset. "George Ferrers a gentleman of my lord Protector's, and one of the commissioners of the carriage of this army." He is said [by Stow] to have compiled the history of Queen Mary's reign, which makes a part of [what is known as] Grafton's *Chronicle*.⁷ He was a composer, almost by profession, of occasional interludes for the diversion of the court; and in 1553, being then a member of Lincoln's Inn, he bore the office of

¹ [And Sackville was to have written "all the Tragedies" in this metrical mirror, from William the Conqueror to the Duke of Buckingham. See fol. 107 in edit. 1575, and fol. 205 in edit. 1587.—*Park*.]

² [He further appears to have been one of those scholars who followed printing, in order to forward the Reformation, and in 1549 styled himself "*servant* with Edward Whitchurch." Herbert, however, who thinks he assumed that modest appellation as corrector of the press, says, "He appears afterwards to have qualified himself for a compositor." *Typog. Ant.* p. 551.—*Park*.]

³ [He also wrote *A treatise of morall philosophie*, 1547, 12mo. which was often republished between that date and 1631. It is a curious work, interspersed with poetry.] [He was appointed to "*set forth a play* before the king in the year 1552-3." See Mr. Chalmers's *Apology for the Believers in the Shakespeare papers*.—*Price*.]

⁴ Fol. 66.

⁵ [By] Robert Redman. No date. [Before or in] 1540. [See Herbert's *Ames*, i. 395.] At the end he is called George Ferrers.

⁶ Dedicated to Sir William Paget. [And reprinted at Edinburgh in 1798, in a quarto volume entitled *Fragments of Scottish History*.—*Price*.] Compare Leland, *ut sup.* fol. 66.

⁷ [Stow's *Annales*, edit. 1631, fol. 632.]

Lord of Misrule at the royal palace of Greenwich during the twelve days of Christmas. Stow says, "George Ferrers gentleman of Lincolns Inne, being lord of the merry disportes all the 12 dayes [of Christmas anno 1553;¹ at Greenwich:] who so pleasantly & wisely behaued himselfe, y^t the K[ing] had great delight in his pastimes."² No common talents were required for these festivities. Bale says that he wrote some rhymes, *rythmos aliquot*.³ He died at Flamstead in Hertfordshire in 1579. Our author wrote the epitaph of his friend Thomas Phaer, the old translator of the *Æneid* into English verse, who died in 1560, and is buried in the church of Kilgarran in Pembrokehire.⁴

Baldwin and Ferrers, perhaps deterred by the greatness of the attempt, did not attend to the series prescribed by Sackville; but inviting some others to their assistance, among which are Churchyard and Phaer, chose such lives from the chronicle of Fabian and [that of Hall just published] as seemed to display the most affecting catastrophes, and which very probably were pointed out by Sackville. The civil wars [and eventual union] of York and Lancaster, which Hall had compiled with a laborious investigation of the subject, appear to have been their chief resource.

These legends with their authors, including Sackville's part, are as follow. Robert Tresilian, Chief Justice of England, in 1388, by Ferrers. The two Mortimers, surnamed Roger, in 1329 and 1387, by [Cavyl]. Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, uncle to Richard the Second, murdered in 1397, by Ferrers. Lord Mowbray, preferred and banished by the same king in 1398, by [Chaloner]. King Richard the Second, deposed in 1399, by [Ferrers]. Owen Glendour, the pretended Prince of Wales, starved to death in 1401, by Phaer. Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, executed at York in 1407: Richard Plantagenet, Earl of Cambridge, executed at Southampton in 1415: Thomas Montague, Earl of Salisbury, in 1428: James the First of Scotland: William de la Poole, Duke of Suffolk, banished for destroying Humphry, Duke of Gloucester, in 1450: Jack Cade the rebel, in 1450: Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York, and his son, the Earl of Rutland, killed in 1460: Lord Clifford, in 1461: Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, in 1470: Richard Nevil, Earl of Warwick, and his brother John Lord Montacute, killed in the battle of Barnet, 1471: King Henry the Sixth, murdered in the Tower of London, in 1471: George Plantagenet, third son of the Duke of York, murdered by his brother Richard, in 1478: [all by

¹ Holinshed says 1552, fol. 1067.

² [Stow, *ut supra*. fol. 608-9.]

³ P. 108, *Script. Nostr. Temp.*

⁴ [Puttenham (*Arte of English Poesie*, lib. i. ch. 31), who is followed by Phillips (*Theatr. Poet.* 1675, edit. 1824, xi.), seems to have confounded Ferrers with a certain *Edward Ferris*, of whose plays he says that they "gaue the king so much good recreation, as he had thereby many good rewardes." This Ferris] died, and was buried in the church of Bardestley-Clinton in Warwickshire, 1564. He was of Warwickshire, and educated at Oxford.

Baldwin.] Edward the Fourth, who died suddenly in 1483, by Skelton.¹ Sir Anthony Woodville, Lord Rivers and Scales, governor of Prince Edward, murdered with his nephew Lord Grey in 1483, by Baldwin.² Lord Hastings, betrayed by Catesby, and murdered in the Tower by Richard, Duke of Gloucester, in 1483.³ Sackville's *Induction*. Sackville's *Duke of Buckingham*. Collingbourne, *cruelly executed for making a foolish rhyme*, by Baldwin.⁴ Richard Duke of Gloucester, slain at Bosworth in 1485, by Francis Seager. Jane Shore, by Churchyard.⁵ Edmund, Duke of Somerset, killed in the first battle of Saint Albans in 1454, by Ferrers. Michael Joseph the blacksmith and Lord Audely, in 1496, by Caryl.

It was injudicious to choose so many stories which were then recent. Most of these events were at that time too well known to become the proper subject of poetry, and must have lost much of their solemnity by their notoriety. But Shakespeare has been guilty of the same fault. The objection, however, is now worn away, and age has given a dignity to familiar circumstances.

This collection, or set of poems, was printed in 1559 with the following title: "*A Myrroure for Magistrates*, Wherein may be seen by example of other, with howe greuous plagues vices are punished, and howe frayle vnstable worldly prosperitie is founde, even of those whom Fortvne seemeth most highly to fauour. *Felix quem faciunt*," &c. Anno 1559. A *Mirror* was a favourite title of a book, especially among the old French writers.⁶ Some anecdotes of the publication

¹ [Originally published among *Certaine booke cōpyed by Mayster Skelton*, of which there are three old editions, all undated.]

² Higin's portion begins with this Life.

³ Subscribed in Nicols's edition, "Maister D." that is, John Dolman. It was intended to introduce here The two Princes murdered in the Tower, "by the lord Vaulx, who undertooke to penne it, says Baldwin, but what he hath done therein I am not certaine." fol. cxiii. b. Dolman above mentioned was of the Middle Temple. He translated into English Tully's *Tusculane Questions*, dedicated to Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury, and printed in 1561.

⁴ [Mention is made by Leigh, in his *Choice Observations*, of a person of the name of Collingborne, who in the time of Richard III., composed a satirical couplet, allusively to Richard's escutcheon of the *White Bear*, and to his myrmidons, Catesby, Ratcliffe, and Lovell:—

"The Cat, the Rat, and Lovell the Dog,
Rule all England under the Hog."

See Ellis's *Orig. Letters*, 2nd Series, ii. 161.]

⁵ In the Prologue which follows, Baldwin says, he was "exhorted to procure Maister Churchyarde to undertake and to penne as many more of the remaynder, as myght be attayned," &c. fol. clvi. a.

⁶ Of the early use in the middle ages of the word *Speculum*, as the title of a book, see Joh. Finnaeus's *Differtatio-Historica-Litteraria*, prefixed to the *Kongis-Rugg-Sio*, or *Royal Mirrour*, an ancient prose work in Norwegian, written about 1170, printed in 1768, fol. xviii. [There occur—

Le Mirouer des Pecheurs (circa 1495).

Miroir de la Redemption humaine, 1478.

Miroir de l'Ame pecheresse, 1484.

Miroir Historial de France (1520).

The *Speculum Humane Salvationis* was one of the earliest productions of the print-

may be collected from Baldwin's *Dedication to the Nobilitie*, prefixed. "The wurke was begun and parte of it prynted in Queene Maries tyme, but hyndred by the Lord Chauncellour [Heath] that then was: nevertheles, through the meanes of my lord Stafford,¹ the fyrst parte was licenced, and imprynted the fyrst yeaere of the raygne of this our most noble and vertuous Queene,² and dedicate then to your honours wyth this Preface. Since whyche time, although I have bene called to an other trade of lyfe, yet my Good lorde Stafforde hath not ceassed to call vpon me to publyshe so much as I had gottē at other mens hands, so that through his Lordshyppes earnest meanes I have nowe also set furth an other parte, conteynyng as litle of myne owne as the fyrst parte doth of other mens."³

The plan was confessedly borrowed from Boccaccio, *De Casibus Virorum Illustrium*, a book translated, as we have seen, by Lydgate, but which was [less] popular, because it had no English examples. But Baldwin's scope and conduct, with respect to this and other circumstances, will best appear from his Preface,⁴ which I shall insert at large: "Whan the Printer had purposed with himselfe to printe Lidgates booke of the *Fall of Princes*, & had made pryuyē thereto many both honourable & worshipfull, he was counsailed by dyuers of them, to procure to haue the storye contynued from where as Bochas left, vnto this presēt time, chiefly of such as Fortune had dalyed with here in this ylande: which might be as a myrrour for al mē as well nobles as others, to shewe y^e flyperry deceytes of the waueryng lady, and the due rewarde of al kinde of vices: Which aduyse liked him so well, y^t he requyred me to take paines therin: but because it was a matter passyng my wit and skyll, and more thankles thā gaineful to meddle in, I refused vterly to vndertake it, except I might haue y^e help of such, as in wit were apte, in learnyng allowed, and in iudgemente & estymacyon able to wield & furnysh so weighty an enterpryse, thinkyng euen so to shift my handes. But he, earnest & diligent in his assayres, procured Athlas to set vnder his shoulder: for shortly after diuers learned mē whose manye giftes nede fewe prayses, consented to take vpon them parte of the trauayle. And when certaine of them, to the numbere of seuen, were through a general assent at an appoynted time and place gathered together to deuyse thereupon,

ing press, and several specimens of it exist, executed before moveable types were introduced. Mr. Berjeau has reproduced one of these block-books. A translation of the *Speculum* into English verse is in a folio MS. of the 15th century on paper, without the name of the author, in the library of Mr. Henry Huth.]

¹ Henry Lord Stafford, son and heir of Edward, last Duke of Buckingham, a scholar and a writer. See Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* i. 108. One of his books is dedicated to the Protector Somerset. Aubrey gives us a rhyming epitaph in Howard's chapel in Lambeth church, written by this nobleman to his sister the Duchess of Norfolk. *Surrey*, vol. v. p. 236. It is subscribed "by thy most bounden brother Henry lord Stafford."—[See *Letters of R. and Ill. Ladies*, iii. 189.] Bale says that he was "vir multarum rerum ac disciplinarum notitia ornatus," and that he died in 1558; par. post. 112.

² Elizabeth.

³ [Edit. 1563, sign. C 4.]

⁴ [William Baldwin to the Reader. Edit. 1563, sign. A i.]

I resorted unto thē, bearing with me the booke of Bochas translated by Dan Lidgate, for the better obseruacion of his order : which although we liked wel, yet would it not cumly serue, seing that both Bochas & Lidgate were dead ; neither were there any aliue y' medled with like argumēt, to whom the vnfortunate might make their mone. To make therfore a state mete for the matter, they all agreed that I should vsurpe Bochas rowme, and the wretched princes complayne vnto me : and toke vpon them selues euery man for his parte to be sundry personages, and in their behalves to bewaile vnto me their greuous chances, heauye destinies, and wofull misfortunes. This done, we opened such bookes of Cronicles as we had there present, and maister Ferrers, after he had found where Bochas left, which was about the ende of king Edward the Thirdes raigne, to begin the matter sayd thus.

“ I maruayle what Bochas meaneth, to forget among his miserable princes such as wer of our naciō, whose numbres is as great, as their aduentures wunderfull. For to let passe all, both Britons, Danes, & Saxons, and to cum to the last conquest, what a sorte are they,¹ and some euen in his [Boccaccio's] owne time ! As for example, king Richard the fyrst, slayne with a quarle² in his chiefe prosperitee, also kyng John hys brother, as sum say, poysoned : are not their hystories rufull, & of rare example ? But as it should appeare, he being an Italiā, mynded most the Roman & Italyke story, or els perhaps he wanted our country cronicles. It wer therfore a goodly and a notable matter, to search and discourse our whole story from the fyrst beginning of y^e inhabiting of the yle. But seing the prynters mind is to haue vs follow wher Lidgate left, we wyl leaue that great labour to other that may intend it, & (as blind bayard is alway boldest) I wil beginne at the time of Rychard the secōd, a time as vnfortunate as the ruler therin. And forasmuch, frend Baldwin, as it shalbe your charge to note & pen orderly the whole proces, I wil so far as my memorye and iudgement serueth, sumwhat further you in the truth of y^e story. And therefore omittinge the ruffle made by Jacke Strawe and his meyney,³ and the murder of many notable men whych thereby happened, for Jacke as ye know was but a poore prince ; I will begin with a notable exāple which within a while after ensued. And although he be no great prince, yet sythens hee had a pryncely offyce, I wyl take vpon me the miserable persō of fyr Robert Tresilian chiefe iustyce of England, and of other which suffred with him : therby to warne all of hys auθthor[ity]e and profession, to take heede of wrong iudgements, misconstruyng of lawes, or wresting y^e same to serue y^e princes turnes, whych ryghtfully brought them to a miserable ende, which they may iustly lament in maner ensuing.”⁴ Then follows Sir Robert Tresilian's legend or history, supposed to be spoken by himself, and addressed to Baldwin.

¹ How many they are. ² Quarell, the bolt of a cross-bow. ³ Multitude, crew.

⁴ *Signat.* A. ii. [edit. 1563]. In all the former editions of Warton, this extract, while purporting to come from the 4to of 1563, was printed with a degree of inaccuracy almost inconceivable.]

Here we see that a company was feigned to be assembled, each of which, one excepted, by turns personates a character of one of the great Unfortunate: and that the stories were all connected, by being related to the silent person of the assembly, who is like the chorus in the Greek tragedies, or the Host in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*. The whole was to form a sort of dramatic interlude, including a series of independent soliloquies. A continuity to this imagined representation is preserved by the introduction, after every soliloquy, of a prose epilogue, which also serves as a prologue to the succeeding piece, and has the air of a stage direction. Boccaccio had done this before. We have this interpolation, which I give as a specimen, and which explains the method of the recital, between the tragedies of *Richard the Second* and *Owen Glendour*. "Whan he had ended this so wofull a tragedye, and to all Princes a right worthy instruction, we paused: hauyng passed through a miserable tyme, full of pyteous tragedyes. And seyng the reygne of Henry the fourth ensued, a man more ware and prosperous in hys doynge, although not vntroubled with warres both of outforthe and inward enemyes, we began to serch what Pyers [peers] were fallen therin, wherof the number was not small: and yet because theyr examples were not muche to be noted for our pourpose, we passed ouer all the Maskers, of whom Kynge Rychardes brother was chiefe: whych were all slayne and put to death for theyr trayterous attempt. And fyndyng Owen Glendoure next one of Fortunes owne whelpes, and the Percyes hys confederates, I thought them vnmete to be over passed, and therfore sayde thus to the sylent company: what, my maysters, is every man at once in a browne study, hath no man affection to any of these storyes: you mynd so much sum other belyke, that these do not move you. And to say the trouthe, there is no special cause why they should. How be yt Owen Glendour, becaus he was one of Fortunes darlynges, rather than he should be forgotten, I will tel hys tale for him, vnder the pryuelidge of Martine hundred: whiche Owen, cumming out of the wilde mountains lyke the Image of death in all pointes (his dart onely excepted), so fore hath famyne and hunger consumed hym, may lament his folly after this maner."¹ This process was a departure from Sackville's idea: who supposes, as I have hinted, the scene laid in hell, and that the unfortunate princes appeared to him in succession, and uttered their respective complaints, at the gates of Elysium, under the guidance of Sorrow.

Many stanzas in the legends written by Baldwin² and Ferrers, and their friends, have considerable merit, and often shew a command of language and versification.³ But their performances have not the

¹ [Edit. 1563, fol. xviii. *verso*.]

² That is, Baldwin had previously prepared and written his legend or monologue, and one of the company was to act his part, and assume this appearance. Fol. xviii. b.

³ These lines in Collingbourne's legend are remarkable, fol. cxliv. a:

"Like Pegasus a Poet must have wynges,
To flye to heaven, or where him liketh best;

pathos which the subject so naturally suggests. They give us, yet often with no common degree of elegance and perspicuity, the chronicles of Hall and Fabian in verse. I shall therefore, in examining this part of the *Mirror for Magistrates*, confine my criticism to Sackville's *Induction* and *Legend of Buckingham*.

SECTION XLIX.



SACKVILLE'S *Induction*, which was to have been placed at the head of our English tragical story, and which loses much of its dignity and propriety by being prefixed to a single life, and that of no historical importance, is opened with the following poetical landscape of winter :¹

The wrathfull winter, proching on a pace,
With blustering blastes had al ybared the treen ;
And olde Saturnus with his frosty face
With chilling colde had pearst the tender green ;
The mantels rent, wherein enwrapped been
The gladfom groves, that nowe laye ouerthrowen,
The tapets torne, and euery tree² downe blowne.
The soyle that earst so seemely was to seen,
Was all despoyled of her beauties hewe ;
And foot freshe flowers (wherwith the sommers queen
Had clad the earth) now Boreas blastes downe blew ;
And small fowles flocking in theyr song did rewe
The winters wrath, wherwith eche thing defaste
In wofull wise bewayld the sommer past.
Hawthorne had lost his motley lyverye,
The naked twigges were shivering all for colde ;
And dropping downe the teares abundantly,
Eche thing (me thought) with weping eye me tolde
The cruell season, bidding me withholde
Myselfe within : for I was gotten out
Into the feldes where as I walkte about,
When loe the night, with mistie mantels spred,
Gan darke the daye, and dim the azure skyes, &c.

He must have knoweledge of eternal thynges,
Almightie Jove must harbor in his breast."

[Mr. Haslewood states the reference in this note to agree with the edition of 1563, and that the extract accords with an improved reading which first appeared in 1571.—*Price*. In the second line, for "— or where him liketh best," the 4to of 1563 reads: "— thereto to feede and rest."]

¹ Fol. cxvi. edit. 1563.

² So the editions of 1563 and 1587. The edit. of 1610 substitutes bloom, presumably without any authority. Mr. Price remarks: Sir Egerton Brydges objects to the reading of the seventh line [in edit. 1610], because "*bloom* applies to spring, not autumn." Have we then no autumnal flowers? It may be questioned whether the modern abstract idea of "*bloom*" was current in Sackville's day.]

The altered scene of things, the flowers and verdure of summer deformed by the frosts and storms of winter, and the day suddenly overspread with darkness, remind the poet of the uncertainties of human life, the transient state of honour, and the instability of prosperity :

And sorowing I to see the sommer flowers,
The liuely greene, the lusty leas forlorne,
The sturdy trees so shattered with the showers,
The fieldes so fade that flourish so beforne;
It taught me wel all earthly thinges be borne
To dye the death, for nought long time may last:
The sommers beauty yeeldes to winters blast.

Then looking vpward to the heauens leams,
With nightes starres thicke powdred euery where,
Which erst so glitened with the golden streames
That chearefull Phebus spred downe from his sphere,
Beholding darke oppressing day so neare;
The sodayne sight reduced to my minde
The sundry chaunges that in earth we fynde.

Immediately the figure of Sorrow suddenly appears, which shews the poet in a new and bolder mode of composition :

And strait forth stalking with redoubled pace,
For that I sawe the night drewe on so fast,
In blacke all clad there fell before my face
A piteous wight, whom woe had al forewaste;
Furth from her iyen the cristall teares outbrast,
And syghing fore her handes she wrong and folde,
Tare al her heare that ruth was to beholde.

Her body small, forwithered and forespent,
As is the stalke that sommers drought oppress;
Her wealked face with woful teares besprent,
Her colour pale, and (as it seemd her best,)
In woe and playnt reposed was her rest:
And as the stone that droppes of water weares,
So dented were her cheekes with fall of teares.

I stood agast, beholding all her plight,
Twene dread and dolour so distreyned in hart,
That while my heares vpstart with the sight,
The teares out streamde for sorowe of her smart:
But when I sawe no ende that could aparte
The deadly dewle which she so fore dyd make,
With dolefull voice then thus to her I spake.

Unwrap thy woes, what euer wight thou be!
And stint betime to spill thy selfe wyth playnt,
Tell what thou art, and whence, for well I see
Thou canst not dure wyth sorowe thus attaynt.
And with that worde, of sorowe all forfaynt,
She looked vp, and prostrate as she laye,
With piteous sound, loe thus she gan to saye.

Alas, I wretche, whom thus thou seest distreyned
With wasting woes that neuer shall aslake,
Sorrowe I am, in endles tormentes payned,
Among the furies in the infernall lake;
Where Pluto god of Hel so grievly blacke
Doth holde his throne, and Letheus deadly taske
Doth reue remembraunce of eche thyng forepast.

Whence come I am, the dreary destinie
 And luckeles lot for to bemone of those,
 Whom Fortune in this maze of miserie,
 Of wretched chaunce most wofull myrrours chose :
 That when thou seest how lightly they did lose
 Theyr pöpe, theyr power, & that they thought most sure,
 Thou mayest soone deeme no earthly ioye may dure.

Sorrow then conducts the poet to the classial hell, to the place of
 torments and the place of happinefs:

I shal the guyde first to the griesly lake,
 And thence vnto the blisfull place of rest :
 Where thou shalt see and heare the playnt they make,
 That whilom here bare swinge¹ among the best.
 This shalt thou see, but great is the vnrest
 That thou must byde, before thou canst attayne
 Vnto the dreadfull place where these remayne.

And with these wordes as I vprayed stood
 And gan to folowe her that strayght furth paced,
 Ere I was ware, into a desert wood
 We nowe were cum : where hand in hand imbraced,
 She led the way, and through the thicke so traced
 As but I had beene guyded by her might,
 It was no waye for any mortall wight.

But loe, while thus amid the desert darke
 We passed on with steppes and pace vnmete,
 A rumbling roar confusde with howle and barke
 Of Dogs, shoke all the ground vnder our feete,
 And stroke the din within our eares so deepe,
 As halfe distraught vnto the ground I fell,
 Befought returne, and not to visite hell.

An hydeous hole al vaste, withouten shape,
 Of endles depth, ore-whelme with ragged stone,
 Wyth oughly mouth and grisly Jawes doth gape,
 And to our sight confounds it selfe in one.
 Here entred we, and yeding² forth, anone
 An horrible lothly lake we might diserne,
 As blacke as pitche, that cleped³ is Auerne.

A deadly gulfe where nought but rubbishe growes,
 With fowle blacke swelth in thickned lumpes y^t lyes,
 Which vp in the ayer such stinking vapors throwes,
 That ouer there may flye no fowle but dyes,
 Choakt with the pestilent favours that aryse.
 Hither we cum, whence forth we still dyd pace,
 In dreadful feare amid the dreadfull place.

Our author appears to have felt and to have conceived with true
 taste that very romantic part of Virgil's *Eneid* which he has here
 happily copied and heightened. The imaginary beings which sate
 within the porch of hell are all his own. I must not omit a single
 figure of this dreadful group, nor one compartment of the por-
 traitures where are feigned to be sculptured or painted on the *Shield*
of War, indented "with gashes depe and wyde."

And first within the portche and iawes of Hell
 Sate deepe Remorse of Conscience, al besprent

¹ Sway.

² Going.

³ Called.

With teares ; and to her selfe oft would she tell
Her wretchednes, and cursing neuer stent
To sob and sigh, but euer thus lament
With thoughtful care, as she that all in vayne
Would weare and waste continually in payne.

Her eyes vnstedfast, rolling here and there,
Whirld on eche place, as place that vengeauns brought,
So was her minde continually in feare,
Tost and tormented with the tedious thought
Of those detested crymes which she had wrought ;
With dreadful cheare, and lookes throwen to the skye,
Wythyng for death, and yet she could not dye.

Next sawe we Dread, al tremblyng how he shooke,
With foote uncertayne, profered here and there :
Benumbde with speache ; and with a gasty looke
Searcht euery place al pale and dead for feare,
His cap borne vp with staring of his heare ;
Stoynde and amazde at his owne shade for dreed,
And fearing greater daungers than was need.

And next within the entry of this lake
Sate fell Reuenge, gnashing her teeth for yre ;
Deuyfing meanes howe she may vengeaunce take ;
Neuer in rest tyll she haue her desire ;
But frets within so farforth with the fyre
Of wreaking flames, that nowe determines she
To dye by death, or vengde by death to be.

When fell Reuēge, with bloudy foule pretence,
Had shewed her selfe, as next in order set,
With trembling limmes we softly parted thence,
Tyll in our eyes another sight we met ;
When fro my heart a sigh forthwith I fet,
Rewing, alas, vpon the wofull plight
Of Miserie, that next appered in sight :

His face was leane, and sumdeale pyned away,
And eke his handes consumed to the bone,
But what his body was I can not say,
For on his carkas rayment had he none
Saue cloutes & patches pieced one by one ;
With staffe in hand, and skrip on shoulders cast,
His chiefe defence agaynst the winters blast :

His food for most was wyld fruytes of the tree,
Vnles sumtime sum crumme fell to his share,
Which in his wallet long, God wote, kept he,
As on the which full dayntlye would he fare ;
His drinke the running streame, his cup the bare
Of his palme closed ; his bed the hard colde ground :
To this poore life was Miserie ybound.

Whose wretched state when we had well behelde,
With tender ruth on him, and on his feres,
In thoughtful cares furth then our pace we helde ;
And by and by, an other shape apperes
Of Greedy Care, stil brushing vp the breres ;
His knuckles knobd, his fleshe deepe dented in,
With tawed handes, and hard ytanned skyn.

The morrowe graye no sooner hath begunne
To sprede his light euen peping in our eyes,
When he is vp, and to his worke yrunne ;

But let the nightes blacke mistye mantels rise,
And with fowle darke neuer so much disguise
The fayre bright day, yet ceaseth he no whyle,
But bath his candels to prolong his toyle.

By him lay Heauy slepe, the cofin of death,
Flat on the ground, and stil as any stone,
A very corps, save yelding forth a breath;
Small kepe tooke he, whom Fortune frowned on,
Or whom she lifted vp into the trone
Of high renowne, but as a living death
So dead alive, of lyef he drewe the breath :

The bodyes rest, the quyete of the hart,
The travayles ease, the still nights feer was he,
And of our life in earth the better part,
Reuer of sight, and yet in whom we see
Thinges oft that tide, and oft that neuer bee.
Without respect, esteeming equally
King Cresus' pompe and Irus pouertie.

And next in order sad Olde age we found :
His beard al hoare, his yyes hollow and blynde ;
With drouping chere still poring on the ground,
As on the place where nature him assinde
To rest, when that the sisters had vntwynde
His vitall threde, and ended with theyr knyfe
The sleting course of fast declining life.

There heard we him with broken and hollow playnt
Rewe with him selfe his ende approaching fast,
And all for nought his wretched minde torment
With swete remembraunce of his pleasures past
And freshe delites of lusty youth forwaste ;
Recounting which, how would he sob & thrike,
And to be yong againe of Joue beseeke !

But and the cruell fates so fixed be
That time forepast can not retourne agayne,
This one request of Joue yet prayed he :
That in such wither'd plight and wretched paine
As elde (accompanied with his lothsome trayne)
Had brought on him, all were it woe and griefe,
He myght a while yet linger forth his lief.

And not so soon descend into the pit ;
Where death, when he the mortal corps hath slayne,
With retcheles hande in grave doth couer it ;
Thereafter neuer to enioye agayne
The gladsome light, but in the ground ylayne,
In depth of darkenes waste and weare to nought,
As he had neuer into the world been brought.

But who had seene him sobbing howe he stode
Vnto him selfe, and howe he would bemone
His youth forepast, as though it wrought hym good
To talke of youth, al wer his youth foregone,
He would haue mused, & meruayld muche whereon
This wretched age should life desyre so fayne,
And knowes ful wel life doth but length his payne.

Crookebackt he was, toothshaken and blere eyed,
Went on three feete, and sometime crept on fower,
With olde lame bones, that rattled by his fyde ;
His skalpe all pylde, & he with elde forlore,

His withered fist still knocking at deathes dore ;
 Fumbling and driueling as he drawes his breth ;
 For briefe, the shape and messenger of death.

And fast by him pale Maladie was plasht :
 Sore sicke in bed, her colour all forgone ;
 Bereft of stomake, flavor, and of taste,
 Ne could she brooke no meat but brothes alone ;
 Her breath corrupt, her keepers euery one
 Abhorring her ; her sickenes past recure,
 Detesting phisicke, and all phisickes cure.

But oh the doleful sight that then we see,
 We turnde our looke, and on the other side
 A grisely shape of Famine mought we see :
 With greedy lookes and gaping mouth that cryed
 And roard for meat as she should there have dyed ;
 Her body thin and bare as any bone,
 Wherto was left nought but the case alone.

And that, alas, was knawen on euery where,
 All full of holes, that I ne mought refrayne
 From teares, to se how she her armes could teare,
 And with her teeth gnashe on the bones in vayne,
 When all for nought she fayne would so sustayne
 Her starven corps, that rather seemde a shade
 Then any substaunce of a creature made.

Great was her force : whom stone wall could not stay :
 Her tearyng nayles snatching at all she sawe ;
 With gaping lawes, that by no meanes ymay
 Be satisfied from hunger of her mawe,
 But eates her selfe as she that hath no lawe ;
 Gnawing alas her carkas all in vayne,
 Where you may count eche sinow, bone, and vayne.

On her while we thus firmly fix'd our iyes,
 That bled for ruth of such a dreary sight,
 Loe sodaynelye she shryght in so huge wyse
 As made hell gates to shyver with the might ;
 Wherewith a darte we sawe howe it did lyght
 Ryght on her brest, and therewithal pale death
 Enthryllyng it to reue her of her breath :

And by and by a dum dead corps we sawe,
 Heauy and colde, the shape of death aryght,
 That dauntes all earthly creatures to his lawe,
 Agaynst whose force in vayne it is to fyght ;
 Ne piers, ne princes, nor no mortall wyght,
 No townes, ne realmes, cities, ne strongest towre,
 But all perforce must yeeld vnto his power.

His Dart anon out of the corps he tooke,
 And in his hand (a dreadfull sight to see)
 With great triumphe estones the same he shooke,
 That most of all my feares affrayed me :
 His bodie dight with nought but bones pardye ;
 The naked shape of man there sawe I playne,
 All save the fleshe, the synowe, and the vayne.

Lastly stoode Warre, in glittering armes yclad,
 With visage grym, sterne lookes and blackely hewed :
 In his right hand a naked sworde he had,
 That to the hiltes was all with blud embrewed ;
 And in his left (that kinges and kingdomes rewed)

Famine and fyre he held, and therewithall
He razed townes, and threwe downe towers and all.

Cities he sakt, and realmes that whilom flowred
In honor, glory, and rule above the best
He overwhelme, and all theyr fame deuowred,
Consumed, destroyed, waisted, and neuer ceast,
Tyll he theyr wealth, theyr name, and all opprest.
His face forhewed with woundes; and by his side
There hung his targe with gasches depe and wyde.

In mids of which depainted there we founde
Deadly debate, al ful of snaky heare,
That with a blouddy fillet was ybound,
Outbrething nought but discord euery where :
And round about were pourtrayd here and there
The hugie hostes; Darius and his power,
His kynges, his prynces, his pieres, and all his flower.

Xerxes the Percian kyng yet sawe I there,
With his huge hoste that dranke the riuers drye,
Dismounted hilles, and made the vales vprere;
His hoste and all yet sawe I slayne perdye.
Thebes I sawe all razde howe it dyd lye
In heapes of stones; and Tyrus put to spoyle,
With walles and towers flat euened with the foyle.

But Troy alas (me thought) about them all,
It made mine eyes in very teares consume;
When I beheld the wofull word befall,
That by the wrathfull wyl of Gods was come :
And Joves unmooved sentence and foredoome
On Priam kyng and on his towne so bent,
I could not lyn but I must there lament;

And that the more, sith definie was so sterne,
As force perforce there might no force auayle,
But the must fall: and by her fall we learne
That cities, towres, wealth, world, and al shall quayle;
No manhoode, might, nor nothing mought preuayle:
Al were there prest: ful many a prynce and pierce,
And many a knight that solde his death full deere.

Not worthy Hector, worthyest of them all,
Her hope, her ioye: his force is nowe for nought:
O Troy, Troy, there is no boote but bale:
The hugie horse within thy walles is brought;
Thy turrets fall; thy knightes that whilom fought
In armes amyde the fyeld, are slayne in bed;
Thy Gods defylde and all thy honour dead.

The flames vpspring, and cruelly they crepe
From wall to rooffe til all to cinders waste:
Some fyre the houses where the wretches slepe;
Som rushe in here, som run in there as fast;
In euery where or sworde or fyre they taste.
The walles are torne, the towers whyrld to y^e ground:
There is no mischiefe but may there be found.

Cassandra yet there sawe I howe they hald
From Pallas house, with sperckled tresse vndone,
Her wristes fast boūd, and with Greek rout empaled;
And Priam eke, in vayne howe he did runne
To armes, whom Pyrrhus with despite hath done
To cruel death, and bathed him in the bayne
Of his sonnes blod before the altare slayne.

But howe can I descryve the doleful sight
 That in the shyld so liuelike fayer did shyne?
 Sith in this worlde I think was neuer wyght
 Could haue set furth the halfe not halfe so fyne:
 I can no more, but tell howe there is seene
 Fayer Ilium fal in burning red gledes downe,
 And from the soyle great Troy, Neptunus town.¹

These shadowy inhabitants of hell-gate are conceived with the vigour of a creative imagination, and described with great force of expression. They are delineated with that fulness of proportion, that invention of picturesque attributes, distinctness, animation, and amplitude, of which Spenser is commonly supposed to have given the first specimens in our language, and which are characteristic of his poetry. We may venture to pronounce that Spenser, at least, caught his manner of designing allegorical personages from this model, which so greatly enlarged the former narrow bounds of our ideal imagery, as that it may justly be deemed an original in that style of painting. For we must not forget, that it is to this *Induction* that Spenser alludes in a sonnet prefixed to his [*Faery Queene*, in 1590,] addressed "To the right honourable the Lord of Buckhurst, one of her Majesties privie Counsell."²

In vain I thinke, right honourable Lord,
 By this rude rime to memorize thy name,
 Whose learned Muse hath writ her owne record,
 In golden verse, worthy immortal fame.
 Thou much more fit (were leasure to the same,)
 Thy gracious Soverains praises to compile,
 And her imperiall Majestie to frame
 In lofty numbers and heroicke stile.

The readers of the *Faerie Queene* will easily point out many particular passages which Sackville's *Induction* suggested to Spenser.

From this scene Sorrow, who is well-known to Charon and to Cerberus the hideous hound of hell, leads the poet over the loathsome lake of rude Acheron, to the dominions of Pluto, which are described in numbers too beautiful to have been relished by his cotemporaries, or equalled by his successors.

Thence cum we to the horror and the hel,
 The large great kyngdomes, and the dreadful raygne
 Of Pluto in his trone where he dyd dwell,
 The wyde waste places, and the hugye playne:
 The waylinges, thrykes, and sundry sortes of payne,
 The syghes, the sobbes, the diepe and deadly groane,
 Earth, ayre, and all resounding playnt and moane.³

¹ [Edit. 1563, fo. 118-22.]

² [Spenser's *Works*, edit. Morris, 1869, p. 9.]

³ The two next stanzas are not in the [second] edition of [1563]. But instead of them, the following stanza:

"Here pewled the babes, and here the maydes unwed
 With folded handes theyr sory chaunce bewayld,
 Here wept the gyltles slayne, and lovers dead
 That slewe them selues when nothyng els auayld.
 A thousand sortes of sorrowes here that wayled

Thence did we passe the threefold emperie
 To th' utmost bounds where Radamanthus raignes,
 Where proud folke waile their wofull miserie;
 Where dreadfull din of thousand dragging chaines,
 And baleful shriekes of ghofts in deadly paines
 Tortur'd eternally are heard most brim¹
 Through silent shades of night so darke and dim.

From hence vpon our way we forward passe,
 And through the groues and uncooth paths we goe,
 Which leade vnto the Cyclops walles of brasfe:
 And where that maine-broad flood for aye doth floe,
 Which parts the gladsome fields from place of woe:
 Whence none shall euer passe t' Elizium plaine,
 Or from Elizium euer turne againe.

Here they are surrounded by a troop of men, the most in "armes bedight," who met an untimely death, and of whose destiny, whether they were sentenced to eternal night or to "blissfull peace," it was uncertain:

Loe here, Q. Sorowe, Prynces of renowne,
 That whilom sat on top of Fortunes wheele,
 Nowe layed ful lowe, like wretches whurled downe
 Euen with one frowne, that stayed but with a smyle, &c.²

They pass in order before Sorrow and the poet. The first is Henry Duke of Buckingham, a principal instrument of King Richard the Third:

Then first came Henry duke of Buckingham,
 His cloke of blacke al pilde, and quite forworne,
 Wringing his handes, and Fortune ofte doth blame,
 Which of a duke hath made him nowe her skorne;
 With gasty lokes, as one in maner lorne,
 Oft spred his armes, stretcht handes he ioynes as fast,
 With ruful cheere and vapored eyes vpcast.

His cloke he rent, his manly breast he beat;
 His heare all torne about the place it laye:
 My hart so molte to see his grieve so great,
 As felingly me thought it dropt awaye:
 His eyes they whurled about withouten staye:
 With stormy syghes the place dyd so complayne,
 As if his hart at eche had burst in twayne.

Thryse he began to tell his doleful tale,
 And thrise the sighes did swalowe vp his voyce;
 At eche of which he shryked so wythal,
 As though the heauens ryved with the noyse:
 Tyll at the last recovering his voyce,
 Supping the teares that all his breft beraynde
 On cruel Fortune weping thus he playnde.³

Nothing more fully illustrates and ascertains the respective merits and genius of different poets, than a juxtaposition of their perfor-

With sighes and teares, sobs, shrykes, and all yfere,
 That, (oh alas) it was a hel to heare," &c.

[The stanzas in the text are the interpolation of Niccols.—*Hastlerwood.*]

¹ Breme, *i. e.* cruel.

² [Edit. 1563, fol. 124.]

³ [*Ibid.*]

mances on similar subjects. Having examined at large Sackville's *Descent into Hell*, for the sake of throwing a still stronger light on his manner of treating a fiction which gives so large a scope to fancy, I shall employ the remainder of this Section in setting before my reader a general view of Dante's Italian poem, entitled *Commedia*, containing a description of Hell, Paradise and Purgatory, and written about the year 1310. In the mean time, I presume that most of my readers will recollect and apply the sixth Book of Virgil, to which, however, it may be necessary to refer occasionally.

Although I have before insinuated that Dante has in this poem used the ghost of Virgil for a mystagogue, in imitation of Tully, who in the *Somnium Scipionis* supposes Scipio to have been shown the other world by his ancestor Africanus; yet at the same time, in the invention of his introduction, he seems to have had an eye on [an Italian (Florentine) translation of an old French work, entitled] *Tesoro*, exhibiting a cyclopede of theoretic and practical philosophy, and composed by his preceptor Brunetto Latini about the year 1270. Brunetto supposes himself lost in a wood, at the foot of a mountain covered with animals, flowers, plants and fruits of every species, and subject to the supreme command of a wonderful lady, whom he thus describes: "Her head touched the heavens, which served at once for a veil and an ornament. The sky grew dark or serene at her voice, and her arms extended to the extremities of the earth."¹ This bold personification, one of the earliest of the rude ages of poetry, is Nature. She converses with the poet, and describes the creation of the world. She enters upon a most unphilosophical and indeed unpoetical detail of the physical system: develops the head of man, and points out the seat of intelligence and of memory. From physics she proceeds to morals: but her principles are here confined to theology and the laws of the church, which she couches in technical rhymes.²

¹ [This translation is not quite correct:

" Talor toccava 'l cielo
Si che pareo suo velo:
E talor lo mutava
E talor lo turbava.
E tal suo mandamento
Movea 'l fermamento;
E talor si spandea
Si che 'l mondo pareo
Tutto nelle sue braccia."—*Price*.]

² [No two works can be more opposite in their nature than the *Tesoro* and *Tesoretto* of Brunetto Latino. The former is a vast repository of all the learning current in the thirteenth century; and the latter, though thus spoken of by its Neapolitan editor, "Nel Tesoretto quasi affatto si ristrinse (sc. Brunetto) a formar l'uomo nelle morale virtù, sull'orme di Severino Boezio," has been more happily characterized by the Academy "poesia a foggia di frottola." It has been called *Tesoretto* by way of distinction from his larger work. The author, who entertained a more exalted opinion of its worth than subsequent ages have chosen to bestow upon it, terms it *Tesoro* in his address to Rustico di Filippo:

" Io Brunetto Latino,
Che vostro in ogni guisa

Dante, like his master Brunetto, is bewildered in an unfrequented forest. He attempts to climb a mountain, whose summit is illuminated by the rising sun. A furious leopard, pressed by hunger, and a lion at whose aspect the *air is affrighted*, accompanied by a she-wolf, oppose his progress; and force him to fly precipitately into the profundities of a pathless valley, where, says the poet, the sun was silent.

Mi ripingeva dove 'l sol tace.¹

In the middle of a vast solitude he perceives a spectre, of whom he implores pity and help. The spectre hastens to his cries: it was the shade of Virgil, whom Beatrice, Dante's mistress, had sent to give him courage, and to guide him into the regions of hell. Virgil begins a long discourse with Dante; and expostulates with him for choosing to wander through the rough obscurities of a barren and dreary vale, when the top of the neighbouring mountain afforded every delight. The conversation of Virgil, and the name of Beatrice, by degrees dissipate the fears of the poet, who explains his situation. He returns to himself, and compares this revival of his strength and spirits to a flower smitten by the frost of a night, which again lifts its shrinking head, and expands its vivid colours, at the first gleamings of the morning sun.

Quale i fioretti dal notturno gielo
Chinati e chiusi, &c.²

Dante, under the conduct of Virgil, penetrates hell. But he does

Mi son sanza divisa;
A voi mi raccomando.
Poi vi presento e mando
Questo ricco Tesoro,
Che vale argento ed oro :"

And again—

"Lo Tesoro comenza," &c.

The *Tesoro* was afterwards translated into Italian by one Bono Giamboni, and printed at Treviso in 1474, viz. *Il Tesoro di Messer Brunetto Latino*, Fiorentino, Precettore del divino poeta Dante: nel qual si tratta di tutte le cose che a mortali se appartengono. After a table of chapters is another title, *Qui inchomincia el Tesoro di S. Brunetto Latino di firenze: e parla del nascimento e della natura di tutte le cose*. It was printed again at Venice, [1528 and] 1533. Mabillon seems to have confounded this Italian translation with the French original. *It. Italic*. p. 169. See also Salviati, *Avertis. Decam.* ii. xiii. Dante introduces Brunetto in the fifteenth Canto of the *Inferno*: and after the colophon of the first edition of the Italian *Tesoro* above mentioned, is this inference. "Risposta di Dante a Brunetto Latino ritrovato da lui nel quintodecimo canto nel suo Inferno."—*Price*.]

¹ *Inf. Cant.* i. [edit. *ut infra*.] The same bold metaphor occurs below, *Cant.* v.

"J' venue in luogo d' ogni luce muto."

² [*Divina Commedia*, edit. Padova, 1727, i. 11.] In another part of the *Inferno*, Virgil is angry with Dante, but is soon reconciled. Here the poet compares himself to a cottager in the early part of a promising spring, who looks out in the morning from his humble shed, and sees the fields covered with a severe and unexpected frost. But the sun soon melts the ground, and he drives his goats afield. *Cant.* xxiv. This poem abounds in comparisons. Not one of the worst is a comic one, in which a person looking sharply and eagerly, is compared to an old tailor threading a needle.—*Inf. Cant.* xv.

not on this occasion always avail himself of Virgil's descriptions and mythologies. At least the formation of Dante's imageries are of another school. He feigns his hell to be a prodigious and almost bottomless abyss, which from its aperture to its lowest depth preserves a rotund shape: or rather, an immense perpendicular cavern, which opening as it descends into different circles, forms so many distinct subterraneous regions. We are struck with horror at the commencement of this dreadful adventure.

The first object which the poet perceives is a gate of brass, over which were inscribed in characters of a dark hue, *di colore oscuro*, these verses:

Per me si v'è nella città dolente:
 Per me si v'è nell'eterno dolore:
 Per me si v'è tr'è la perduta gente.
 Giustizia mosse 'l mio alto fattore:
 Fecemi la divina potestate,
 La somma sapienza, e 'l primo Amore.¹
 Dinanzia me non fur cose create:
 Se non eterne, ed io eterno duro.
 Lasciate ogni speranza che voi n'trate.²

That is, "By me is the way to the woeful city. By me is the way to the eternal pains. By me is the way to the damned race. My mighty maker was divine Justice and Power, the Supreme Wisdom, and the First Love. Before me nothing was created. If not eternal, I shall eternally remain. Put away all hope, ye that enter."

There is a severe solemnity in these abrupt and comprehensive sentences, and they are a striking preparation to the scenes that ensue. But the idea of such an inscription on the brazen portal of hell was suggested to Dante by books of chivalry; in which the gate of an impregnable enchanted castle is often inscribed with words importing the dangers or wonders to be found within. Over the door of every chamber in Spenser's necromantic palace of Busyrane, was written a threat to the champions who presumed to attempt to enter.³ This total exclusion of hope from hell, here so finely introduced and so forcibly expressed, was probably remembered by Milton, a disciple of Dante, where he describes

Regions of sorrow, doleful shades, where peace
 And rest can never dwell, hope never comes
 That comes to all.⁴

I have not time to follow Dante regularly through his dialogues and adventures with the crowds of ghosts, ancient and modern, which he meets in the course of this infernal journey. In these interviews, there is often much of the party and politics of his own times, and of allusion to recent facts. Nor have I leisure particularly to display our author's punishments and phantoms. I observe in general, that the ground-work of his hell is classical, yet with

¹ He means the Platonic *εργας*. The Italian expositors will have it to be the Holy Ghost.

² [Edit. *ut suprà*. p. 12.]

³ *Fair. Qu.* iii. xi. 54.

⁴ *Par. L.* i. 65.

many Gothic and extravagant innovations. The burning lakes, the fosses, and fiery towers which surround the city of Dis, and the three Furies which wait at its entrance, are touched with new strokes.¹ The Gorgons, the Hydra, the Chimera, Cerberus, the serpent of Lerna, and the rest of Virgil's, or rather Homer's, infernal apparitions, are dilated with new touches of the terrible, and sometimes made ridiculous by the addition of comic or incongruous circumstances, yet without any intention of burlesque. Because Virgil had mentioned the Harpies in a single word only,² in one of the loathsome groves which Dante passes, consisting of trees whose leaves are black, and whose knotted boughs are hard as iron, the Harpies build their nests.

Non frondi verdi, ma di color fosco,
Non rami schietti, ma nodosi e 'nvolti,
Non pomi v' eran, ma stecchi con tofco.

Cacus, whom Virgil had called Semifer in his seventh book, appears in the shape of a Centaur covered with curling snakes, and on whose neck is perched a dragon hovering with expanded wings.³ It is supposed that Dante took the idea of his *Inferno* from a magnificent nightly representation of hell, exhibited by the Pope in honour of the Bishop of Ostia on the River Arno at Florence, in the year 1304. This is mentioned by the Italian critics in extenuation of Dante's choice of so strange a subject. But why should we attempt to excuse any absurdity in the writings or manners of the middle ages? Dante chose this subject as a reader of Virgil and Homer. The religious mystery represented on the River Arno, however magnificent, was perhaps a spectacle purely orthodox, and perfectly conformable to the ideas of the church. And if we allow that it might hint the subject, with all its inconsistencies, it never could have furnished any considerable part of this wonderful compound of classical and romantic fancy, of Pagan and Christian theology, of real and fictitious history, of tragical and comic incidents, of familiar and heroic manners, and of satirical and sublime poetry. But the grossest improprieties of this poem discover an originality of invention, and its absurdities often border on sublimity. We are surprised that a poet should write one hundred cantos on hell, paradise and purgatory. But this prolixity is partly owing to the want of art and method, and is common to all early compositions in which every thing is related circumstantially and without rejection, and not in those general terms which are used by modern writers.

Dante has beautifully enlarged Virgil's short comparison of the souls lingering on the banks of Lethe, to the numerous leaves falling from the trees in autumn.

Come d'Autunno si levan le foglie
L'una appresso dell'altra, infin che'l ramo
Rende a la terra tutte le sue spoglie;

¹ See *Cant.* ix. vii.

² [Edit. *ut sup.* p. 34.]

³ Gorgones, *Harpylaque*, vi. 289.

⁴ *Cant.* xxv.

Similmente, il mal seme d'Adamo
Gittaua di quel lito ad una ad una,
Per cenni, com'augel per suo richiamo.¹

In the fields inhabited by unhappy lovers he sees Semiramis, Achilles, Paris, and Tristan, or Sir Tristram. One of the old Italian commentators on this poem says, that the last was an English knight born in Cornovaglio, or Cornwall, a city of England.²

Among many others of his friends, he sees Francisca the daughter of Guido di Polenta, in whose palace Dante died at Ravenna, and Paolo, one of the sons of Malatesta, lord of Rimini. This lady fell in love with Paolo; the passion was mutual, and she was betrothed to him in marriage; but her family chose rather that she should be married to Lanciotto, Paolo's eldest brother. This match had the most fatal consequences. The injured lovers could not dissemble or stifle their affection: they were surprised and both assassinated by Lanciotto. Dante finds the shades of these distinguished victims of an unfortunate attachment at a distance from the rest, in a region of his *Inferno* desolated by the most violent tempests. He accosts them both, and Francisca relates their history: yet the conversation is carried on with some difficulty, on account of the impetuosity of the storm which was perpetually raging. Dante, who from many circumstances of his own amours, appears to have possessed the most refined sensibilities about the delicacies of love, inquires in what manner, when in the other world, they first communicated their passion to each other. Francisca answers, that they were one day sitting together, and reading the romance of *Lancelot*, where two lovers were represented in the same critical situation with themselves. Their changes of colour and countenance, while they were reading, often tacitly betrayed their yet undiscovered feelings. When they came to that passage in the romance, where the lovers, after many tender approaches, are gradually drawn by one uniform reciprocation of involuntary attraction to kiss each other, the book dropped from their hands. By a sudden impulse and an irresistible sympathy they are tempted to do the same. Here was the commencement of their tragical history.

Noi leggiavamo un giorno, per diletto,
Di Lancilotto, comme amor lo strinse;
Soli eravamo, et senza alcun sospetto.
Per più fiate gli occhi ci sospinse
Quella lettura et scolorocci 'l viso:
Ma solo un punto fù quel, che ci vinse.
Quando leggemmo il disiato riso
Esser baciato da cotanto amante,
Questi che mai da me no fia diviso,
La bocca mi basciò tutto tremante:
Galeotto fù il libro, e chi lo scrisse,
Quel giorno più non vi leggemmo avante.⁴

¹ [Edit. *ut sup.* p. 15.]

² In the sixteenth Canto of the *Paradiso*, King Arthur's queen Geneura, who belongs to Sir Tristram's romance, is mentioned.

³ He is one of the knights of the Round Table, and is commonly called Sir Gal bad, in *Arthur's* romance.

⁴ [Ut *supra*, p. 25.]

But this picture, in which nature, sentiment, and the graces are concerned, I have to contrast with scenes of a very different nature. Salvator Rosa has here borrowed the pencil of Correggio. Dante's beauties are not of the soft and gentle kind.

Through many a dark and dreary vale
They pass'd, and many a region dolorous,
O'er many a frozen, many a fiery Alp.¹

A hurricane suddenly rising on the banks of the river Styx is thus described.

Et già venia sù per le torbid' onde
Un fracasso d'un suon pien di spavento,
Per cui tremavano amendue le sponde;
Non altrimenti fatto che d'un vento
Impetuoso, per gli averfi ardori
Che fier la selva sanza alcun rattento:
Gli rami schianta, abbatte, et porta i fiori:
Dinanzi polveroso v'è superbo,
Et fa fuggir le fiere et gli pastori.²

Dante and his mystagogue meet the monster Geryon. He has the face of a man with a mild and benign aspect, but his human form ends in a serpent with a voluminous tail of immense length, terminated by a sting, which he brandishes like a scorpion. His hands are rough with bristles and scales. His breast, back, and sides have all the rich colours displayed in the textures of Tartary and Turkey, or in the labours of Arachne. To speak in Spenser's language he is

A dragon, horrible and bright.³

No monster of romance is more savage or superb.

Lo dosso, e'l petto, ed amendue le coste,
Dipinte avea di nodi, e di rotelle,
Con più color sommesse e sopraposte
Non fer ma' in drappo Tartari nè Turchi,
Ne fur tai tele per Aragne imposte.⁴

The conformation of this heterogeneous beast, as a fabulous hell is the subject, perhaps immediately gave rise to one of the *formidable shapes* which sat on either side of the gates of hell in Milton. Although the fiction is founded in the classics.

The one seem'd woman to the waist, and fair,
But ended foul in many a scaly fold
Voluminous and vast, a serpent arm'd
With mortal sting.⁵

Virgil, seeming to acknowledge him as an old acquaintance, mounts the back of Geryon. At the same time Dante mounts, whom Virgil

¹ Milton, *Par. L.* ii. 618.

² *Ut supra*, p. 39.]

³ *Fair. Qu.* i. ix. 52.

⁴ Cant. xvii. [*Ut supra*, p. 71.] Dante says, that he lay on the banks of a river like a beaver [or] castor. But this foolish comparison is affectedly introduced by our author for a display of his natural knowledge from Pliny, or rather from the *Tesoro* of his master Brunetto.

⁵ *Par. L.* ii. 649.

places before, "that you may not," says he, "be exposed to the monster's venomous sting." Virgil then commands Geryon not to move too rapidly, "for, consider, what a new burthen you carry!"

Gerion muoviti omai:
Le ruote larghe, e lo scender sia poco:
Penfa la nuova soma, che tu hai.¹

In this manner they travel in the air through Tartarus: and from the back of the monster Geryon, Dante looks down on the burning lake of Phlegethon. This imagery is at once great and ridiculous. But much later Italian poets have fallen into the same strange mixture. In this horrid situation says Dante,

I' sentia già dalla man destra il gorgo
Far sotto noi un' orribile sfoscio:
Perchè con gli occhi in giù la testa sporgo,
Allor fu io più timido allo sfoscio
Perocchè i vidi fuochi, e senti pianti,
Oud' io tremando tutto mi raccoscio.²

This airy journey is copied from the flight of Icarus and Phaeton, and at length produced the Ippogrifo of Ariosto. Nor is it quite improbable that Milton, although he has greatly improved and dignified the idea, might have caught from hence his fiction of Satan soaring over the infernal abyfs. At length Geryon, having circuted the air like a falcon towering without prey, deposits his burthen and vanishes.³

While they are wandering along the banks of Phlegethon, as the twilight of evening approaches, Dante suddenly hears the sound of a horn more loud than thunder or the horn of Orlando.⁴

Ma io senti sonare alto corno:
Non sono sì terribilmente Orlando.⁵

Dante descries through the gloom, what he thinks to be many high and vast towers, *molte alti torri*. These are the giants who warred against heaven, standing in a row, half concealed within, and half extant without, an immense abyfs or pit:

Gli orribili giganti, cui minaccia
Giove del cielo ancora, quando tuona,⁶

But Virgil informs Dante that he is deceived by appearances, and that these are not towers but the giants:

¹ Cant. xvii. [*Ut supra*, p. 74.]

² [*Ut supra*.]

³ In the thirty-fourth Canto Dante and Virgil return to light on the back of Lucifer, who (like Milton's *Satan*, ii. 927) is described as having wings like sails,

"Vele di mar non vid' io mai cotali."

And again,

"Quando l'ale furo asperse assai."

This Canto begins with a Latin line,

"Vexilla regis prodeunt inferni."

⁴ Or Roland, the subject of Archbishop Turpin's romance

[⁵ *Ut supra*, p. 134.]

⁶ [*Ibid.* p. 135.]

Sappi, che non son torri ma giganti
E son nel pozzo intorno dalla ripa
Dall' umbilico in guifo tutti quanti.¹

One of them cries out to Dante with horrible voice. Another, Ephialtes, is clothed in iron and bound in huge chains. Dante wishes to see Briareus; he is answered that he lies in an interior cavern biting his chain. Immediately Ephialtes arose from another cavern, and shook himself like an earthquake.

Non fu tremuoto già tanto rubesto,
Che scotesse una torri così forte,
Come Fialte a scuoterli fu presto.²

Dante views the horn which had sounded so vehemently hanging by a leathern thong from the neck of one of the giants. Antaeus, whose body stands ten ells high from the pit, is commanded by Virgil to advance. They both mount on his shoulders, and are thus carried about Cocytus. The giant, says the poet, moved off with us like the mast of a ship.³ One cannot help observing, what has been indeed already hinted, how judiciously Milton, in a similar argument, has retained the just beauties, and avoided the childish or ludicrous excesses of these bold inventions. At the same time we may remark, how Dante has sometimes heightened, and sometimes diminished by improper additions or misrepresentations, the legitimate descriptions of Virgil.

One of the torments of the damned in Dante's *Inferno* is the punishment of being eternally confined in lakes of ice.

Eran l'ombre dolenti nella ghiaccia
Mettendo i denti in nota di cicogna.⁴

The ice is described to be like that of the Danube or Tanais. This species of infernal torment, which is neither directly warranted by scripture, nor suggested in the systems of the Platonic fabulists, and which has been adopted both by Shakespeare and Milton, has its origin in the legendary hell of the monks. The hint seems to have been taken from an obscure text in the Book of Job, dilated by Saint Jerom and the early commentators.⁵ The torments of hell, in which the punishment by cold is painted at large, had formed a visionary romance, under the name of *Saint Patrick's Purgatory*, long before Dante wrote. The venerable Bede, who lived in the seventh century, has framed a future mansion of existence for departed souls with this mode of torture. In the hands of Dante it has assumed

[¹ *Ut supra*, p. 134.]

[² *Ibid.* p. 136.]

³ Dante says, if I understand the passage right, that the face of one of the giants resembled the Cupola, shaped like a pine-apple, of Saint Peter's church at Rome. *Ibid.* Cant. xxxi.

"Come la pina di san Pietro a Roma."

[⁴ *Ut supra*, p. 139.]

⁵ Job xxiv. 19.

many fantastic and grotesque circumstances, which make us laugh and shudder at the same time.

In another department, Dante represents some of his criminals rolling themselves in human ordure. If his subject led him to such a description, he might at least have used decent expressions. But his diction is not here less sordid than his imagery. I am almost afraid to transcribe this gross passage, even in the disguise of the old Tuscan phraseology.

Quindi giù nel fosso
Vidi gente attuffata in uno sterco,
Che dagli uman privati pareva mosso:
E mentre ch' io laggiu con l'occhio cerco:
Vidi un, co'l capo sì da merda lordo,
Che non pareva s'era laico, o cherco.¹

The humour of the last line does not make amends for the nastiness of the image.

It is not to be supposed, that a man of strong sense and genius, whose understanding had been cultivated by a most exact education, and who had passed his life in the courts of sovereign princes, would have indulged himself in these disgusting fooleries, had he been at all apprehensive that his readers would have been disgusted. But rude and early poets describe every thing. They follow the public manners; and if they are either obscene or indelicate it should be remembered that they wrote before obscenity or indelicacy became offensive.

Some of the guilty are made objects of contempt by a transformation into beastly or ridiculous shapes. This was from the fable of Circe. In others, the human figure is rendered ridiculous by distortion. There is one set of criminals whose faces are turned round towards their backs.

che 'l pianto degli occhi
Le natiche bagnava per lo fesso.²

But Dante has displayed more true poetry in describing a real event than in the best of his fictions. This is in the story of Ugolino count of Pisa, the subject of a very capital picture by Reynolds. The poet, wandering through the depths of hell, sees two of the damned gnawing the skulls of each other, which was their daily food. He inquires the meaning of this dreadful repast.

La bocca sollevò dal fiero pasto
Quel peccator, forbendola a' capelli
Del capo ch'egli havea dietro guasto.³

Ugolino quitting his companion's half devoured skull, begins his tale to this effect. "We are Ugolin count of Pisa, and archbishop Ruggieri. Trusting in the perfidious counsels of Ruggieri, I was brought to a miserable death. I was committed with four of my children to the dungeon of hunger. The time came when we expected food to be brought. Instead of which, I heard the gates of the hor-

¹ Cant. xviii. [*Ut supra*, p. 79.]

² *Ut supra*. p. 84.]

³ Cant. xxxiii. [*Ut supra*. p. 142.] They are both in the lake of ice.

rible tower more closely barred. I looked at my children, and could not speak.

L'ora s'appressava
Che'l cibo ne soleva essere addotto ;
E per suo sogno ciascun dubitava :
Ed io senti chiavar l'uscio di sotto
All'orribile torre, ond' io guardai
Nel viso à miei figliuoli, senza far motto.

I could not complain. I was petrified. My children cried : and my little Anselm, *Anselmuccio mio*, said, Father, you look on us, what is the matter ?

Tu guardi sì, padre, che hai ?

I could neither weep, nor answer, all that day and the following night. When the scanty rays of the sun began to glimmer through the dolorous prison,

Com'un poco di raggio si fù messo
Nel doloroso carcere,—

and I could again see those four countenances on which my own image was stamped, I gnawed both my hands for grief. My children supposing I did this through a desire to eat, lifting themselves suddenly up, exclaimed, O father, our grief would be less, if you would eat us !

Ambo le mani per dolor mi morsi :
E quei pensando ch' i' l' fiesse per voglia
Di manicar, di subito levorsi
Et disser : Padre, assai ci fia men doglia
Se tu mangi di noi !

I restrained myself that I might not make them more miserable. We were all silent, that day and the following. Ah, cruel earth, why didst thou not swallow us up at once !

Quel dì, et l'altro, stemmo tutti muti.
Ahi ! dura terra, perchè non t'apristi ?

The fourth day being come, Gaddo falling all along at my feet, cried out, My father, why do you not help me ? and died. The other three expired, one after the other, between the fifth and sixth days, famished as you see me now. And I being seized with blindness began to crawl over them, *souva ciascuno*, on hands and feet ; and for three days after they were dead continued calling them by their names. At length, famine finished my torments." Having said this, the poet adds, "with distorted eyes he again fixed his teeth on the mangled skull."¹ It is not improbable that the shades of unfortunate men who, described under peculiar situations and with their proper attributes, are introduced relating at large their histories in hell to Dante, might have given the hint to Boccaccio's book *De Casibus Virorum Illustrium*, On the misfortunes of Illustrious Personages, the original model of the *Mirror for Magistrates*.

Dante's *Purgatorio* is not on the whole less fantastic than his *Inferno*. As his hell was a vast perpendicular cavity in the earth, he

¹ See *Essay on Pope*, p. 254.

² *Purgat.* cant. i.

supposes Purgatory to be a cylindric mass elevated to a prodigious height. At intervals are recesses projecting from the outside of the cylinder. In these recesses, some higher and some lower, the wicked expiate their crimes, according to the proportion of their guilt. From one department they pass to another by steps of stone exceedingly steep. On the top of the whole, or the summit of Purgatory, is a platform adorned with trees and vegetables of every kind. This is the Terrestrial Paradise, which has been transported hither, we know not how, and which forms an avenue to the Paradise Celestial. It is extraordinary that some of the Gothic painters should not have given us this subject.

Dante describes not disagreeably the first region which he traverses on leaving hell. The heavens are tinged with sapphire, and the star of love, or the sun, makes all the orient laugh. He sees a venerable sage approach. This is Cato of Utica who, astonished to see a living man in the mansion of ghosts, questions Dante and Virgil about the business which brought them hither. Virgil answers: and Cato advises Virgil to wash Dante's face, which was soiled with the smoke of hell, and to cover his head with one of the reeds which grew on the borders of the neighbouring river. Virgil takes his advice, and having gathered one reed, sees another spring up in its place. This is the golden bough of the *Eneid*, *uno avulso non deficit alter*. The shades also, as in Virgil, crowd to be ferried over Styx: but an angel performs the office of Charon, admitting some into the boat, and rejecting others. This confusion of fable and religion destroys the graces of the one and the majesty of the other.

Through adventures and scenes more strange and wild than any in the *Pilgrim's Progress*, we at length arrive at the twenty-first canto. A concussion of the earth announces the deliverance of a soul from Purgatory. This is the soul of Statius, the favourite poet of the dark ages. Although a very improper companion for Virgil, he immediately joins our adventurers, and accompanies them in their progress. It is difficult to discover what Pagan or Christian idea regulates Dante's dispensation of rewards and punishments. Statius passes from Purgatory to Paradise, Cato remains in the place of expiation, and Virgil is condemned to eternal torments.

Dante meets his old acquaintance Forese, a debauchè of Florence. On finishing the conversation, Forese asks Dante when he shall have the pleasure of seeing him again. This question in Purgatory is diverting enough. Dante answers with much serious gravity: "I know not the time of death; but it cannot be too near. Look back on the troubles in which my country is involved!"¹ The dispute between the pontificate and the empire appears to have been the predominant topic of Dante's mind. This circumstance has filled Dante's poem with strokes of satire. Every reader of Voltaire must remember that lively writer's paraphrase from the *Inferno* of the

¹ Cant. xxiv.

story of Count Guido, in which are these inimitable lines. A Franciscan friar abandoned to Beelzebub thus exclaims :

Monfieur de Lucifer !
 Je fuis un Saint ; voyes ma robe grife :
 Je fus absous par le Chef de l'Eglise.
 J'aurai toujours, repondit le Demon,
 Un grand respect pour l'Absolution ;
 On est lavé de ses vieilles sotises,
 Pourvu qu'après autres ne soient commises.
 J'ai fait souvent cette distinction
 A tes pareils : et, grâce a l'Italie,
 Le Diable fait la Theologie.
 Il dit et rit. Je ne repliquai rien
 A Belzebut, il raisonnoit trop bien.
 Lors il m'empoigne, et d'un bras roide et ferme
 Il appliqua sur ma triste épiderme
 Vingt coups de fouet, dont bien fort il me cuit :
 Que Dieu le rend à Boniface huit.

Dante thus translated would have had many more readers than at present. I take this opportunity of remarking that our author's perpetual reference to recent facts and characters is in imitation of Virgil, yet with this very material difference : the persons recognised in Virgil's sixth book, for instance the chiefs of the Trojan war, are the cotemporaries of the hero not of the poet. The truth is, Dante's poem is a satirical history of his own times.

Dante sees some of the ghosts of Purgatory advancing forward, more meagre and emaciated than the rest. He asks how this could happen in a place where all live alike without nourishment. Virgil quotes the example of Meleager, who wasted with a firebrand, on the gradual extinction of which his life depended. He also produces the comparison of a mirror reflecting a figure. These obscure explanations do not satisfy the doubts of Dante. Statius, for his better instruction, explains how a child grows in the womb of the mother, how it is enlarged, and by degrees receives life and intellect. The drift of our author is apparent in these profound illustrations. He means to shew his skill in a sort of metaphysical anatomy. We see something of this in the *Tesoro* of Brunetto. Unintelligible solutions of a similar sort, drawn from a frivolous and mysterious philosophy, mark the writers of Dante's age.

The *Paradiso* of Dante, the third part of this poem, resembles his *Purgatorio*. Its fictions, and its allegories which suffer by being explained, are all conceived in the same chimerical spirit. The poet successively views the glory of the saints, of angels, of the holy Virgin, and at last of God himself.

Heaven as well as hell, among the monks, had its legendary description, which it was heresy to disbelieve, and which was formed on perversions or misinterpretations of scripture. Our author's vision ends with the Deity, and we know not by what miraculous assistance he returns to earth.

It must be allowed, that the scenes of Virgil's sixth book have many fine strokes of the terrible. But Dante's colouring is of a

more gloomy temperature. There is a sombrous cast in his imagination; and he has given new shades of horror to the classical hell. We may say of Dante, that

Hell

Grows darker at his frown.¹

The sensations of fear impressed by the Roman poet are less harassing to the repose of the mind: they have a more equable and placid effect. The terror of Virgil's tremendous objects is diminished by correctness of composition and elegance of style. We are reconciled to his Gorgons and Hydras by the grace of expression and the charms of versification.

In the mean time, it may seem a matter of surprise, that the Italian poets of the thirteenth century, who restored, admired and studied the classics, did not imitate their beauties. But while they possessed the genuine models of antiquity, their unnatural and eccentric habits of mind and manners, their attachments to system, their scholastic theology, superstition, ideal love, and, above all, their chivalry had corrupted every true principle of life and literature, and consequently prevented the progress of taste and propriety. They could not conform to the practices and notions of their own age and to the ideas of the ancients at the same time. They were dazzled with the imageries of Virgil and Homer, which they could not always understand or apply or which they saw through the mist of prejudice and misconception. Their genius having once taken a false direction, when recalled to copy a just pattern, produced only constraint and affectation, a distorted and unpleasing resemblance. The early Italian poets disfigured, instead of adorning, their works by attempting to imitate the classics. The charms which we so much admire in Dante do not belong to the Greeks and Romans. They are derived from another origin, and must be traced back to a different stock. Nor is it at the same time less surprising, that the later Italian poets, in more enlightened times, should have paid so respectful a compliment to Dante as to acknowledge no other model, and with his excellencies to transcribe and perpetuate all his extravagances.

¹ *Par. L. ii. p. 720.*

SECTION L.



NOW return to the *Mirror for Magistrates*, and to Sackville's *Legend of Buckingham*, which follows his *Induction*. *The Complaynt of Henrye Duke of Buckingham* is written with a force and even elegance of expression, a copiousness of phraseology, and an exactness of versification, not to be found in any other parts of the collection. On the whole, it may be thought tedious and languid. But that objection unavoidably results from the general plan of these pieces. It is impossible that soliloquies of such prolixity, and designed to include much historical and even biographical matter, should everywhere sustain a proper degree of spirit, pathos, and interest. In the exordium are these nervous and correct couplets :

Whom flattering Fortune falsely so begyde,
That loe she slewe, where earst ful smooth she smylde.

Again—

And paynt it furth, that all estates may knowe :
Haue they the warning, and be mine the woe.¹

Buckingham is made to enter thus rapidly, yet with much address, into his fatal share of the civil broils between York and Lancaster :

But what may boot to stay the sisters three ?
When Atropos perforce will cut the threde :
The doleful day was come,² when you might see
Northhampton fyeld with armed men orespred.

In these lines there is great energy :

O would to God, the cruel dismal daye
That gave me light fyrst to behold thy face,
With fowle eclypse had reft my syght away,
The vnhappy hower, the tyme, and eke the place,³

And the following are an example of the simple and sublime united :

And thou, Alesto, feede me wyth thy foode,
Let fal thy serpentes from thy snaky heare :
For such relyefe well fittes me in this moode,
To feede my playnt with horror and wyth feare !
While rage afreshe thy venomd worme arear.⁴

Many comparisons are introduced by the distressed speaker. But it is common for the best poets to forget that they are describing

¹ [Edit. 1563, fol. 125 *et seqq.*]

² Shakespeare seems to have burlesqued these lines in one of Pistol's rants :

“ Abridge my *doleful days* !

Let grisly, gaping, ghastly wounds, unbind the *sisters three*,
Come, *Atropos*, I say.”—*Park.*]

³ [Edit. 1563, fol. 136, *verso.*]

⁴ [Edit. 1563, fol. 136, *recto.*]

what is only related or spoken. The captive Proteus has his simile of the nightingale; and Eneas decorates his narrative of the disastrous conflagration of Troy with a variety of the most laboured comparisons.

Buckingham, in his reproaches against the traitorous behaviour of his ancient friend Banastre, utters this forcible exclamation, which breathes the genuine spirit of revenge, and is unloaded with poetical superfluities.

Hated be thou, disdaynd of every wyght,
And poynted at where ever that thou goe:
A trayterous wretche, vnworthy of the light,
Be thou esteemed: and to encrease thy woe,
The sound be hatefull of thy name also:
And in this sort with shame and sharpe reproche
Leade thou thy life, till greater grief approach.

The ingenious writers of these times are perpetually deserting propriety for the sake of learned allusions. Buckingham exhorts the peers and princes to remember the fate of some of the most renowned heroes of antiquity, whose lives and misfortunes he relates at large, and often in the most glowing colours of poetry. Alexander's murder of Clitus is thus described in stanzas, pronounced by the poet, and not by Buckingham:

And deeply grave within your stony hartes
The drery dewle that myghty Macedo
With teares vnfolded wrapt in deadly smartes,
When he the death of Clitus sorowed so,
Whom erst he muredred wyth the deadly blowe
Raught in his rage vpon his frende so deare,
For which behold loe how his panges appere.
The launced spear he writhes out of the wound,
From which the purple blud spins on his face:
His heynous gylt when he returned found,
He throwes him selfe vpon the corpes alas,
And in his armes howe ofte doth he imbrace
His muredred frende? And kyssyng him in vayne,
Furth flowe the fluds of salte repentant rayne.
His frendes amazde at such a murther doon,
In feareful flockes begyn to shrynke away;
And he there at, with heapes of grief fordoen,
Hateth him selfe, wishing his latter daye.
He calles for Death, and loathing longer lyfe,
Bent to his bane, refuseth kyndly foode:
And plounge in depth of death and dolours stryfe
Had quelde¹ him selfe, had not his frendes wythstoode.
Loe he that thus had shed the gylties blud,
Though he wer Kyng and Kesar over all,
Yet chose he death to guerdon death withall.
This prynce, whose pyer was never vnder sonne,
Whose glystening fame the earth did overglide,
Whych with his power welnye the world had wonne,
His bluddy handes him selfe could not abyde,
But fully bent with famine to have dyed:

¹ Killed: manqueller is murderer.

The worthy prynce deemed in his regarde
That death for death could be but iust reward.¹

Our *Mirror* had new editions in 1563, 1571, 1574, [1575, and 1578. But in the last three editions, instead of the original title, it was called *The LAST parte of the Mirror for Magistrates*, because in 1574 had appeared *The FIRST parte of the Mirror for Magistrates*, a series of lives antecedent in *chronological* order to Baldwin's, and edited by John Higgins. The two portions were republished together in 1587.²]

Higgins lived at Winsham in Somersetshire.³ He was educated at Oxford, was a clergyman, and engaged in the instruction of youth. [In 1575, he brought out a new edition of Udall's translation or paraphrase of the] *Floſculi of Terence*, a manual famous in its time, and applauded in a Latin epigram by the elegant Latin encomiast Thomas Newton of Cheshire.⁴ In the pedagogic character he also published *Holcot's Dictionarie*, newlie corrected, amended, set in order, and enlarged, with many names of men, townes, beastes, fowles, &c. By which you may finde the Latine or Frenche of anie Engliſhe worde you will. By John Higgins, late student in Oxeforde.⁵ In an engraved title-page are a few English verses. It [was printed in 1572.] The dedication to Sir George Peckham, Knight, is written by Higgins, and is a good specimen of his classical accomplishments. He calls Peckham his principal friend, and the most eminent patron of letters. A commendatory copy of verses by Churchyard the poet is prefixed, with four Latin epigrams by others. Another of his works in the same profession is the *Nomenclator* of Adrian Junius, translated into English, in conjunction with Abraham Fleming, and printed in 1585.⁶ It is dedicated in Latin to his most bountiful patron Doctor Valentine, Master of Requests, and Dean of Wells, from Winsham.⁷ 1584. From this dedication, Higgins seems to have been connected with the school of Ilminster, a neighbouring town in Somersetshire.⁸

¹ [Edit. 1563, fol. 127-8.]

² But in the Preface Higgins says he began to prepare it twelve years before. [In 1579 Munday printed his *Mirror of Mutabilitie, or Principall Parte of the Mirror for Magistrates*. The title was very popular both here and abroad; but with the exceptions of some of Drayton's *Legends*, Munday's *Mirror of Mutabilitie*, Fulwell's *Flower of Fame*, and the *Poor Man's Pittance*, by Richard Williams, written in the reign of James the First, and first printed by Mr. Furnivall in 1868 (*Ballads from Manuscripts*, vol. ii. part 1), these works were imitations merely in name. Brooke's *Ghost of Richard the Third*, 1614, on the contrary, though not connected in title, belongs to this class of works in virtue of its treatment and construction.]

³ *Dedication*, ut infr.

⁴ *In Terentii Floſculos N. Udalli et J. Higgini opera descriptas. Encom. fol. 128.* It was also prefixed to the book, with others.

⁵ Perhaps at Trinity College, where one of both his names occurs in 1566.

⁶ Octavo.

⁷ The Dedication of his *Mirror for Magistrates* is from the same place.

⁸ He says, that he translated it in London. "Quo factò, novus interpres Waldenus, Ilmestriæ gymnasiarcha, moriens, priusquam manum operi summam addmovisset, me amicum veterem suum omnibus libris suis et hoc imprimis Nomen-

He appears to have been living so late as the year 1602. For in that year he published an Answer to William Perkins, a forgotten controversialist, concerning Christ's descent into hell, dedicated from Winsham.

To the *Mirroure for Magistrates* Higgins wrote a new Induction in the octave stanza, and without assistance of friends began a new series from Albanact the youngest son of Brutus, and the first king of Albany or Scotland, continued to the emperor Caracalla.¹ In this edition by Higgins, among the pieces after the Conquest, first appeared the *Life of Cardinal Wolsey*, by Churchyard; of *Sir Nicholas Burdet*, by [Higgins]; and of *Eleanor Cobham and Humphrey Duke of Gloucester*, by Ferrers. Also the *Legend of King James the Fourth of Scotland*, said to have been [pende aboue fiftie yeares agone],² and of *Flodden Field*, said to be of equal antiquity, and subscribed *Francis Dingley*, the name of a poet who has not otherwise occurred. Prefixed is a commendatory poem in stanzas by the above-mentioned Thomas Newton of Cheshire,³ who understood much more of Latin than of English poetry.⁴

The most poetical passage of Higgins's performance in this collection is in his *Legend of Queene Cordila, or Cordelia, King Lear's youngest daughter*.⁵ Being imprisoned in a dungeon, and coucht on strawe, she sees amid the darkness of the night a griesly ghost approach,⁶

Eke nearer still to mee with stealing steps shee drewe :
Shee was of colour pale and deadly hewe.

Her garment was figured with various sorts of imprisonment, and pictures of violent and premature death :

Her clothes resembled thousand kindes of thrall,
And pictures plaine of *hastened deathea* withall.

Cordelia, in extreme terror, asks,

clatore [his translation] donavit." But Higgins found his own version better, which he therefore published, yet with a part of his friend's.

¹ At fol. 108, a. The two last lives in the latter, or what may be called Baldwin's part of this edition, are *Jane Shore* and *Cardinal Wolsey* by Churchyard. [This, it seems, had been fraudulently claimed by some other writer, since Churchyard complains of being "denied the fathering of a work that had won so much credit." He at the same time protests before God and the world, that *Shore's Wife* was his penning, and he would be glad to vindicate his open wrong with the best blood in his body, did not his old years utterly forbid such combat.—This anecdote occurs before a reprint of *Shore's Wife*, augmented by 21 stanzas, in *Churchyard's Challenge*, 1593. Nash, probably in reference to the above, thus complimented the old court-poet in the same year. "*Shore's Wife* is yong, though you be stept in yeares; in her shall you live, when you are dead." [Nash's *Strange News*, &c. 1592, repr. Collier, p. 65.]—Park.]

² [The *Mirroure for Magistrates*, edit. 1587, fol. 255, verso.]

³ Subscribed Thomas Newtonus, *Crysfreshyrius*, 1587.

⁴ [This appears from his tribute to Heywood the epigrammatist cited [before] He has a copy of Latin verses prefixed to Rabbard's translation of Ripley's *Compound of Alchymy*, 1591.—Park.]

⁵ Fol. 36, b.

⁶ [Edit. 1587, fol. 36-7.]

What wight art thou, a foe or else what *sawning* frend?
 If death thou art, I pray thee make an end—
 But th' art not death. Art thou some fury sent
 My woefull corpe with paynes to more torment?

With that she spake, "I am (qd shee) thy frend Despayre.—

Now if thou art to dye no whit afraide
 Here shalt thou choose of Instruments (beholde)
 Shall rid thy restlesse life.

Despair then, throwing her robe aside, shews Cordelia a thousand instruments of death, "knives, sharp swords, and ponyards, all bedyde with blood and poysons." She presents the sword with which Queen Dido slew herself:

Lo here (quoth shee) the blade that Did' of Carthage hight, &c.

Cordelia takes this sword, but "doubtfull yet to dye." Despair then represents to her the state and power which she enjoyed in France, her troops of attendants, and the pleasures of the court she had left. She then points out her present melancholy condition and dreary situation:

Shee shewde mee all the dongeon where I fate,
 The dankish walles, the darkes, and bade mee smell
 And byde the sauour, if I like it well.

Cordelia gropes for the sword or "fatall knife" in the dark, which Despair places in her hand:

Despayre in this to ayde my senceles limmes was glad,
 And gaue the blade: to end my woes shee bad.

At length, Cordelia's fight fails her so that she can see only Despair, who exhorts her to strike:

And by hir elbowe carian death for me did watch.

Despair at last gives the blow. The temptation of the "Redcrosse" knight by Despair in Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, seems to have been copied, yet with high improvements, from this scene. These stanzas of Spenser bear a strong resemblance to what I have cited from Cordelia's legend:

Then gan the villin¹ him to ouercraw,
 And brought unto him swords, ropes, poison, fire,
 And all that might him to perdition draw;
 And bad him choose what death he would desire:
 For death was dew to him that had prouokt Gods ire.
 But whenas none of them he saw him take,
 He to him raught a dagger sharpe and keene,
 And gaue it him in hand: his hand did quake
 And tremble like a leafe of Aspin greene,
 And troubled blood through his pale face was seene
 To come and goe with tidings from the heart,
 As it a running messenger had beene.
 At last, resolv'd to worke his finall smart,
 He lifted up his hand, that backe againe did start.²

¹ That is, Despair.

² [*Faerie Queene*, Book I. canto ix. stanza 50-1, edit. Morris, 1869, pp. 59-60.]

The three first books of the *Faerie Queene* were published in 1590: Higgins' *Legend of Cordelia*, in [1574].

At length the whole was [republished in 1610 with additions and a modernised text by Richard Niccols, under the old title, purporting now, however, to be "Newly Enlarged with a Last part called *A Winter nights Vision*, being an Addition of such Tragedies, especially famous, as are exempted in the former Historie, with a Poem annexed, called *Englands Eliza*."] Niccols arranged his edition thus. Higgins's Induction is at the head of the lives from [King Albanaet the youngest son of] Brutus, to the Conquest; [and this portion comprises the *second Part*, originally printed in 1578, and written by Blenerhasset.] Those from the Conquest to Lord Cromwell's legend, written by Drayton and now first added,¹ are introduced by Sackville's Induction. After this are placed such lives as had been before omitted, ten in number, written by Niccols himself, with [*A Winter Nights Vision* as] an Induction.² As it illustrates the history of this work, especially of Sackville's share in it, I will here insert a part of Niccols's preface prefixed to those tragedies which happened after the Conquest, beginning with that of [Roger Mortimer]. "Hauing hitherto continued the storie from the first entrance of Brute into this Iland, with the Falles of such Princes as were neuer before this time in one volume comprised, I now proceed with the rest, which take their beginning from the Conquest: whose pen-men being many and diuers, all diuerslie affected in the method of this their Mirror, I purpose only to follow the intended scope of that most honorable personage, who by how much he did surpasse the rest in the eminence of his noble condition, by so much he hath exceeded them all in the excellencie of his heroicall stile, which with a golden pen he hath limmed out to posteritie in that worthie obiekt of his minde the *Tragedie of the Duke of Buckingham*, and in his preface then intituled *Master Sackuils induction*. This worthy President of learning, intending to perfect all this storie himselfe from the Conquest, being called to a more serious expence of his time in the great State affaires of his most royall Ladie and Soueraigne, left the dispose thereof to M. Baldwine, M. Ferrers and others, the composers of these Tragedies, who continuing their methode which was by way of dialogue or interlocvtion betwixt euery Tragedie, gaue it onely place before the Duke of Buckinghams Complaint, which order I since hauing altered, haue placed the induction in the beginning, with euery Tragedie following according to succession and iust computation of time, which before was not obserued."³

In the Legend of King Richard the Third, Niccols appears to have copied some passages from Shakespeare's Tragedy on that history. In the opening of the play Richard says,

¹ Drayton wrote three other legends on this plan, *Robert Duke of Normandy*, *Matilda*, and *Pierce Goueston*, [printed together in 1596, 12mo.]

² Fol. 555. [The *Vision* is dedicated to the Earl of Nottingham in a sonnet, which is not in all copies.]

³ Fol. 253. Compare Baldwin's *Prologue* at fol. cxiv. b, edit. 1559, *ut supr.*

Now are our brows bound with victorious wreaths,
 Our bruised arms hung up for monuments:
 Our stern alarums changed to merry meetings:
 Our dreadful marches to delightful measures.¹
 Grim-visag'd War hath smooth'd his wrinkled front;
 And now, instead of mounting barbed steeds,
 To fright the souls of fearful adversaries,
 He capers nimbly in a lady's chamber
 To the lascivious pleasing of a lute.²

These lines evidently gave rise to part of Richard's soliloquy in Niccols' *Legend*:

The battels fought in field before
 Were turn'd to meetings of sweet amitie:
 The war-god's thundring cannons dreadfull rore,
 And ratling drum-foundes warlike harmonie,
 To sweet-tun'd noise of pleasing minstrelsie.
 God Mars laid by his Launce and tooke his Lute,
 And turn'd his rugged frownes to smiling lookes;
 In stead of crimfon fields, warres fatall fruit,
 He bathed his limbes in Cypris warbling brookes,
 And fet his thoughts vpon her wanton lookes.³

Part of the tent-scene in Shakespeare is also imitated by Niccols. Richard, starting from his horrid dream, says:

Methought the souls of all that I had murder'd
 Came to my tent; and every one did threat
 To morrow's vengeance on the head of Richard.⁴

So Niccols:

I thought that all those murdered ghosts, whom I
 By death had sent to their vntimely graue,
 With balefull noise about my tent did crie,
 And of the heau'ns with sad complaint did craue,
 That they on guiltie wretch might vengeance haue:
 To whom I thought the Iudge of heau'n gaue care,
 And gainst me gaue a iudgement full of feare.⁵

But some of the stanzas immediately following, which are formed on Shakespeare's ideas, yet with some original imagination, will give the reader the most favourable idea of Niccols as a contributor to this work:

For loe, eftsoones, a thousand hellish hags
 Leauing th' abode of their infernall cell,
 Seasing on me, my hatefull body drags

¹ [A measure was, strictly speaking, a court-dance of a stately turn; but the word was also employed to express dances in general. Steevens *apud* Shakespeare.—*Park*.]

² Act i. Sc. 1. [Dyce's 2nd edit. v. 351.]

³ [Sign. Ddd, edit. 1610.]

⁴ Act v. Sc. [3. Dyce's ed. 1868, v. 449.] Drayton has also described these visionary terrors of Richard. *Polyalb.* S. xxii. [edit. 1622, part ii. p. 58.]

"Where to the guiltie king, that black fore-running night,
 Appeare the dreadful ghosts of Henry and his sonne,
 Of his owne brother George and his two nephewes done
 Most cruelly to death, and of his wife and friend
 Lord Hastings, with pale hands prepar'd as they would rend
 Him peece-meale: at which oft he roreth in his sleepe."

⁵ Pag. 764.

From forth my bed into a place like hell,
Where feends did naught but bellow, howle and yell,
Who in sterne strife stood gainst each other bent,
Who should my hatefull bodie most torment.

Tormented in such trance long did I lie,
Till extreme feare did rouze me where I lay,
And cauf'd me from my naked bed to flie :
Alone within my tent I durst not stay,
This dreadfull dreame my soule did so affray :
When wakke I was from sleepe, I for a space
Thought I had been in some infernall place.

About mine eares a buzzing feare still flew,
My fainting knees languish for want of might ;
Vpon my bodie stands an icie dew ;
My heart is dead within, and with affright
The haire vpon my head doth stand vpight :
Each limbe abovt me quaking, doth resemble
A riuers rush, that with the wind doth tremble.

Thus with my guiltie soules sad torture torne
The darke nights dismal houres I past away :
But at cockes crow, the message of the morne,
My feare I did conceale, &c.¹

If internal evidence was not a proof, we are sure from other evidences that Shakespeare's tragedy preceded Niccols's legend. The tragedy was written about 1597. Niccols, at eighteen years of age, was admitted into Magdalen College in Oxford, in the year 1602.² It is easy to point out other marks of imitation. Shakespeare has taken nothing from Seagar's *Richard the Third*, printed in Baldwin's first edition in 1559. Shakespeare, however, probably caught the idea of the royal shades, in the same scene of the tragedy before us, appearing in succession and speaking to Richard and Richmond, from the general plan of the *Mirror for Magistrates*: more especially as many of Shakespeare's ghosts there introduced, for instance, King Henry the Sixth, Clarence, Rivers, Hastings and Buckingham, are the personages of five of the legends belonging to this poem.

SECTION LI.

BY way of recapitulating what has been said, and in order to give a connected and uniform view of the *Mirror for Magistrates* in its most complete and extended state, its original contents and additions, I will here detail the subjects of this poem as they stand in this last, or Niccols's, edition of 1610, with reference to two preceding editions and some other incidental particularities.

¹ Pag. 764.

² *Registr. Univ. Oxon.* He retired to Magdalen Hall, where he was graduated in Arts, 1606. *Ibid.*

Niccols's edition [is divided into four portions: 1. *The First Part of the Mirror for Magistrates*, as written and published by Higgins in 1574,¹ with omissions, but the addition of a Notice to the Reader by Niccols: 2. *The Last Part of the Mirror for Magistrates*, originally published in 1559 by Baldwin, and in 1574 and afterwards improperly made to follow the new series of Lives by Higgins. So far the impression of 1610, with the exception of certain modernizations introduced into the text and spelling, and the suppression of two or three legends (as indicated presently), follows that of 1587. The third division, which is not, however, so marked, consists of the *Second Part of the Mirror for Magistrates*, by Thomas Blenerhasset, printed in 1578, and here incorporated for the sake of completeness. The fourth portion is new. The volume comprises altogether the subjoined rather long catalogue of Lives.]

Albanact, youngest son of Brutus. Humber, King of the Huns. King Locrine, eldest son of Brutus. Queen Elftride, concubine of Locrine. Sabrina, daughter of Locrine. King Madan. King Malin. King Memprie[ius.] King Bladud. Queen Cordila. Morgan, King of Albany. King Jago. Ferrex. Porrex. King Pinnar, slain by Mulmucius Donwallo [Dunwallon.] King Stater [of Scotland.] King Rudacke of Wales. [King Brennus.] King Kimarus. King Morindus. King Emorianus. King Chirinnus. King Varianus. [Lord] Nemius Irenglas, cousin to Cassibelane. Julius Cæsar. Claudius Tiberius Nero. Caligula. King Guiderius. Lelius Hamo. Tiberius Drusus. Domitius Nero. Galba. [Silvius Otho.] Vitellius. Londric the Pi&t. Severus. Fulgentius, a Pi&t. Geta. Caracalla.² All these from Albanact, and in the same order, form the first part of Higgins's edition of the year 1587. But none of them [is] in Baldwin's collection; and, as I presume, these lives are all written by Higgins. Then follow in Niccols's edition, King Carassus, Queen Helena, Vortiger, Uter Pendragon, Cadwallader, Sigebert, [Lady] Ebba, Egelred, Edric, and Harold, all written by Thomas Blener Hasset, but never before printed. We have next with a new title, [the original work by Baldwin and his coadjutors, with a new Preface by Niccols, and the *Legend of Cromwell, Earl of Essex*, by Drayton, added at the end.] Then follow [the Lives found in the antecedent impressions of Baldwin's work, but somewhat more chronologically disposed; but we have (which do not appear in the first series) the legends of the Duke of Gloucester, Eleanor Cobham, Cardinal Wolsey, and (as already pointed out) Lord Cromwell.] Another title then appears in Niccols's edition, *A Winter Nights Vision*. Being an addition of such Princes especially famous, who were exempted in the former Historie. By Richard Niccols, Oxon. Magd. Hall. An Epistle to the Reader, and an elegant Sonnet to Lord Charles Howard, Lord High Admiral, both by

¹ [Herbert notes that Higgins's *Induction*, which in the edition of 1575 makes twenty-one stanzas, is reduced here to seventeen.]

² [Harrison's *Description of England*, lib. ii. c. 9.]

Niccols, are prefixed.¹ Then follows Niccols's *Induction* to these new lives.² They are, King Arthur, Edmund Ironside, Prince Alfred, Godwin Earl of Kent, Robert Curthofe [Duke of Normandy], King Richard the First, King John, King Edward the Second, the two Young Princes murdered in the Tower, and King Richard the Third.³ Our author, with but little propriety, has annexed "Englands Eliza, or the Victoriows and Trivmphant Reigne of that Virgin Empreffe of Sacred memorie Elizabeth, Queene of England," &c. This is a title-page. Then follows a Sonnet "to the Vertvows Ladie the Lady Elizabeth Clere, wife to Sir Francis Clere," and an Epistle to the Reader. A very poetical Induction is prefixed to the *Eliza*, which contains the history of Queen Elizabeth, then just dead, in the octave stanza. Niccols, however, has not entirely preserved the whole of the old collection, although he made large additions. He has omitted King James the First of Scotland, which appears in Baldwin's edition of 1559,⁴ and in Higgins's of 1587.⁵ He has also omitted, and probably for the same obvious reason, King James the Fourth of Scotland, which we find in Higgins.⁶ Nor has Niccols retained the Battle of Flodden Field, which is in Higgins's edition.⁷ Niccols has also omitted Seagar's King Richard the Third, which first occurs in Baldwin's edition of 1559,⁸ and afterwards in Higgins's of 1587.⁹ But Niccols has written a new Legend on this subject, cited above, and one of the best of his additional lives.¹⁰ This edition by Niccols was never reprinted; [but fresh titles were added to the unfold copies in 1619, 1620, and 1621.]

The *Mirroure for Magistrates* is obliquely ridiculed in Hall's *Satires*, published in 1597:

Another, whose more heauie hearted Saint
Delights in nought but notes of rufull plaint,
Vergeth his melting Muse with sollem teares,
Rime of some drerie fates of lucklesse peeres.
Then brings he vp some branded whining ghost
To tell how old Misfortunes had him tolt.¹¹



¹ From the Sonnet it appears that our author Niccols was on board Howard's ship the Arke, when Cadiz was taken. This was in 1596. See also pag. 861, stanz. iv.

² From pag. 555.

³ Ending with pag. 769.

⁴ At fol. xlii. b.

⁵ Fol. 137, b.

⁶ Fol. 253, a. [At fol. 23 of] Ulpian Fulwell's *Flower of Fame*, [written] in prose and verse, in praise of the reign of Henry the Eighth, 1575, is [*The Lamentable Complaint of King James of Scotland, who was slayne at Scottissh Fielde. Anno 1513, fol. 22 b.* See Laing's suppl. to his edit. of Dunbar, 1865, 287-90. Annexed [to Fulwell's book] is a panegyric of three of the same Henry's noble and vertuous queenes, and "The service done at Haddington in Scotland the seconde year of the reigne of King Edward the Sixt."—*Harl. Miscell.* edit. Park, ix., where Fulwell's volume is reprinted, and *Bishop Percy's Folio MS.* 1867, ed. Furnivall and Hales, i. 199 et seq. and 313-18.]

⁷ Fol. 256, a.

⁸ Fol. cxlvii. b.

⁹ Fol. 230, b.

¹⁰ Pag. 750.

¹¹ B. i. Sat. v. But in *Certaine Satyres*, by John Marston, subjoined to his *Pygmalions Image*, an academical-critical is abused for affecting to censure this poem. Sat. iv. This is undoubtedly our author Hall just quoted. (See Marston's *Scourge of Villanie*, 159[8], lib. iii. Sat. x):

That it should have been the object even of an ingenious satirist, is so far from proving that it wanted either merit or popularity, that the contrary conclusion may be justly inferred. It was, however, at length superseded by the growing reputation of [William Warner's] *Albions England*, published [in 1586, but not completed till 1606.]¹ That it was in high esteem throughout the reign of Queen Elizabeth, appears not only from its numerous editions, but from the testimony of Sir Philip Sidney, and other cotemporary writers.² It is ranked among the most fashionable pieces of the times, in the metrical preface prefixed to Jasper Heywood's *Thyestes* of Seneca, translated into English verse, and published in 1560. It must be remembered that only Baldwin's part had yet appeared, and that the translator is supposed to be speaking to Seneca :

In Lyncolnes Inne, and Temples twayne,
Grāyes Inne, and many mo,
Thou shalt them fynde whose paynfull pen
Thy verse shall florish so ;
That Melpomen, thou wouldst well weene,
Had taught them for to wright,
And all their woorks with stately style
And goodly grace to endight.
There shalt thou se the selfe same Northe,
Whose woork his witte displays ;
And Dyall doth of Princes paynte,
And preache abroade his praye.³
There Sackvyldes Sonnets⁴ sweetly fauste,

"Fond censurer ! why should those *Mirrors* seeme
So vile to thee ? which better iudgements deeme
Exquisite then, and in our polish'd times
May run for sencefull tollerable lines.
What not *mediocria firma* from thy spight ?
But must thy enuious hungry fangs needs light
On *Magistrates Mirrour* ? Must thou needs detract
And striue to worke his antient honors wrack ?
What, shall not Rosamond, or Gaueston,
Ope their sweet lips without detraction ?
But must our moderne Critticks enuious eye," &c.

The two last pieces indeed do not properly belong to this collection, and are only on the same plan. *Rosamond* is Daniel's *Complaint of Rosamond*, and *Gaueston* is Drayton's monologue on that subject.

¹ [Wood gives it as his report, that the *Mirror for Magistrates* was esteemed the best piece of poetry of those times, if *Albions England* (which was by some preferred) did not stand in its way. *Ath. Oxon.* i. 402.—*Park.*]

² Sydney says, "I esteem the *Mirror of Magistrates* to be furnished of beautiful partes." He then mentions Surrey's lyric pieces. *Defence of Poesie*, fol. 561, ad calc. *Arcad.* Lond. 1629, fol. Sidney died in 1586. So that this was written before Nicolls's additions.

³ Sir Thomas North, second son of Edward lord North of Kirtling, translated from French into English Antonio Guevara's *Horologium Principum*. This translation was printed in 1557, and dedicated to Queen Mary. This is the book mentioned in the text. North studied in Lincoln's Inn in the reign of Mary. [He is also the author of a well-known version of Plutarch's *Lives*, 1579, and of the English translation (under the title of *The Moral Philosophy of Domi*) of the *Fables of Bupal*, 1570].

⁴ Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, the contributor to the *Mirror for Magistrates*. I

And featly fyned bee:
 There Nortons ditties do delight,
 There Yelvertons' do flee
 Well pewrde with pen: such yong men three
 As weene thou mightst agayne,
 To be begotte as Pallas was
 Of myghtie Jove his brayne.
 There heare thou shalt a great reporte
 Of Baldwynes worthie name,
 Whose Mirroure doth of Magistrates
 Proclayme eternall fame.
 And there the gentle Blundville¹ is
 By name and eke by kynde,
 Of whom we learne by Plutarches lore
 What frute by foes to fynde.
 There Bauande bydes,² that turnde his toyle
 A common wealth to frame,
 And greater grace in English gyves
 To woorthy authors name.
 There Gouge a gratefull gaynes hath gotte,
 Reporte that runneth ryfe;
 Who crooked compasse doth describe
 And Zodiake of lyfe.⁴

A pryncely place in Parnasse hill
 For these there is preparede,
 Whence crowne of glitteryng glorie hangs
 For them a right rewarde.
 Whereas the lappes of Ladies nyne
 Shall dewly them defende,
 That have preparede the lawrell leafe
 About theyr heddes to bende.
 And where their pennies shall hang full high, &c.

These, he adds, are alone qualified to translate Seneca's tragedies.

In [Edward Hake's] *Touch-stone of Wittes*, chiefly compiled, with

have never seen his *Sonnets*, which would be a valuable accession to our old poetry. But probably the term *Sonnets* here means only *verses* in general, and may signify nothing more than his part in the *Mirroure for Magistrates*, and his *Gorboduc*. [Mr. Haslewood observes, that the lines in the text were "in print before either the communication was made to the *Mirroure for Magistrates*, or the play performed," and that a sonnet by Sackville is prefixed to Hoby's translation of *Castiglione*, 1561.—*Price*.]

¹ The Epilogue to Gascoigne's *Jocasta*, acted at Gray's-Inn in 1566, was written by Christopher Yelverton, a student of that inn, afterwards a knight and a judge. I have never seen his *Ditties* here mentioned.

² Thomas Blundeville of Newton-Flotman in Norfolk, from whence his dedication to Lord Leicester of an English version of [Firmo Appoggio's] Spanish tract on *Counsels and Counselors* is dated, Apr. 1, 1570. [See *Herbert*, fol. 701.] He printed many other prose pieces, chiefly translations. His *Plutarch's Commentary that learning is requisite to a prince*, translated into English meeter by Thomas Blundeville, MSS. Reg. 18. A. 43. [But see *Handb. E. E. Lit. Art.* BLUNDEVILLE.]

³ William Bavande, a student in the Middle-Temple, translated into English Ferrarius Montanus *De reſta Reipublice Administratione*. Dated from the Middle-Temple, in a Dedication to Queen Elizabeth, Decemb. 20, 1559. He was of Oxford.

⁴ Barnaby Googe's *Palingenius* will be spoken of hereafter.

some slender additions, from William Webbe's *Discourse of English Poetrie*, and printed in 1588, this poem is mentioned with applause. "Then have we the *Mirroure of Magistrates* lately augmented by my friend mayster John Higgins, and penned by the choysest learned wittes, which for the statly-proportioned uaine of the heroick style, and good meetly proportion of uerse, may challenge the best of Lydgate, and all our late rhymers."¹ That sensible old English critic Edmund Bolton, in a general criticism on the style of our most noted poets before the year 1600,² places the *Mirroure for Magistrates* in a high rank. It is under that head of his *Hypercritica*, entitled "Prime Gardens for gathering English according to the true gage or standard of the tongue about fifteen or sixteen years ago." The extract is a curious piece of criticism, as written by a judicious cotemporary. Having mentioned our prose writers, the chief of which are More,

¹ Fol. vii. in duodecim. [For a list of Hake's works, see *Handb. of E. E. Lit.* 1867. The editor has never met with his *Touchstone of Wittes*, 1588.] At the end of the "Epistle dedicatorie to his knowne friende Mayster Edward Godfrey, merchant" [prefixed to his *Touchstone for this time present*, 1574], his name Edward Hake is subscribed at length. Annexed is, "A Compendious fourme of education to be diligently obserued of all parentes and scholemaisters in the trayning vp of their children and schollers in learning. Gathered into Englishe meeter by Edward Hake." It is an epitome of a Latin tract *De pueris statim ac liberaliter instituendis*. In the dedication to maister John Harlowe his approued friende, he calls himself an attourney in the Common Pleas, observing at the same time, that the "name of an Attourney in the common place [pleas] is now a dayes growen into contempt." He adds another circumstance of his life, that he was educated under John Hopkins, whom I suppose to be the translator of the Psalms. "You being trained vp together, with me your poore schoolfello with the instructions of that learned and exquisite teacher, Maister JOHN HOPKINS, that worthy schoolemaister, nay rather that most worthy parent vnto all children committed to his charge of education. Of whose memory, if I should in such an opportunity as this is, be forgetful," &c. I will give a specimen of this little piece, which shews at least that he learned verification under his master Hopkins. He is speaking of the Latin tongue. (Signat. G 4.)

Whereto, as hath been sayde before,
The Fables do inuite,
With morall sawes in couert tales :
Whereto agreeth rite
Fine Comedies with pleasure sawft,
Which, as it were by play,
Do teache unto philosophie
A perfit ready way.
So as nathles we carefull be
To auoyde all bawdie rimes,
And wanton iestes of poets wayne,
That teache them filthie crimes.
Good stories from the Bible chargede,
And from some civill style
As Quintus Curtius and such like,
To reade them other while, &c.

Compare Ames, p. 322, 389.

² [But not written till 1616, as he mentions Bishop Montague's edition of the works of James I. which was published in that year. See *infra*.—PARK. Bolton, whether a good critic or not, was an easy and elegant writer, with much nerve and individuality of style. Some of his contributions to *Englands Helicon*, 1600, have a great deal of merit.]

Sidney, Queen Elizabeth, Hooker, Savile, Cardinal Alan, Bacon, and Raleigh, he proceeds thus: "In verse there are Ed. Spencer's Hymns.¹ I cannot advise the allowance of other his Poems as for practick English, no more than I can do Jeff. Chaucer, Lydgate, Pierce Ploughman, or Laureat Skelton. It was laid as a fault to the charge of Salust, that he used some old outworn words stoln out of Cato his books de Originibus. And for an Historian in our Tongue to affect the like out of those our poets, would be accounted a foul Oversight. My judgment is nothing at all in Poems or Poesie, and therefore I dare not go far, but will simply deliver my Mind concerning those Authors among us, whose English hath in my Conceit most propriety, and is nearest to the Phraze of Court, and to the Speech used among the noble, and among the better sort in London: the two sovereign Seats, and as it were Parliament tribunals, to try the question in. Brave language are Chapman's Iliads, those I mean which were translated into tessara-decasyllabons, or lines of fourteen syllables. The works of Sam. Daniel contain'd somewhat aflat, but yet withal a very pure and copious English, and words as warrantable as any Mans, and fitter perhaps for Prose than Measure. Michael Draiton's Heroical Epistles are well worth the reading also for the Purpose of our Subject, which is to furnish an English Historian with Choice and Copy of Tongue. Queen Elizabeth's verses, those which I have seen and read, some extant in the elegant, witty and artificial Book of the *Art of English Poetrie*, the work, as the same is, of one of her Gentlemen Pensioners, Puttenham, are Princely, as her Prose. Never must be forgotten *St. Peter's Complaint*, and those other serious poems said to be father Southwell's: the English whereof, as it is most proper, so the sharpness and Light of Wit is very rare in them. Noble Henry Constable was a great Master in English Tongue, nor had any Gentleman of our Nation a more pure, quick, or higher Delivery of Conceit, witnesses among all other that Sonnet² of his before his Majesty's *Lepanto*. I have not seen much of S^r Edward Dyer's Poetry.³ Among the

¹ The pieces mentioned in this extract will be considered in their proper places.

² [A very poor specimen of Constable's poetic talent, the praise of which confers an equal honour on Bolton's critical judgement.—*Park*.]

³ [Puttenham says, "For dittie and amorous Ode I finde Sir Walter Rawleyghs wayne most lustie, insolent, and passionate, Maister Edward Dyar, for Elegie most sweete, solempne, and of high conceit." Lib. i. c. 31. To this passage Drummond thus adverted, in his conversation with Ben Jonson, "He who writeth the arte of English poesy, praiseth much Rawleigh and Dyer; but their works are so few that are come to my hands, I cannot well say any thing of them."—*Drummond's Works*, p. 226, 1711, fol.

[It is the further remark of Mr. Ellis that the lot of Dyer, as a poet, has been rather singular: "His name is generally coupled with that of Sir P. Sidney and the most fashionable writers of the age; and yet Bolton, who was almost a contemporary critic, professes not to have seen much of his poetry." *Specim. of Engl. Poets*, ii. 186.]

[Dyer published in 1585 a prose tract, entitled *The Praise of Nothing*. In 1588, his translation of *Six Idyllia*, or Ceglogues from Theocritus, in verse, came from the press. He has two or three pieces in the Cornwallis MS.] In the *Paradise*

lesser late poets, George Gascoigne's Works may be endured. But the best of those times, if Albion's England be not preferred, for our business is the *Mirror of Magistrates*, and in that *Mirror*, Sackville's *Induction*, the work of Thomas afterward earl of Dorset and lord treasurer of England: whose also the famous Tragedy of *Gordobuc* was the best of that time even in St. Phil. Sidney's Judgment; and all skillful English men cannot but ascribe as much thereto, for his Phrase and Eloquence therein. But before in Age, if not also in Noble, Courtly, and Lustrous English, is that of the Songs and Sonnets of Henry Howard Earl of Surrey, (son of that victorious Prince the Duke of Norfolk, and father of that learned Howard his most lively image Henry earl of Northampton,) written chiefly by him, and by St. Tho. Wiat, not the dangerous Commotioner, but his worthy Father. Nevertheless, they who most commend those Poems and exercises of honourable Wit, if they have seen that incomparable Earl of Surrey his English Translation of Virgil's *Æneids* which, for a book or two, he admirably rendreth, almost Line for Line, will bear me witness that those other were Foils and Sportives. The English Poems of St. Walter Raleigh, of John Donne, of Hugh Holland, but especially of Sir Foulke Greville in his matchless *Mustapha*, are not easily to be mended. I dare not presume to speak of his Majesty's Exercises in this Heroick Kind. Because I see them all left out in that Edition which Montague lord bishop of Winchester hath given us of his royal Writings. But if I should declare mine own Rudeness rudely, I should then confess, that I never tasted English more to my liking, nor more smart, and put to the height of Use in Poetry, then in that vital, judicious, and most practicable Language of Benjamin Jonson's Poems." ¹

of *daynty deuyses* one poem signed M. D. is presumed by Ritson in his *Bibliographia* to denote Master Dyer. Six pieces preserved in *Englands Helicon* are warrantably assigned to him; other short poems occur among the Rawlinson MSS. in the Bodleian library, and one of them bears the popular burden, of "My mind to me a kingdom is;" [of which nearly the earliest mention in print is supposed to occur in Breton's *Court and Country*, 1618 (*Inedited Tracts*, Roxburghe Library, 1868). See also *Handb. of E. E. Lit. Art.* DYER, Nicolas's *Life of Hatton*, and *Three Proper and Witty Familiar Letters*, 1580.]

[The time of Sir Edward Dyer's birth [is uncertain; he died at Southwark, in May, 1607]. According to Aubrey he was of the same family as the judge, and proved a great spendthrift. Aubrey styles him of Sharpham park, Somersetshire. He was educated at Oxford, and as Wood intimates, at Baliol College. Obtaining the character of a well-bred man, and having Sidney and other distinguished persons for his associates, he was taken into the service of the court. By Queen Elizabeth he was sent on several embassies, particularly to Denmark in 1589, and had the chancellorship of the garter conferred on him at his return, with the honour of knighthood. It is not improbable that his property was squandered, as Aubrey affirms it to have been, by his credulous attachment to rosicrucian chemistry under those infatuated devotees Dr. Dee and Edward Kelly. The "Sheepheardes Logike," a folio MS., cited in the *British Bibliographer*, ii. 276, has dedicatory verses by Abr. Fraunce, to the "ryght worshipful Mr. Edwarde Dyer." — *Park. The Sheepheardes Logike* was printed in 1588, under the title of *The Lawiers Logicke*; but between the printed copy and the MS. here noticed there are considerable differences.]

¹ Bolton's *Hypercritica* (1616), ed. 1722, Address iv. sect. 3.] First printed by

Among several proofs of the popularity of this poem afforded by our old comedies, I will mention one in George Chapman's *May-day* printed in 1611. A gentleman of the most elegant taste for reading, and highly accomplished in the current books of the times, is

Anthony Hall, (at the end of Trivet. Annal. Cont. And Ad. Murimuth. Chron.) 1722. The MS. is among Cod. MSS. A. Wood, Mus. Ashmol. 8471, 9, quarto, with a few notes by Wood. This judicious little tract was occasioned by a passage in Sir Henry Saville's Epistle prefixed to his edition of our old Latin historians, 1596. *Hypercrit.*, p. 217. Hearne has printed that part of it which contains a Vindication of Jeffrey of Monmouth, without knowing the author's name. *Gul. Neubrig. Præfat. Append. Num. iii. p. lxxvii. vol. i.* See *Hypercrit.* p. 204. Bolton's principal work now extant is *Nero Cæsar, or Monarchie depraved, an Historical Works.* 1624. This book, which is the life of that emperor, and is adorned with plates of many curious and valuable medals, is dedicated to George Duke of Buckingham, to whom Bolton seems to have been a retainer. (See Hearne's *Lel. Collezan.* vol. vi. p. 60, edit. 1770.) In it he supports a specious theory that Stonehenge was a monument erected by the Britains to Boadicea, ch. xxv. At the end is his *Historical Parallel* shewing the difference between epitomes and just histories, "heretofore privately written to my good and noble friend Endymion Porter, one of the gentlemen of the Prince's chamber." He instances in the accounts given by Florus and Polybius of the battle between Hannibal and Scipio: observing, that generalities are not so interesting as facts and circumstances, and that Florus gives us "in proper words the flowers and tops of noble matter, but Polybius sets the things themselves, in all their necessary parts, before our eyes." He therefore concludes, "that all spacious minds, attended with the felicities of means and leisure, will fly abridgements as bane." He published, however, an English version of Florus. He wrote the Life of the Emperor Tiberius, never printed. *Ner. Cæs. ut suprà. p. 82.* He designed a General History of England. *Hypercrit.* p. 240. In the British Museum there is the manuscript draught of a book entitled *Agon Heroicus, or concerning arms and armories, by Edmund Boulton.* MSS. Cott. Faust. E i. 7, fol. 63. [Printed in 1610.] And in the same library, his *Protopopeia Basilica*, a Latin poem upon the translation of the body of Mary Queen of Scots in 1612, from Peterborough to Westminster Abbey. MSS. Cott. Tit. A 13, 23. He compiled the Life of King Henry the Second for *Speed's Chronicle*: but Bolton being a Catholic, and speaking too favourably of Becket, another Life was written by Doctor John Barcham, dean of Bocking. See *The Surfeit to A. B. C.* p. 22, written by [Philip King, 1657, reprinted in *Reliquiæ Hearnianæ*, 1857, Append.] Compare *Hypercrit.* p. 220. Another work in the walk of philological antiquity was his *Vindiciæ Britannicæ, or London righted,* &c. Never printed, but prepared for the press by the author. Among other ingenious paradoxes, the principal aim of this treatise is to prove, that London was a great and flourishing city in the time of Nero; and that consequently Julius Cæsar's general description of all the British towns, in his Commentaries, is false and unjust. Hugh Howard, esquire (see *Gen. Diß.* iii. 446), had a fair manuscript of this book, very accurately written in a thin folio of forty-five pages. It is not known when or where he died. One Edmund Bolton, most probably the same, occurs as a Convictor, that is, an independent member, of Trinity College, Oxford, under the year 1586. In *Archiv. ibid.*

A few particularities relating to this writer's *Nero Cæsar*, and some other of his pieces, may be seen in Hearne's MSS. Coll. vol. 50, p. 125; vol. 132, p. 94; vol. 52, pp. 171, 192, 186, [and in *Reliq. Hearn.* 1857, 299, 306.] See also Original Letters from Anstis to Hearne. MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Rawlins. I add, that Bolton has a Latin copy of recommendatory verses, in company with George Chapman, Hugh Holland, Donne, Selden, Beaumont, Fletcher, and others, prefixed to Jonson's Works, 1616.

[An original letter from E. Bolton to the Earl of Northampton, dated 11th March 1611, occurs among the Cotton MSS. Titus B. v.—*Park.*]

called "One that has read Marcus Aurelius, *Gesta Romanorum*, and the *Mirror of Magistrates*."

The books of poetry which abounded in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and were more numerous than any other kinds of writing in our language, gave birth to two collections of *Flowers* selected from the works of the most fashionable poets. The first of these is *Englands Parnassus*, [printed in 1600, 8vo., the compilation of Robert Allot, whom the late Mr. Hunter conjectured¹ to be the person of that name who was fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, and Linacre Professor of Physic. This volume was dedicated to Sir Thomas Mounson, Knight, by the editor who, in at least one extant copy, subscribes his name in full, but more usually his initials only occur.²] The latter also appear, subscribed to two Sonnets prefixed, one to Sir Thomas Mounson, and the other to the Reader. The other compilation of this sort is entitled, *Belvidere, or the Garden of the Muses*, 1600, [8vo.] The compiler [was] John Bodenham.³

¹ [Hunter's *New Illustrations of Shakespeare*, vol. i. p. 130, note. The publisher of the same name, who flourished at a later period, Mr. Hunter supposes to have been one of the younger sons of Edward Allot, of Criglestone, near Wakefield, [co. York.]

² A copy which I have seen has R. Allot, instead of R. A. There is a contemporary bookseller of that name. But in a little book of *Epigrams* by John Weever, printed in 1599 (12mo.), I find the following compliment:

"Ad Ro. Allot et Chr. Middleton.

"Quicke are your wits, sharp your conceits,
Short, and *more sweete* your layes;
Quicke but no wit, sharpe no conceit,
Short and *lesse sweete* my Praise."

[The following hexameters by Rob. Allott were prefixed to Chr. Middleton's *Legend of Duke Humphrey*, 1600:

"Ad Christopherum Middletonum. Hexastichon.

"Illustri Humphredi genio tua Musa parentans,
Vera refert, generosa canit, memoranda revolvit
Virtuti, et laudi statuam dans, dat simul ipsi.
Non opus est vestræ Musæ, tum carmine nostro,
Nec opus est nostræ radiis involvere Phœbum;
Quid satis ornatam Musam phalerare juvabit?"

Two copies of English verses follow, by Mich. Drayton and John Weever. These may be seen in the *Harleian Miscellany*, vol. x. pp. 165, 166.—*Park*.]

³ But the compiler does not cite the names of the poets with the extracts. This work is ridiculed in *The Return from Parnassus*, 1606. Judicio says: "Considering the furies of the times, I could better see those young can-quassing hucksters shoot off their pellets, so they could keep them from these *English Flores poetarum*; but now the world is come to that pass, that there starts up every day an old goose that sits hatching up those eggs which have been filched from the nest of crowses and kestrels," &c. A2 i. Sc. ii. [Hawkins's *Origin of the English Drama*, 1773, vol. iii. p. 210.] Then follows a criticism on Spenser, Constable, Lodge, Daniel, Watson, Drayton, Davis, Marston, Marlowe, Churchyard, Nashe, Lock, and Hudson Churchyard is commended for his *Legend of Shores Wife* in the *Mirror for Magistrates*:

"Hath not Shores Wife, although a lightkirts she,
Given him a long and lasting memory?"

By the way, in *Pymlico, or Run Redcap*, 1596, the well-frequented play of *Shore* is mentioned with *Pericles Prince of Tyre*. From Beaumont and Fletcher's

In both of these, especially the former, the *Mirroure for Magistrates* is cited at large, and has a conspicuous share. Allot's is much the mo[re] complete performance of the two. The method is by far more judicious, the extracts more copious, and made with a degree of taste. With the extracts he respectively cites the names of the poets, which are as follow: Thomas Achelly, Thomas Bastard, George Chapman, Thomas Churchyard, Henry Constable, Samuel Daniel, John Davies, Michael Drayton, Thomas Dekker, Edward Fairfax, Charles Fitz-Jeffrey, Abraham Fraunce, George Gascoigne, Edward Gilpin, Robert Greene, Fulke Greville, Sir John Harrington, John Higgins, Thomas Hudson, James King of Scots [*i. e.* James the First], Benjamin Jonson, Thomas Kyd, Thomas Lodge, [M. M. *i. e.* *Mirroure for Magistrates*], Christopher Marlowe, Jarvis Markham, John Marston, Christopher Middleton, Thomas Nashe, [Vere] Earl of Oxford, George Peele, Matthew Roydon, Master Sackville, William Shakespeare, Sir Philip Sidney, Edmund Spenser, Thomas Storer, [H. Howard] Earl of Surrey, Joshua Sylvester, George Turbervile, William Warner, Thomas Watson, John Weever, Sir Thomas Wyatt. [*Englands Parnassus* was edited in a very slovenly fashion by Allot himself, and again by the conductor of a reprint in *Heliconia*. Mr. Collier has included it in his *Seven English Poetical Miscellanies*, 1867, and has assigned, wherever it was practicable, each extract to its true author.] But the most comprehensive and exact Common-place of the works of our most eminent poets throughout the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and afterwards, was published [in 1738] by Mr. Thomas Hayward, of Hungerford in Berkshire, viz., *The British Muse, a Collection of Thoughts, Moral, Natural, and Sublime, of our English Poets, who flourished in the sixteenth and seventeenth Centuries. With several curious Topicks, and beautiful Passages, never before extracted, from Shakespeare, Jonson, Beaumont, Fletcher, and above a Hundred more. The whole digested alphabetically, &c. In three volumes: 1738. The Preface, of twenty pages, was written by Mr. William Oldys, with the supervifal and corrections of his friend, Doctor Campbell. This anecdote I learn from a manuscript insertion by Oldys in my copy of Allot's *Englands Parnassus*, above mentioned, which once belonged to Oldys.¹ At the latter end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, as I am informed from some curious manuscript authorities,² a thin quarto in the black letter was published, with this title, *The Mirroure of Mirrours, or all**

Knight of the Burning Pestle, written [about 1610,] *Jane Shore* appears to have been a celebrated tragedy. [See Halliwell's *Dictionary of Old Plays*, 1860, in v.] And in the *Stationer's Register* (Oxenbridge and Bulby, Aug. 28, 1599), occurs, *The History of the Life and Death of Master Shore and Jane Shore his wife, as it was lately acted by the Earl of Derby his servants.*

[¹ Hayward's *British Muse* was in 1740 entitled *The Quintessence of English Poetry*, and the name of Mr. Oldys was added as author of the *Preface*. Other collections of a similar kind had been previously published by Poole, Bysshe, and Gildon.—*Park.*]

² From manuscripts of Mr. Coxeter, of Trinity College, Oxford, lately in the hands of Mr. Wile, Radclivian Librarian at Oxford, containing extracts from the

the tragedys of the Mirroure for Magistrates abbreuiated in breefe histories in prose. Very necessary for those that haue not the Cronicle. London, imprinted [by] James Roberts in Barbican, 1598. This was an attempt to familiarise and illustrate this favourite series of historic soliloquies: or a plan to present its subjects, which were now become universally popular in rhyme, in the dress of prose.

It is reasonable to suppose that the publication of the *Mirroure for Magistrates* enriched the stores, and extended the limits, of our drama. These lives are so many tragical speeches in character. We have seen that they suggested scenes to Shakespeare. Some critics imagine that historical plays owed their origin to this collection. At least it is certain that the writers of this *Mirror* were the first who made a poetical use of the English chronicles recently compiled by Fabyan, Hall, and Hollinshed, which opened a new field of subjects and events, and, I may add, produced a great revolution in the state of popular knowledge. For before those elaborate and voluminous compilations appeared, the History of England, which had been shut up in the Latin narratives of the monkish annalists, was unfamiliar and almost unknown to the general reader.

[Among the historical poems which seem to have been written in imitation of those entitled *The Mirroure for Magistrates*, perhaps with an intention of being engrafted on the popular stock of Baldwin and Higgins, must be noticed the *Legend of Mary Queen of Scots*, first published from an original MS. by Mr. Fry, of Kingsdown near Bristol, in 1810, and attributed by its editor to the pen of Thomas Wenman in 1601: a writer, of whom nothing material has since been added to the short account of Wood, which describes him as an excellent scholar,¹ who took his degree of M.A. in 1590, was afterwards Fellow of Balliol College, and public orator of the University of Oxford in 1594. The editor claims for this historic legend a higher rank than what Mr. Warton has assigned to the generality of the rhyming chronicles contained in the *Mirror for Magistrates*: but I rather doubt whether our poetical historian would have ratified the claim; since it appears to run singularly parallel in its construction, in its rhythmical cadence and versification, to the greater portion of the pieces in that once popular collection:

copyrights of our old printers, and registers of the Stationers, with several other curious notices of that kind. Ames had many of Coxeter's papers. He died in London, April 19, 1747 [of a fever, which grew from a cold he caught at an auction of books over Exeter 'Change, or by sitting up late at the tavern afterwards. See Oldys's MSS. notes on Langbaine in the British Museum, p. 353. Coxeter was the original editor of Doddsley's old Plays, and an early writer in the *Biographia Britannica*. Ames makes an acknowledgment to him for many hints in his *Typographical Antiquities*. A daughter of his, advanced in years, received pecuniary assistance from the Literary Fund in 1791, 1793 and 1797.—*Park*. No reliance can be placed on Coxeter's statements, nor is it believed that the *Mirror of Mirrors*, 1598, ever existed. Coxeter was a remorseless forger of titles and facts. Chetwood was another dealer in the same singular class of deception and imposition.]

¹ *Faßt Oxon.* vol. i. p. 139.

Pr.—*Baldwyn* awake, thie penn hath slept to longe;
Ferris is dead; state cares staie *Sackvills* ease;
 Theise latter witts delighte in pleasaunt songe
 Or lovinge sayes, which maie theire masters please;
 My ruthfull state breeds no remorse in theise:
 For as my liffe was still opreste by fate,
 So after deathe my name semes out of date.

The poem extends to 186 stanzas.¹

Daniel's *Complaint of Rosamond*, first printed in 1592, may be numbered in the same class; and so may Niccols's *Vision of Sir Thomas Overbury*, 1616.

Another of these imitative histories in verse is entitled: *Beauvie dishonoured, written under the title of Shores Wife*, 1593, by Anthony Chute. As the poem is upon the whole inferior to that of Churchyard on the same subject, which had been published a few years before, it seems rather strange that Chute should have tried his juvenile strength against that of the veteran bard, who published his *Tragedie* in the same year, with twenty-one additional stanzas, "in as fine a forme as the first impressiō thereof," and with a soldier-like protestation, that the production was entirely his own, though some malignant it seems had denied him the credit of producing it. Chute did not in his rival effort adopt the seven-line stanza of Churchyard, but many passages bear such partial resemblance, as a choice of the same personal history was likely to induce. The reprint of the *Mirror for Magistrates* will give to many an opportunity of perusing Churchyard's work; but as that of Chute remains in [at most three copies], I proceed to extract a few of the best stanzas. The ghost of Shore's Wife is made to narrate her own story, on the plan of Baldwin's heroes and heroines. The

¹ [The following is a (corrected) list of works composed (more or less), in the style of the *Mirror for Magistrates*. Some of the works will be found noticed in Brydges' *Censura Literaria*, 1815:

1. *The Testament and Tragedie of unquhile King Henry Stuart*, 1567. A broadside.

2. Robinson's *Rewarde of Wickednesse*, 1573.

3. Munday's *Mirror of Mutabilitie*, 1579.

4. Fulwell's *Flower of Fame*, 1575.

5. Wyrley's *Life and Death of Sir Iohn Chandos*, and *Life and Death of Sir Iohn de Galley* (printed with the *True Vse of Armourie*, 1592).

6. R. Johnson's *Nine Worthies of London*, 1592. Reprinted in *Harl. Misc.*

7. Churchyard's *Sir Symond Burleys tragedie* (in his *Chippes*, 1575 and 1578; and in his *Challenge*, 1593); and the same writer's *Tragedie of the Earle of Moreton* (in his *Challenge*, 1593).

8. Storer's *Life and Death of Thomas Wolsey, Cardinall*, 1599 (reprinted in 1836, 8vo., and in *Heliconia*).

9. Middleton's *Legend of Humphrey Duke of Gloucester*, 1600.

10. Drayton's *Legend of Piers Gaveston* (1593).

11. Drayton's *Legend of Matilda*, 1594.

12. Drayton's *Legend of Robert Duke of Normandy*, 1596.

13. Drayton's *Legend of Great Cromwell*, 1607.

14. Sampson's *Fortunes Fashion*, 1613.

15. Brooke's *Ghost of Richard the Third*, 1614.]

following lines express her compunction for having yielded to the criminal passion of Edward IV.:¹

Who sees the chaste liu'd Turtle on a tree
In unfrequented groves sit and complaine her
Whether alone all desolate, poore shee,
And for her lost love seemeth to retrain her ;
And there sad thought howleth to the ayre
The excellencie of her lost mates fayre ?
So I when sinne had drown'd my soule in badnesse,
To solitarie muse my selfe retired :
Where wrought by greefe to discontented sadnesse,
Repentant thoughtes my new won shame admired ;
And I the monster of myne owne misfortune,
My hart with grones and sorrow did importune.

She proceeds to lament that posterity will consign her memory to defamation :

Thus in thy life, thus in thy death, and boath
Dishonored by thy fact, what mayst thou doe ?
Though now thy soule the touch of sinne doth loath,
And thou abhorst thy life, and thy selfe too :
Yet cannot this redeeme thy spotted name,
Nor interdict thy body of her shame.
But he that could command thee, made thee sin :
Yet that is no priuiledge, no sheeld to thee.
Now thou thy selfe hast drown'd thy selfe therein,
Thou art defam'd thy selfe, and so is hee :
And though that kings commands haue wonders wrought,
Yet kings commands could neuer hinder thought.
Say that a monarke may dispence with sin ;
The vulgar tounge proueth impartiall still,
And when mislike all froward shall begin,
The worst of bad, and best of worst to ill,
A secret shame in euery thought will smother,
For sinne is sinne in kinges, as well as other.²

O could my wordes expresse in mourning sound
The ready passion that my mynde doth trye,
Then greefe all cares, all fences would confound,
And some would weepe with me, aswell as I ;
Where now, because my wordes cannot reueale it,
I weepe alone, inforced to conceale it.
Had I bin fayre, and not allur'd so soone
To that at which all thoughtes leuell their sadnesse,
My sunbright day had not bin set ere noone,
Nor I bin noted for detected badnesse :
But this is still peculier to our state,
To sinne too soone and then repent too late.³

The moral reflections of Chute will be found more meritorious than his poetic garniture, and this is a distinction of personal honour to the author ; since, as Cowper cogently asks, " What is the poet, if the *man* be naught ?"⁴

¹ [Sign. E, *redo.*]

² [Sign. F, 2—3.]

³ [Sign. E, *verso.*]

⁴ [Mr. Park's Additions.]

SECTION LII.

IN tracing the gradual accessions of the *Mirror for Magistrates*, an incidental departure from the general line of our chronologic series has been incurred. But such an anticipation was unavoidable, in order to exhibit a full and uninterrupted view of that poem, which originated in the reign of Mary, and was not finally completed till the beginning of the seventeenth century. I now therefore return to the reign of Queen Mary.

To this reign I assign Richard Edwards [the elder], a native of Somersetshire about the year 1523. He is said by Wood to have been a scholar of Corpus Christi College in Oxford: but in his early years he was employed in some department about the court. This circumstance appears from one of his poems in the *Paradyce of Dainty Deuyces*, a miscellany which contains many of his pieces.

In youthfull yeeres when first my young desyres began
To pricke me forth to serue in Court, a sclender tal young man:
My fathers blessing then I aske upon my knnee,
Who blessing me with trembling hand, these words gan say to me:
My sonne, God guide thy way, and shild thee from mischaunce;
And make thy iust desertes in Court, thy poore estate to aduaunce, &c.¹

In the year 1547, he was appointed a senior student of Christ Church in Oxford, then newly founded. In [a MS. in the] British Museum [are four poems] signed with his initials, addressed to some of the beauties of the courts of Queen Mary and of Queen Elizabeth.² Hence we may conjecture that he did not long remain at the university. About this time he was probably a member of Lincoln's Inn. In the year 1561, he was constituted a gentleman of the Royal Chapel by Queen Elizabeth, and master of the singing boys there. He had received his musical education, while at Oxford, under George Etheridge.³

¹ Edit. 1578, *Carm.* 7.]

² MSS. Cotton. Tit. A. xxiv. "To some court ladies."—Pr. "Howarde is not hawghte," &c.

[This MS. appears to be the fragment of a collection of original poetry, by different writers. In Ayscough's Catalogue, it is described as *Sonnets by R. E.*, but no sonnet occurs among the several pieces, and only four out of fourteen are signed R. E. The rest bear the signatures of Norton (the dramatic associate probably of Lord Buckhurst) Surre (*i. e.* Surrey) Va. Pig. and six are unsigned. That quoted by Mr. Warton may be seen at length in *Nug. Antiq.* (ed. 1804) ii. 392. Another by Edwards is printed in Mr. Ellis's *Specimens*, vol. ii. (pp. 109-14, edit. 1811); and Norton's is also there inserted. (*Ibid.* p. 108).—*Park.*]

³ George Etheridge, born at Thame in Oxfordshire, was admitted scholar of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, under the tuition of the learned John Shepreve, in 1534. Fellow in 1539. In 1553, he was made Royal Professor of Greek at Oxford. In 1556, he was recommended by Lord Williams of Thame to Sir Thomas Pope, founder of Trinity College in Oxford, to be admitted a fellow of his

When Queen Elizabeth visited Oxford in 1566, she was attended by Edwards, who was on this occasion employed to compose a play called *Palamon and Arcite*, which was acted before her Majesty in Christ Church Hall. I believe it was never printed. Another of his plays is *Damon and Pythias*, which was acted at court. It is a mistake that the first edition of this play is the same that is among Mr. Garrick's collection, printed by Richard Johnes, and dated 1571. The first edition was printed by William How in Fleet Street, in 1570, with this title, *The Tragical comedie of Damon and Pythias, newly imprinted as the same was playde before the queenes maiestie by the children of her graces chappelle. Made by Mayster Edwards, then being master of the children.*¹ There is some degree of low humour in the dialogues between Grim the collier and the two lackeys, which I presume was highly pleasing to the queen. He probably wrote many other dramatic pieces now lost. Puttenham having mentioned Lord Buckhurst and Master Edward [George] Ferrys (or Ferrers) as most eminent in tragedy, gives the prize to Edwards for Comedy and Interlude.² The word Interlude is here of wide extent. For Edwards, besides that he was a writer of regular dramas, appears to have been a contriver of masques, and a composer of poetry for pageants. In a word, he united all those arts and accomplishments which minister to popular pleasantry: he was the first fiddle, the most fashionable sonneteer, the readiest rhymers, and the most facetious mimic of the court. In consequence of his love and his knowledge of the histrionic art, he taught the choristers over whom he

college at its first foundation. But, Etheridge choosing to pursue the medical line, that scheme did not take effect. He was persecuted for Popery by Queen Elizabeth at her accession, but afterwards practised physic at Oxford with much reputation, and established a private seminary there for the instruction of Catholic youths in the classics, music, and logic. Notwithstanding his active perseverance in the papistic persuasion, he presented to the queen, when she visited Oxford in 1566, an *Encomium* in Greek verse on her father Henry, now in the British Museum, *MSS. Bib. Reg.* 16 C. x. He prefixed a not inelegant preface in Latin verse to his tutor Shepreve's *Hippolytus*, an Answer to Ovid's *Phædra*, which he published in 1584. Pits his cotemporary says, "He was an able mathematician, and one of the most excellent vocal and instrumental musicians in England, but he chiefly delighted in the lute and lyre. A most elegant poet, and a most exact composer of English, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew verses, which he used to set to his harp with the greatest skill." *Angl. Script.* p. 784. Pits adds, that he translated several of David's Psalms into a short Hebrew metre for music. [The harpers used a short verse, and Etheridge, it seems, was a harper: but why was this called a *translation*?—A. H. B.] Wood mentions his musical compositions in manuscript. His familiar friend Leland addresses him in an encomiastic epigram, and asserts that his many excellent writings were highly pleasing to King Henry the Eighth. *Encom.* 1589, p. 111. His chief patrons seem to have been Lord Williams, Sir Thomas Pope, Sir Walter Mildmay, and Robertson, Dean of Durham. He died in 1588 at Oxford. I have given Etheridge so long a note, because he appears from Pits to have been an English poet. Compare Fox, *Martyrolog.* iii. 500, [and Ritson's *Bibliogr. Poet.* 1802, p. 200.]

¹ [No such edition is now known. Warton afterwards found that the drama had been licensed to R. Jones in 1566. But the edition of 1571 is the earliest at present discoverable. See *Handb. of E. E. Lit.* 1867, art. EDWARDS.]

² *Arte of English Poesie*, fol. 51.

presided to act plays; and they were formed into a company of players, like those of St. Paul's Cathedral, by the queen's licence, under the superintendence of Edwards.¹

[The rich vein of pastoral poetry in the early English miscellanies is to be attributed in some measure to the example of Spenser, whose delightful productions found a host of admirers, and of imitators not a few. The polished, chaste and beautiful lyrics of Breton, Drayton, Lodge, and others, who published their works separately or in the collections, have perhaps, in their kind, never been surpassed. Some of the most fascinating compositions of Greene and Peele belong to the same school, and it may be a question if Marlowe is not more favourably known, in a popular sense, by his famous song of "The Passionate Shepherd to his Nymph," in *Englands Helicon*, 1600, than by any of his more laboured and classical performances.]

These miscellanies serve, besides, as a weather-glass or barometer for the changing literary tastes of the somewhat long period [1557—1602] over which their publication extended.]

The most poetical of Edwards's ditties in the *Paradise of Dainty Devises* is a description of May.² The rest are moral sentences in stanzas. His *Soul-knell*, [wrongly] supposed to have been written on his death-bed, was once celebrated.³ His popularity seems to have altogether arisen from those pleasing talents of which no specimens could be transmitted to posterity, and which prejudiced his partial cotemporaries in favour of his poetry. He died in the year 1566.⁴

George Turberville⁵ [has] two elegies on his death; which record the places of his education, ascertain his poetical and musical character, and bear ample testimony to the high distinction in which his performances, more particularly of the dramatic kind, were held. The second [only] is by Turberville himself, entitled, *An Epitaph on Maister Edwards, sometime Maister of the Children of the Chappell and Gentleman of Lyncolnes Inne of Court*:

Ye Learned Muses nine
And sacred Sisters all,
Now lay your cheereful Cithrons downe,
And to lamenting fall.
For he that led the daunce,
The chiefeft of your traine,

¹ ["Warton, after stating that Edwards 'united all those arts and accomplishments which minister to popular pleasantries,' which may be very true, adds, what is unquestionably a mistake, that the children of the chapel were first formed by him into a company of players; they had regularly acted plays long before."—*Collier*.]

² *Carm.* 6, edit. [1578.] It seems to have been a favourite, and is complimented in another piece, *A Reply to M. Edwardes May*, subscribed M. S. Ibid. *Carm.* 29. This miscellany, of which more will be said hereafter, is said in the title to "be devised and written for the most parte by M. Edwardes sometime of her maiesties Chappell." Edwards, however, had been dead [ten] years when the first edition appeared, viz. in 1576.]

³ [Galcoigne's *Epistle to the Yong Gentlemen*, before his *Poesies*, 1575.]

⁴ Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* i. 151. See also *Faust.* 71.

⁵ [Turberville's *Epitaphes*, &c. (1567), ed. 1570, fol. 142-3.]

(I meane the man that Edwards height,)
 By cruell death is flaine.
 Ye Courtyers chaunge your cheere,
 Lament in wailfull wife;
 For now your Orpheus hath resignde,
 In clay his Carcas lyes.
 O ruth, he is bereft
 That, whilst he liued heere,
 For Poets, Pen, and passing Wit
 Could haue no Englishe Peere.
 His vaine in Verse was such,
 So stately eke his stile,
 His feate in forging sugred Songs
 With cleane and curious file;¹
 As all the learned Greekes
 And Romaines would repine,
 If they did liue againe, to vewe
 His Verse with scornefull cine.²
 From Plautus he the Palme
 And learned Terence wan, &c.³

The other is written by Thomas Twyne, an assistant in Phaer's Translation of Virgil's *Æneid* into English verse, educated a few years after Edwards at Corpus Christi college, and an actor in Edwards's play of *Palamon and Arcite*.⁴ It is entitled, *An Epitaph upon the death of the worshipfull Mayster Richarde Edwardes late Mayster of the Children in the Queenes Maiesties Chappell*:

¹ Shakespeare has inserted a part of Edwards's song *In commendation of Musick*, extant at length in the *Paradyse of dainty Deuises*, [edit. 1578, repr. Collier, p. 89.] in *Romeo and Juliet*. "When griping grief," &c. act iv. sc. 5. In some Miscellany of the reign of Elizabeth, I have seen a song called *The Willow Garland* [by John Heywood: probably a different production from that] licensed to T. Colwell in 1564[-5, beginning "I am not the fyrste that hath taken in hande the wearynge of the willowe garlande." The former, which is printed in the *Shakespeare Society's Papers*, i., from the Bright MS. and (from a modern copy) in *Percy's Reliques*, seems to be the production referred to] in *Othello* with the burden [*Sing, all a green willow must be my garland* (Dyce's 2nd edit. 1868, vii. 452; *Oth.* iv. 3.) See [Collier's *Extras*, i. 106.] I take this opportunity of observing, that the ballad of *Susannah*, part of which is sung by Sir Toby in *Twelfth Night*, was licensed to T. Colwell, in 1562[-3] with the title, *The godlye and constant wyfe Susanna*. Ibid. [i. 74.] There is a play on this subject [by Thomas Garter, 1578.] See T. W. N. act ii. sc. 3. And *Collect. Pepysian*. tom. i. p. 33. 496.

² Eyes.

³ Fol. 142, b. [The following is one of Turbervile's epigrammatic witticisms:

"OF ONE THAT HAD A GREAT NOSE.

"Stand with thy nose against
 the sunne, with open chaps,
 And by thy teeth we shall discern
 what tis a clock, perhaps."

Poems, 1570, p. 83, b.—*Park*.]

⁴ Miles Winsore of the same college was another actor in that play, and I suppose his performance was much liked by the queen. For when her majesty left Oxford, after this visit, he was appointed by the University to speak an oration before her at Lord Windor's at Bradenham in Bucks: and when he had done speaking, the queen turning to Gama de Sylva, the Spanish ambassador, and looking wistly on Winsore, said to the ambassador, Is not this a pretty young man? Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* i. 151, 489. Winsore proved afterwards a diligent antiquary.

O happie House, O Place
 Of Corpus Christi,¹ thou
 That plantedst first, and gaufte the roote
 To that so braue a bow ;²
 And Christ Church,³ which enioydst
 The fruite more ripe at fill,
 Plunge vp a thousande sighes, for griefe
 Your trickling teares distill.
 Whilst Childe and Chappell dure,⁴
 Whilst Court a Court shall bee,
 (Good Edwards) eche estate shall much
 Both want and wishe for thee.
 Thy tender Tunes and Rimes
 Wherein thou woontst to play,
 Eche princely Dame of Court and Towne
 Shall beare in minde alway.
 Thy Damon⁵ and his Friend,
 Arcyte and Palemon,
 With moe full fit for Princes cares, &c.⁶

¹ Corpus Christi College at Oxford. ² Bough, branch. ³ At Oxford.

⁴ While the royal chapel and its singing-boys remain.

In a Puritanical pamphlet without name, printed in 1569, and entitled, *The Children of the Chapel stript and whipt*, [according to Warton] among Bishop Tanner's books at Oxford, it is said, "Plaies will neuer be supprest, while her maiesties unsledged minions flaunt in filkes and fattens. They had as well be at their Popish service, in the deuils garments," &c. fol. xii. a, 12mo. This is perhaps the earliest notice now to be found in print of this young company of comedians, at least the earliest proof of their celebrity. From the same pamphlet we learn, that it gave still greater offence to the Puritans, that they were suffered to act plays on profane subjects in the royal chapel itself. "Even in her maiesties chappel do thefe pretty vpstart youthes profane the Lordes Day by the lascivious writhing of their tender limbs, and gorgeous decking of their apparell, in feigning bawdie fables gathered from the idolatrous heathen poets," &c. *Ibid.* fol. xiii. b. But this practice soon ceased in the royal chapels. Yet in Goffson's [*Playes confuted in fwe Actions* (circa 1580) occurs this passage: "But in Playes either those thinges are found that neuer were, as Cupid and Psyche plaid at Paules; and a greate many Cœdies more at y^e Blacke friers, and in euery Playe house in London." [*The English Drama and Stage*, Roxb. Libr. 1869, p. 188.] Undoubtedly the actors of this play of *Cupid and Psyche* were the choristers of Saint Paul's cathedral; but it may be doubted, whether by "Paules" we are here to understand the Cathedral or its Singing school, the last of which was the usual theatre of those choristers. See Goffson's *Playes confuted in fwe Actions*, &c. "Prouing that they are not to be suffred in a Christian common weale, by the waye both the Cauils of Thomas Lodge, and the *Play of Playes*, written in their defence, and other obiections of Players frendes, are truly set downe and directlye answered." [*The English Drama and Stage*, Roxb. Lib. 1869, p. 151, et seqq.]

⁵ Hamlet calls Horatio, "O Damon dear," in allusion to the friendship of Damon and Pythias, celebrated in Edwards's play. *Hamlet*. act iii. sc. 2.

⁶ *Ibid.* fol. [78-9.] And not to multiply in the text citations in proof of Edwards's popularity from forgotten or obscure poets, I observe at the bottom of the page, that T. B. in a recommendatory poem prefixed to John Studley's English version of Seneca's *Agamemnon*, 1566, ranks our author Edwards with Phaer the translator of Virgil, Jasper Heywood the translator of Seneca's *Troas* and *Hercules Furens*, Nevile the translator of Seneca's *Oedipus*, Googe, and Golding the translator of Ovid, more particularly with the latter:

"With him also, as seemeth me,
 Our Edwards may compare;

Meres¹ recites "Maister Edwardes, one of her Maiesties Chappell" [among those who are "best for Comedy"], together with "Edward Earle of Oxforde, Doctor Gager of Oxforde,"² Maister Rowley once a rare Scholler of learned Pembroke Hall in Cambridge, eloquent and wittie John Lilly, Lodge, Gascoigne, Greene, Shakespeare, Thomas Nash, Thomas Heywood, Anthony Munday, our best plotter, Chapman, Porter, Wilson, Hathway, and Henry Chettle." The author of the *Arte of English Poesie* mentions the "earle of Oxford, and maister Edwardes of her maiesties chappell, for comedy and enterlude."

Among the books of my friend the late Mr. William Collins of Chichester, now dispersed, was a collection of short comic stories in prose, printed in the black letter under the year 1570, "sett forth by maister Richard Edwardes maister of her maiesties reuels."³ Undoubtedly this is the same Edwards: who, from this title expressly appears to have been the general conductor of the court festivities, and who most probably succeeded in this office George Ferrers, one of the original authors of the *Mirror for Magistrates*.⁴ Among these tales was that of the *Induction of the Tinker* in Shakespeare's *Taming of the Shrew*: and perhaps Edwards's story-book was the immediate source from which Shakespeare, or rather the author of the old *Taming of a Shrew*, drew that diverting apologue.⁵ If I recollect right, the circumstances almost exactly tallied with an

Who nothyng gyying place to him
Doth syt in egall chayre."

[Churchyard's panegyric on the English poets (prefixed to Skelton's *Works*, 1568,) contains a similar species of commendation:

"Phaer did hit the pricke
In thinges he did translate;
And Edwards had a speciall gift;
And divers men of late
Have helpt our Englishe tounge."—*Park*.]

[¹ *Palladis Tamia*, 1598, fol. 282.]

[² See *Handb. of E. E. Lit.* 1867, Art. Gager, and Brunet (*Manuel du Libraire*, 1862, *ibid.*)]

[³ A fragment of what seems to be a later edition of this work is reprinted in the *Shakespeare's Society's Papers*, ii., and fully warrants Warton's hypothesis.]

⁴ Who had certainly quitted that office before the year 157[6]. For in Gascoigne's *Princelie Pleasures of Kenilworth-castle* [printed in that year], the octave stanzas spoken by the Lady of the Lake, are said to have been "deuised and penned by M. Ferrers, sometime Lord of misrule in the Court." Signat. A. iij. See also Signat. B. ij. [and Gascoigne's *Poems*, edit. Roxb. Libr. 1869-70, ii. 95]. This was George Ferrers mentioned in the text, a contributor to the *Mirror for Magistrates*. George Ferrers, from the part he bore in the exhibitions at Kenilworth, appears to have been employed as a writer of metrical speeches or dialogues to be spoken in character, long after he had left the office of lord of misrule:—a proof of his reputed excellence in compositions of this nature, and of the celebrity with which he filled that department. [Leland in his *Encomia*, 1589, has a Latin laud *Ad Georgium Ferrarium*.—*Park*.]

⁵ See [*The Old Taming of a Shrew*, reprinted by Amyot from the edition of 1594. 1844. 8vo.]

incident which Heuterus relates, from an epistle of Ludovicus Vives, to have actually happened at the marriage of Duke Philip the Good of Burgundy, about the year 1440. [But the same story has been transplanted by Burton into his great store-house of learning and entertainment, the *Anatomy of Melancholy*. As the narrative of Heuterus is in Latin of a not very elegant or pure character, the English reader will doubtless be better pleased with Burton's account.]

"When¹ as by reason of vnseasonable weather, he [the Duke of Burgundy] could neither hauke nor hunt, and was now tired with cards, dice, &c., and such other domestickall sports, or to see Ladies dance with some of his Courtiers, he would in the Euening walke disguised all about the Towne. It so fortun'd, as he was walking late one night, he found a country fellow dead drunke, snorting on a Bulke: he caused his followers to bring him to his pallace, and there stripping him of his old clothes, and atyring him after the Court fashion, when he wakened, he and they were all ready to attend vpon his Excellency, and perswaded him he was some great Duke. The poore fellow [admiring how he came there,]² was serued in state all day long: after supper he saw them dance, heard musicke, and all the rest of those Court-like pleasures, but late at night, when he was well tiple and againe fast asleepe, they put on his old robes, and so conuayed him to the place where they first found him. And the fellow had not made them so good sport the day before, as he did now whē he returned to himselfe; all the iest was to see how he looked vpon it. In conclusion, after some little admiration, the fellow told his friends he had seene a vision, constantly beleueed it, and would not otherwise be perswaded, and so the iest ended." If this is a true story, it is a curious specimen of the winter-diversions of a very polite court of France in the middle of the fifteenth century. The merit of the contrivance, however, and comic effect of this practical joke, will atone in some measure for many indelicate circumstances with which it must have necessarily been attended. I presume it first appeared in Vives's "Epistle." I have seen the story of a tinker disguised like a lord in recent collections of humorous tales, probably transmitted from Edwards's story-book, which I wish I had examined more carefully. [But surely this story, of which Shakespeare in making use in the Induction to his *Taming of a Shrew* merely followed the older drama on the same subject, is an ancient Oriental fiction adapted to European names and localities.]

I have assigned Edwards to Queen Mary's reign, as his reputation in the character of general poetry seems to have been then at its

[¹ Edit. 1621, p. 349. Heuterus says, this story was told to Vives by an old officer of the duke's court. Warton inserted this story *twice* in his book, and although this repetition is wholly uncalled for, and in one case he gives us the Latin of so obscure a writer as Heuterus, his editors have kept the passage without a word of remark, and quite intact.]

[² Not in first edit. but added in that of 1624.]

height. I have mentioned his sonnets addressed to the court beauties of that reign, and of the beginning of the reign of Queen Elizabeth.¹

If I should be thought to have been disproportionately prolix in speaking of Edwards, I would be understood to have partly intended a tribute of respect to the memory of a poet, who is one of the earliest of our dramatic writers after the reformation of the British stage.

SECTION LIII.



ABOUT the same time flourished Thomas Tusser, one of our earliest didactic poets in a science of the highest utility, and which produced one of the most beautiful poems of antiquity.² The vicissitudes of this man's life have uncommon variety and novelty for the life of an author, and his history conveys some curious traces of the times as well as of himself. He seems to have been alike the sport of fortune, and a dupe to his own discontented disposition and his perpetual propensity to change of situation.

He was born of an ancient family, about [1515], at Rivenhall in

¹ Viz. *Tit. A. xxiv. MSS. Cott.* I will here cite a few lines :

"Hawarde is not haugte, but of such smyllynge cheare,
That wolde alure eche gentill harte, hir love to holde full deare :
Dacars is not dangerus, hir talke is nothinge coye,
Hir noble stature may compare with Hectors wyfe of Troye," &c.

At the end, "Finis R. E." I cannot quit Edwards' songs without citing the first stanza of his beautiful one in the *Paradise of Daintie Devises*, on Terence's apophthegm of *Amantium iræ amoris redintegratio est.* Num. [49, ed. 1578] :

"In going to my naked bed, as one that would have slept,
I hard a wife sing to her child, that long before had wept :
She sighed fore, and sang ful sweete, to bring the babe to rest,
That would not cease, but cried stil, in sucking at her breast.
She was full wearie of her watch, and greued with her child ;
She rocked it, and rated it, till that on her it smilde :
Then did she say, now haue I found this proverbe true to proue,
The falling out of faithfull frends renuing is of loue."

The close of the second stanza is prettily conducted :

"Then kissed she her little babe, and sware by God aboue,
The falling out of faithfull frendes, renuing is of loue."

[Sir Egerton Brydges, in his republication of Edwards's Miscellany, considers this poem, even without reference to the age which produced it, among the most beautiful *morceaux* of our language. The happiness of the illustration of Terence's Apophthegm, the facility, elegance and tenderness of the diction, and the exquisite turn of the whole, he deems above commendation ; while they show to what occasional polish and refinement our literature even then had arrived. Pref., p. vi. — *Park.*]

² [An excellent memoir of Tusser may be found in Coopers' *Athene Cantabrigienses*, 1858, vol. i. pp. 422-4.]

Essex; and was placed as a chorister, or singing boy, in the collegiate chapel of the castle of Wallingford in Berkshire.¹ Having a fine voice, he was impressed from Wallingford College into the king's chapel. Soon afterwards, he was admitted into the choir of Saint Paul's Cathedral in London, where he made great improvements under the instruction of John Redford the organist, a famous musician.² He was next sent to Eton school where, at one chastisement, he received fifty-three stripes of the rod from the severe but celebrated master, Nicholas Udall.³ His academical education was at Trinity Hall in Cambridge: but Hatcher affirms that he was from Eton admitted a scholar of King's College in that university, under the year 1543.⁴ From the university he was called up to court by his singular and generous patron William Lord Paget, in whose family he appears to have been a retainer.⁵ In this department he lived ten years; but being disgusted with the vices, and wearied with the quarrels, of the courtiers, he retired into the country, and embraced the profession of a farmer, which he successively practised at Retford in Suffex, Ipswich in Suffolk, Fairstead in Essex, Norwich, and other places.⁶ Here his patrons were Sir Richard Southwell,⁷ and Salisbury, Dean of Norwich. Under the latter he procured the place of a singing-man in Norwich Cathedral. At length, having perhaps too much philosophy and too little experience to succeed in the business of agriculture, he returned to London: but the plague drove him away from town, and he took shelter at Trinity College in Cambridge. Without a tincture of careless imprudence or vicious extravagance, this desultory character seems to have thriven in no vocation. Fuller says, that ["this Stone

¹ This chapel had a dean, six prebendaries, six clerks, and four choristers. It was dissolved in 1549.

² [For the fragment of an interlude, and some songs, by Redford, see the Shakespeare Society's edit. of *Marriage of Wit and Science*, 1848, p. 55 *et seqq.*]

³ Udall's English interludes, mentioned above, were perhaps written for his scholars.

⁴ MSS. Catal. Præpos. Soc. Schol. Coll. Regal. Cant.

⁵ Our author's *Husbandrie* is, [in the later editions,] dedicated to his son, Lord Thomas Paget of Beaudefert, fol. 7, ch. ii. edit. [1586].

[It was first inscribed to his father, Lord William Paget, 1557.—*Park.*]

⁶ In Peacham's *Minerva Britannia*, 1612, there is the device of a whetstone and a scythe with these lines, fol. 61 :

"They tell me, *Tuffer*, when thou wert aliue,
And hadst for profit turned euery stone,
Where ere thou cammest thou couldst never thriue,
Though heereto best couldst counsel every one,
As it may in thy *Husbandry* appeare
Wherein afresh thou liu'st amongst vs heere.

"So like thy selfe a number more are woont,
To sharpen others with advice of wit,
When they themselfes are like the whetstone blunt," &c.

[In the same author's book called *The More the Merrier*, 1608, the same sentiment is expressed almost *totidem verbis.*]

⁷ See *Life of Sir Thomas Pope*, 2nd edit. p. 218.

of Sisyphus could gather no mofs. He was successively a *Musitian*, *Schoolmaster*, *Servicingman*, *Husbandman*, *Grafter*, *Poet*; . . . whether he bought or sold, he lost. . . . He *spread* his bread with all sorts of butter, yet none would *stick* thereon."'] His plough and his poetry were alike unprofitable. He was by turns a fiddler and a farmer, a grazier and a poet, with equal success. He died at London, [according to Fuller's supposition, about] 1580, and was buried in Saint Mildred's church in the Poultry.¹

Some of these circumstances, with many others of less consequence, are related by himself in one of his pieces, entitled the *Author's life*, as follows :

What robes,² how bare ? what college fare ?
What bread, how stale, what pennie ale ?
Then Wallingford, how wert thou abhord
Of fillie boies ?

Wallingford
College.

Thence for my voice, I must (no choice)
Away of forse, like posting horse,
For fundrie men had placards then
Such child to take :³

Singing
men's com-
missions.

The better breff, the lesser rest,
To serue the queere, now there now heere :
For time so spent, I may repent,
And sorrow make.

But marke the chance, my selfe to vance,
By friendships lot, to Paules I got ;
So found I grace a certeine space,
Still to remaine :

John Red-
ford an ex-
cellent mus-
cian.

With Redford there, the like no where,
For cunning fuch, and vertue much,
By whom some part, of musicke art,
So did I gaine.

From Paules I went, to Eaton sent,
To learne straight waies, the Latin phraies,
Where fiftie three, stripes giuen to mee,
At once I had :

Nicholas
Udall school-
master at
Eaton.

For fault but small, or none at all,
It came to pas, thus beat I was :
See Udall see, the mercie of thee
To me poore lad.

To London hence, to Cambridge thence,
With thanks to thee, O Trinitie,
That to thy hall, so passinge all,
I got at last :

There ioy I felt, there trim I dwelt, &c.

At length he married a [second] wife by the name of [Amy] Moone, from whom, for an obvious reason, he expected great inconstancy, but was happily disappointed :

¹ See his Epitaph in Stowe's *Surv. Lond.* p. 474, edit. 1618, 4to. And Fuller's *Worthies*, [edit. 1811, i. 354.]

² The livery, or *vestis liberata*, often called *robe*, allowed annually by the college.

³ In reference to Q. Elizabeth's warrant to Thomas Gyles, Apr. 26, 1585, printed in *English Drama and Stage*, Roxburghe Library, 1869, p. 33.]

Through Uenus toies, in hopes of ioies,
 I chanced soone to finde a Moone,
 Of cheerefull hew :
 Which well and fine, methought did shine,
 And neuer change, a thing most strange,
 Yet kept in fight, hir course aright,
 And compas trew, &c.¹

Before I proceed, I must say a few words concerning the very remarkable practice implied in these stanzas, of seizing boys by a warrant for the service of the king's chapel. Strype has printed an abstract of an instrument, by which it appears that emissaries were dispatched into various parts of England, with full powers to take boys from any choir for the use of the chapel of King Edward the Sixth. Under the year 1550, says Strype, there was a grant of a commission "to Philip Van Wilder, gentleman of the Privy Chamber, in anie churches or chappells within England, to take to the king's use such and as many singing children and choristers, as he or his deputy shall think good."² And again, in the following year, the master of the king's chapel, that is, the master of the king's singing-boys, has licence "to take up from time to time as many children [boys] to serve in the king's chapel as he shall think fit."³ Under the year 1454, there is a commission of the same sort from King Henry the Sixth, *De ministrallis propter solatium regis providendis*, for procuring minstrels, even by force, for the solace or entertainment of the king: and it is required that the minstrels so procured should be not only skilled in *arte ministrallatus*, in the art of minstrelsy, but *membris naturalibus elegantes*, handsome and elegantly shaped.⁴ As the word Minstrel is of an extensive signification, and is applied as a general term to every character of that species of men whose business it was to entertain, either with oral recitation, music, jestification and singing, or with a mixture of all these arts united, it is certainly difficult to determine whether singers only, more particularly singers for the royal chapel, were here intended. The last clause may perhaps more immediately seem to point out tumblers or posture-masters.⁵ But in the register of the capitulary acts of York

¹ Fol. 158, edit. 1586. See also *The Authors Epistle to the late Lord William Paget, wherein he doth discourse of his owne bringing up, &c.*, fol. 5. And the *Epistle to [Lord Thomas] Paget*, fol. 7. And his rules for training a boy in music, fol. 141. [The *Points of Huswiferie* are dedicated to Lady Paget at fol. 121.]

² Dat. April. Strype's *Mem. Eccl.* vol. ii. p. 538.

³ *Ibid.* p. 539. Under the same year, a yearly allowance of £80 is specified, "to find six singing children for the king's privy chamber."—*Ibid.* I presume this appointment was transmitted from preceding reigns.

⁴ *Rym. Feod.* vol. xi. p. 375.

⁵ Even so late as the present reign of Queen Mary, we find tumblers introduced for the diversion of the court. In 1556, at a grand military review of the queen's pensioners in Greenwich park, "came a Tumbler and played many pretty feats, the queen and Cardinal [Pole] looking on; whereat she was observed to laugh heartily," &c.—Strype's *Eccl. Mem.* vol. iii. p. 312, ch. xxxix. Mr. Afle had a roll of some private expenses of King Edward the Second: among which it appears that fifty shillings were paid to a person who danced before the king on a table, "et lui fist très-grandement rire." And that twenty shillings were allowed to

cathedral, it is ordered as an indispensable qualification, that the chorister who is annually to be elected the boy-bishop, should be *competenter corpore formosus*.¹ It is certainly a matter of no consequence, whether we understand these minstrels of Henry the Sixth to have been singers, pipers, players, or posture-masters. From the known character of that king, I should rather suppose them performers for his chapel. In any sense, this is an instance of the same oppressive and arbitrary privilege that was practised on our poet.

Our author Tusser wrote, during his residence at Ratwood in Suffex, a work in rhyme entitled *A Hundreth Good Pointes of Husbandrie*, which was printed in 1557.² [It was republished with this title in 1562, 1570, and 1571; but in 1573 it appeared under a new and enlarged one, namely, *Five hundreth pointes of good husbandry united to as many of good huswiferie*, &c., in which amplified form it went through repeated re-impressions.]³

It must be acknowledged that this old English georgic has much more of the simplicity of Hesiod than of the elegance of Virgil; and a modern reader would suspect that many of its salutary maxims originally decorated the margins, and illustrated the calendars, of an ancient almanac. It is without invocations, digressions, and descriptions: no pleasing pictures of rural imagery are drawn from meadows

another, who rode before his majesty, and often fell from his horse, at which his majesty laughed heartily, *de queux roy rya gralement*. The laughter of kings was thought worthy to be recorded.

¹ I will transcribe an article of the register, relating to that ridiculous ceremony: "Dec. 2, 1367. Joannes de Quixly confirmatur Episcopus Puerorum, et Capitulum ordinavit, quod electio episcopi Puerorum in ecclesia Eboracensi de cetero fieret de Eo, qui diutius et magis in dicta ecclesia laboraverit, et magis idoneus repertus fuerit, dum tamen competenter sit corpore formosus, et quod aliter facta electio non valebit."—*Registr. Archiv. Eccles. Ebor. MSS.* In the Salisbury missal, in the office of *Episcopus Puerorum*, among the suffrages we read, "Corpore enim formosus es, O fili, et diffusa est gratia in labiis tuis," &c. In further proof of the solemnity with which this farce was conducted, I will cite another extract from the chapter-registers at York. "21 febr. 1370. In Scriptoria capituli Ebor. dominus Johannes Giffon, magister choristarum ecclesie Eboracensis, liberavit Roberto de Holme choristæ, qui tunc ultimo fuerat episcopus puerorum, iij libras, xvs. id. ob. de perquisitis ipsius episcopi per ipsum Johannem receptis, et dictus Robertus ad sancta dei evangelia per ipsum corporaliter tacta juravit, quod nunquam molestaret dictum dominum Johannem de summa pecunie prædicta."—*Registr. Ebor.*

² Quarto. Bl. lett. [This edition differs very materially from those which succeeded it. A reprint of it was given in the Bibliographer.—*Park.*] In 1557, John Daye has license to print *The hundreth poyntes of good Husserie*.—*Registr. Station, A. fol. 23, a.* [Perhaps Day did print them separately in this or the following year; but no such impression is known to exist. They are annexed to the *Husbandrie* in the edit. of the latter in 1562.]

³ [An account of the most important of these may be found in the *Handb. of E. E. Lit.* in voce.]

In the Register of the Stationers, a receipt of T. Hackett is entered for licence for printing "A dialoge of wyvyng and thryvyng of Tushers with ij lessons for olde and yonge." in [1561].—*Registr. Stat. Comp. Lond. notat. A. fol. 74, b.* [This may have been printed separately as a broadside, and was afterwards incorporated with the work (edit. 1586, fol. 115).] I find licensed to [John] Alde in 1565, *An hundreth poyntes of ewell huswifrye*, I suppose a satire on Tusser.—*Ibid.* fol. 131, b.

covered with flocks and fields waving with corn, nor are Pan and Ceres once named. Yet it is valuable, as a genuine picture of the agriculture, the rural arts, and the domestic economy and customs, of our industrious ancestors.

I must begin my examination of this work with the apology of Virgil on a similar subject :

Possum multa tibi veterum præcepta referre,
Ni refugis, tenuisque piget cognoscere curas.¹

I first produce a specimen of his directions for cultivating a hop-garden, which may, perhaps not unprofitably, be compared with the modern practice :²

Whom fanſie perſuadeth, among other crops,
To haue for his ſpending, ſufficient of hops :
Muſt willinglie follow, of choiſes to chuſe,
Such leſſons approued, as ſkilfull doo vſe.

Ground grauellie, ſandie, and mixed with claie,
Is naughtie for hops, anie maner of waie :
Or if it be mingled with rubbiſh and ſtone,
For drineſſe and barrenneſſe let it alone.

Naught
for hops.

Choſe ſoile for the hop of the rotteneſt mould,
Well doonged and wrought, as a garden-pot ſhould :
Not far from the water (but not ouerflowne)
This leſſon well noted is meet to be knowne.

Good
for hops.

The ſunne in the ſouth, or elſe ſouthlie and weſt,
Is ioie to the hop, as a welcomed geſt :
But wind in the north, or elſe northerlie eaſt,
To hop is as ill, as a fraie in a feaſt.

Meet plot for a hopyard, once found as is told,
Make thereof account, as of iewell of gold :
Now dig it and leaue it, the ſunne for to burne,
And afterward ſenſe it, to ſerue for that turne.

Now dig
thy new
hop
ground.

The hop for his profit I thus doo exalt,
It ſtrengtheneth drinke, and it ſauoreth malt :
And being well brewed, long kept it will laſt,
And drawing abide, if ye drawe not too faſt.³

The praife
of hops.

To this work belongs the well-known old ſong which begins :

The Ape, the Lion, the Fox, the Aſſe,
Thus ſets forth man as in a glaſſe.⁴

For the farmer's general diet he affigns :—in Lent, red herrings

¹ *Georgic*. i. 176, [edit. Keightley, p. 29.]

² [Tuffer's directions on this ſubject may be compared with Reginald Scot's *Perſiſe Platforme of a Hoppe-Garden*, 1574, enlarged and republished in 1575 and 1576.]

³ Chap. 42, fol. 93. In this ſtanza is a copy of verſes by William Kethe, prefixed to Goodman's abſurd and factious pamphlet againſt Queen Mary, *How ſuperior Powers*, &c. 1558 :

“Whom fury long foſtered by ſufferance and awe,
Have right rule ſubverted, and made will their lawe,
Whoſe pride how to temper, this truth will thee tell,
So as thou reſiſt mayſt, and yet not rebel,” &c.

⁴ Chap. 50, fol. 107.

and salt fish, which may remain in store when Lent is past; at Easter, veal and bacon; at Martinmas, salted beef, when dainties are not to be had in the country; at Midsummer, when mackerel are no longer in season, "grasse, or fallads," fresh beef, and peas; at Michaelmas, fresh herrings, with fatted crones, or sheep; at All Saints, pork and peas, sprats and spurlings; at Christmas, "good cheere and plaie." The farmer's weekly fish days are Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday, and he is charged to be careful in keeping "embrings and fast-days."¹

Among the "Hufbandlie Furniture" are recited most of the instruments now in use, yet with several obsolete and unintelligible names of farming utensils.² Horses, I know not from what superstition, are to be annually blooded on Saint Stephen's day.³ Among the "Christmas hufbandlie fare,"⁴ our author recommends good drink, a good fire in the Hall, brawn, pudding and souse, and mustard withal, beef, mutton, and pork, shred or minced, pies of the best, pig, veal, goose, capon and turkey, cheese, apples and nuts, with "jolie carols." A Christmas carol is then introduced, to the tune of *King Salomon*.⁵

In a comparison between "Champion and Severall," that is, open and inclosed land, the disputes about inclosures appear to have been as violent as at present.⁶ Among his *Hufwifelie Admonitions*, which are not particularly addressed to the farmer, he advises three dishes at dinner, which being well-dressed, will be sufficient to please your friend, and will become your Hall.⁷ The prudent housewife is directed to make her own tallow candles.⁸ Servants of both sexes are ordered to go to bed at ten in the summer and nine in the winter; to rise at five in the winter and four in the summer.⁹ The ploughman's feasting days, or holidays, are Plough-Monday, or the first Monday after Twelfth-day, when ploughing begins in Leicestershire: Shrof-tide, or Shrove Tuesday, in Essex and Suffolk, when after shroving, or confession, he is permitted to "go thresh the fat hen," and "if blindfold [you] can kill her, then giue it thy men,"

¹ Chap. 12, fol. 25, 26.

² Chap. 15, fol. 31, 32, 33.

³ Fol. 52.

⁴ [Tusser, says Mr. Stillingfleet, seems to have been a good-natured cheerful man, and though a lover of economy, far from meanness, as appears in many of his precepts, wherein he shows his disapprobation of that pitiful spirit which makes farmers starve their cattle, their land, and everything belonging to them; choosing rather to lose a pound than spend a shilling. He throws his precepts into a calendar, and gives many good rules in general, both in relation to agriculture and economy; and had he not written in miserable hobbling and obscure verse, might have rendered more service to his countrymen. *Mem. for Hist. of Husbandry in Cox's Life of Stillingfleet*, vol. ii. p. 567.—*Park.*]

⁵ Chap. 30, fol. 57. These are four of the lines:

"Euen Christ (I meane) that virgins child,
In Bethlem borne:
That Lambe of God, that prophet mild,
With crowned thorne."

⁶ Chap. 52, fol. 111.

⁷ Fol. 133.

⁸ Fol. 135.

⁹ Fol. 137.

and to dine on fritters and pancakes.¹ Sheep-shearing, which is celebrated in Northamptonshire with wafers and cakes. The Wake-day, or the vigil of the church saint, when "everie wanton maie danse at her will," as in Leicestershire, and the oven is to be filled with "flawnes." Harvest-home, when the harvest-home goose is to be killed. Seed-cake, a festival so called at the end of wheat-sowing, in Essex and Suffolk, when the village is to be treated with seed cakes, pasties, and the "frumentie-pot." But twice a week, according to ancient right and custom, the farmer is to give roast-meat, that is, on Sundays and on Thursday nights.² We have then a set of posies or proverbial rhymes, to be written in various rooms of the house, such as *Husbandlie posies for the Hall*, *Posies for the Parlour*, *Posies for the Ghefts chamber*, and *Posies for thine own bed-chamber*.³ Botany appears to have been eminently cultivated, and illustrated with numerous treatises in English, throughout the latter part of the sixteenth century.⁴ In this work are large enumerations of plants, as well for the medical as the culinary garden.

Our author's general precepts have often an expressive brevity, and are sometimes pointed with an epigrammatic turn and a smartness of allusion. As thus,

Saue feathers for geft, ⁵ These other rob cheft. Saue wing for a thresher, when gander dooth die; Saue feathers of all things, the softer to lie. Much spice is a theefe, so is candle and fire; Sweet sauce is as craftie as euer was frier. ⁶	Saue feathers.
--	-------------------

Again, under the lessons of the housewife :

In dairie no cat,
 Laie bane for a rat.
 Though cat (a good mouser) dooth dwell in a house,
 Yet euer in dairie haue trap for a mouse.

¹ I have before mentioned Shrove-Tuesday as a day dedicated to festivities. In the year 1440, on Shrove-Tuesday, which that year was in March, at Norwich there was a "Disport in the streets, when one rode through the streets havyng his hors trappyd with tyn-foyle, and other nyse dysgysyngs, coronned as Kyng of Crestemasse, in tokyn that seson should end with the twelve moneths of the yere: afor hym went yche [each] Moneth dysgysyfyd after the seson requiryd," &c.—Blomf. *Norw.* vol. ii. p. 111. This very poetical pageantry reminds me of a similar and a beautiful procession at Rome, described by Lucretius, where the SEASONS, with their accompaniments, walk personified.—Lib. v. l. 736 :

"It Ver et Venus, et Veris prænuntius, ante
 Pennatus graditur Zephyrus vestigia propter
 Flora quibus mater præspargens ante vias
 Cuncta coloribus egregiis et odoribus obplet :
 Inde Autumnus adit," &c.

[For an account of the several festivals mentioned in the text, see *Popular Antiquities of Great Britain*, 1870, vol. i.]

² Fol. 138.

³ Fol. 144, 145. See Inscriptions of this sort in *The Welspring of wittie Conceites*, translated from the Italian by W. Phitt[on], 1584, Signat. N 2.

⁴ See the preface to Johnson's edition of Gerard's *Herbal*, 1633.

⁵ [*Popular Antiquities of Great Britain*, 1870, i.]

⁶ Fol. 134.

Take heed how thou laiest the bane¹ for the rats,
For poisoning of servant, thy selfe and thy brats.²

And in the following rule of the smaller economics :

Who manie do feed,
Saue much they haue need.
Saue droppings and skimmings, how euer ye doo,
For medicine, for cattell, for cart, and for shoo.³

In these stanzas on haymaking, he rises above his common manner :

Go muster thy seruants, be captaine thy selfe, Prouiding them weapons, and other like pelfe : Get bottells and wallets, keepe field in the heat, The feare is as much, as the danger is great.	Haie haruest.
With tossing and raking, and setting on cox, Graffe latelie in swathes, is haie for an ox : That doone, go and cart it, and haue it awaie, The battell is fought, ye haue gotten the daie. ⁴	

A great variety of verse is used in this poem, which is thrown into numerous detached chapters.⁵ The *Husbandrie* is divided into the several months. Tusser, in respect of his antiquated diction and his argument, may not improperly be styled the English Varro.⁶

¹ Poison.

² Fol. 131.

³ Fol. 134.

⁴ Fol. 95, ch. 44.

⁵ In this book I first find the metre of Rowe's song,
" Despairing beside a clear stream."

For instance :

" What looke ye, I praie you shew what ?
Termes painted with Rhetorike fine ?
Good husbandrie seeketh not that,
Nor ist anie meaning of mine.
" What lookest thou, speeke at the last ?
Good lessons for thee and thy wife ?
Then keepe them in memorie fast,
To helpe as a comfort to life."

See *Preface to the buier of this booke*, ch. 5, fol. 14. In the same measure is the comparison betweene Champion countrie and *seuerall*, ch. 52, fol. 108.

[The *Preface* above cited contained two Stanzas thus worded, in the edition of 1570, I believe, only—

" What lookest thou here for to haue ?
Trim verses, thy fanisie to please ?
Of Surry, so famous, that crave;
Looke nothing but rudenesse in these.
" What other thing lookest thou then
Grave sentences herein to finde ?
Such Chaucer hath twentie and ten,
Ye, thousands to pleasure thy minde."—*Park*.]

⁶ Googe, in his preface to the translation of Heresbach's *Four Books of Husbandrie*, 1578, sets Fitzherbert and Tusser on a level with Varro and Columella and Palladius : but the sedate Stillingfleet would rather compare Tusser to old Hesiod, from the following considerations. They both wrote in the infancy of husbandry, in their different countries. Both gave good general precepts, without entering into the detail, though Tusser has more of it than Hesiod. They both seem desirous to improve the morals of their readers as well as their farms, by recommending industry

Such were the rude beginnings in the English language of didactic poetry, which, on a kindred subject [a later age saw] brought to perfection, by the happy combination of judicious precepts with the most elegant ornaments of language and imagery in Mafon's *English Garden*.¹

SECTION LIV.



MONG Antony Wood's manuscripts in the Bodleian library at Oxford, I find a poem of considerable length written by William Forrest, chaplain to Queen Mary.² It is entitled, *A true and most notable History of a right noble and famous Lady produced in Spayne entitled the second Grefield*. This is a panegyrical history in octave rhyme of the life of Queen Catharine, the first queen of King Henry the Eighth. The poet compares Catharine to patient Grisild, celebrated by Petrarch and Chaucer, and Henry to Earl Walter her husband.³ Catharine had certainly the patience and conjugal compliance of Grisild: but Henry's cruelty was not, like Walter's, only artificial and assumed. It is dedicated to Queen Mary:⁴ and Wood's manuscript, which was once very superbly bound and embossed, and is elegantly written on

and economy: and, that which perhaps may be looked upon as the greatest resemblance, they both wrote in verse; probably for the same reason, namely, to propagate their doctrines more effectually. But here the resemblance ends: the Greek was a very fine poet, the Englishman an unskilful versifier. However, there is something very pleasing in our countryman's lines now and then, though of the rustic kind; and sometimes his thoughts are aptly and concisely expressed:—
c. g.

“ Reape well, scatter not, gather cleane that is shorne,
Binde fast, shock apace, have an eye to thy corne,
Lode safe, carry home, follow time being faire,
Gove just in the barne, it is out of despaire.”

Mem. for Hist. of Husbandry in the Works of Benj. Stillingfleet, ii. 572.—*Park*.]

¹ [Such, at least, was Warton's opinion. It may be mentioned that Tusser's work is reprinted in the *Somers Tracts*, last edit. iii., and by Mavor, 1812, but both texts are of comparatively slight value.

² In folio. MSS. Cod. A. Wood, Num. 2. They were purchased by the University after Wood's death.

³ The affecting story of *Patient Grisild* seems to have long kept up its celebrity. In the books of the Stationers, in 1565, Owen Rogers has a licence to print “a ballat intituled the songe of pacyent Grefsell unto hyr make.” Registr. A. fol. 132, b. Two ballads are entered in 1565, “to the tune of pacyente Grefsell.” *Ibid.* fol. 135, a. In the same year T. Colwell has licence to print *The History of make and pacyent Grefsell*, *Ibid.* fol. 139, a. Colwell has a second edition of this history in 1568. *Ibid.* fol. 177, a. Instances occur much lower. [See *Handb. of E. E. Lit.* 1867, in v.]

⁴ [In poetic compliment to his royal patroness, Forrest wrote and printed *A new ballade of the Mari-golde*. This is preserved in the archives of the Society of Antiquaries, and has been reprinted in the *Harl. Miscell. Suppl.* vol. ii.—*Park*.]

vellum, evidently appears to have been the book presented by the author to her majesty. Much of its ancient finery is tarnished: but on the brass bosses at each corner is still discernible *Ave Maria gratia plena*. At the end is this colophon: "Here endeth the Historye of Grylilde the second, dulle meanyng Queene Catharine mother to our most dread soveraigne Lady queene Mary, fynysched the xxv day of June, the yeare of owre Lorde 1558. By the symple and unlearned Syr Wylliam Forrest preeiste, propria manu." The poem, which consists of twenty chapters, contains a zealous condemnation of Henry's divorce, and, I believe, preserves some anecdotes, yet apparently misrepresented by the writer's religious and political bigotry, not extant in any of our printed histories. Forrest was a student at Oxford, at the time when this notable and knotty point of casuistry prostituted the learning of all the universities of Europe to the gratification of the capricious amours of a libidinous and implacable tyrant. He has recorded many particulars and local incidents of what passed in Oxford during that transaction.¹ At the end of the poem is a metrical *Oration Consolatory*, in six leaves, to Queen Mary.

In the British Museum is [the first part of] another of Forrest's poems, written in two splendid folio volumes on vellum, called "*The tragedious troubles of the most chaste and innocent Joseph, son to the holy patriarch Jacob*, and dedicated to Thomas Howard Duke of Norfolk."² In the same repository is another of his pieces, never printed, dedicated [without a regular title, but bearing at p. 8 the following particulars: *Here ensuith A notable worke (called the Pleasaunt Poesye of Princelie Practise composed of late in meatre royall) by the symple and unlearned Willia Forrest preeiste, muche parte collecte owte of A booke entituled the gouernauce of noblemen, which booke the wise philosopher Aristotell wrote too his discypyle Alexandre, the great and mightie Conqueroure, 1548.*"]³ Mr. Nichols adds: "Then follows a poetical dedication to King Edward of fourteen stanzas, and the opposite page is occupied with a drawing in Indian ink, representing King Edward seated on his throne, and William Forrest (drawn a youthful man, though he

¹ In the first chapter, he thus speaks of the towardliness of the Princess Catharine's younger years:

"With stoole and needyl she was not to seeke,
And other practiseingis for ladyes meete;
To pastyme at tables, ticktack, or gleeke,
Cardys, dyce," &c.

He adds, that she was a pure virgin when married to the king: and that her first husband Prince Arthur, on account of his tender years, never slept with her.

² MSS. Reg. 18 C. xiii. It appears to have once belonged to the library of John Theyer of Cooperhill near Gloucester. [A copy of the second part of the work (as Sir F. Madden points out to the present editor, is) in University-college library, MSS. G. 7, with gilded leaves. This, I believe, once belonged to Robert Earl of Aylesbury. Pr. "In Canaan that country opulent." [See also *Prinys Purse Expenses of the Princess Mary*, edit. Madden, 1831, pp. cxix-xx., and *Literary Remains of Edward VI.* edit. Nichols, 1857, cccxxv.]

³ MSS. Reg. 17 D. iii. In the Preface twenty-seven chapters are enumerated: but the book contains only twenty-four.

is ſaid to have ſtudied at Oxford in 1530) kneeling, preſenting to him the book.”] The book here mentioned is *Ægidius Romanus de Regimine Principum*, which yet retained its reputation and popularity from the middle age. I ought to have obſerved before, that Forreſt tranſlated into Engliſh metre fifty of David's Pſalms, in 1551, which are dedicated to the Protector Somerſet.¹ Hence we are led to ſuſpect, that our author could accommodate his faith to the reigning powers. Many more of his manuſcript pieces both in proſe and verſe, all profeſſional and of the religious kind, were in the hands of Robert Earl of Ailebury.² Forreſt, who muſt have been living at Oxford, as appears from his poem on Queen Catharine, ſo early as the year 1530, was in reception of an annual penſion of ſix pounds from Chriſt-church in that univerſity, in the year 1555.³ He was eminently ſkilled in muſic: and with much diligence and expenſe he collected the works of the moſt excellent Engliſh composers, that were his coteremporaries. Theſe being the choiceſt compositions of John Taverner of Boſton, organiſt of Cardinal-college (now Chriſt-church) at Oxford, John Marbeck who firſt digeſted our preſent church-ſervice from the notes of the Roman miſſal, Fairfax, Tye, Sheppard, Norman, and others, falling after Forreſt's death into the poſſeſſion of Doctor William Hether, founder of the muſical praxis and profeſſorſhip at Oxford in 1623, are now fortunately preſerved at Oxford, in the archives of the muſic-ſchool aſſigned to that inſtitution.

In [or about] 1554, a poem of two ſheets, in the ſpirit and ſtanza of Sternhold, was printed under the title, “*The Vngodlineſſe of the Hetbnicke Goddes or The Downfall of Diana of the Ephesians*, by J. D. an exile for the word, late a miniſter in London, MDLIV.” I preſume it was printed at Geneva, and imported into England with other books of the ſame tendency, which were afterwards ſuppreſſed by a proclamation. The writer, whoſe arguments are as weak as his poetry, attempts to prove that the cuſtomary mode of training youths in the Roman poets encouraged idolatry and pagan ſuperſtition. This was a topic much laboured by the Puritans. Prynne, in that chapter of his *Hiſtriomastix*, where he expoſes “the obſcenity, ribaldry, amorousneſſe, heatheniſhneſſe, and prophaneſſe, of moſt Play-bookes, Arcadiaes, and fained Hiſtories that are now ſo much in admiration,” acquaints us, that the infallible leaders of the Puritan perſuaſion in the reign of Queen Elizabeth,

¹ MSS. Reg. 17 A. xxi. [See alſo Conventual Library of Weſtmiſter in *Gen. Catal.* “Some Pſalms in Engliſh verſe, by W. Foreſt.” Cod. MSS. Eccl. Cath. Weſtmonas.—*Park.*]

² Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* i. 124. Fox ſays, that he paraphraſed the *Pater Noſter* in Engliſh verſe, Pr. “Our Father which in heaven doth ſit.” Alſo the *Te Deum*, as a thankſgiving hymn for Queen Mary, Pr. “O God thy name we magnific.” Fox *Mart.* p. 1139, edit. vet.

³ MSS. Le Neve. From a long chapter in his [*Life of Q. Katherine*], about the building of Chriſt-church and the regimen of it, he appears to have been of that college.

among which are two bishops, have solemnly prohibited all Christians "to pen, to print, to sell, to read, or Schoole-masters and others to teach, any amorous wanton Play-bookes, Histories, or Heathen Authors, especially Ovids wanton Epistles and Bookes of love, Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius, Martiall, the Comedies of Plautus, Terence, and other such amorous bookes, favoring either of Pagan Gods, of ethnike rites and ceremonies, or of scurrility, amorousnesse, & prophanesse."¹ But the classics were at length condemned by a much higher authority. In the years [1580 and 1582], one Christopher Ocland, a schoolmaster of Cheltenham, published two poems in Latin hexameters, one entitled *Anglorum Prælia*, the other *Elizabetha*.² To these poems, which are written in a low style of Latin versification, is prefixed an edict from the lords of privy council, signed, among others, by Cowper Bishop of Lincoln, Lord Warwick, Lord Leicester, Sir Francis Knollys, Sir Christopher Hatton, and Sir Francis Walsingham, and directed to the queen's ecclesiastical commissioners, containing the following passage.³ "Forasmuche as the subject or matter of this booke is such, as is worthie to be read of all men, and especially in common schooles, where diuers Heathen Poets are ordinarily read and taught, from which the youth of the realme doth rather receiue infection in manners, than aduancement in uertue: in place of some of which poets, we thinke this Booke fit to be read and taught in the grammar schooles: we haue therefore thought good, for the encouraging the said Ocklande and others that are learned to bestowe their trauell and studies to so good purposes, as also for the benefit of the youth and the removing of such lasciuious poets as are commonly read and taught in the said grammar-schooles (the matter of this booke being heroicall and of good instruction) to praye and require you vpon the sight hereof, as by our special order, to write your letters vnto al the Bishops throughout this realme, requiring them to giue commaundement, that in al the gramer and free schooles within their seuerall diocesses, the said Booke de *Anglorum Præliis*, and peaceable Gouernment of hir maiestie, [the *Elizabetha*,] may be in place of some of the heathen poets receyued, and publicly read and taught by the scholemasters."⁴

[¹ Reprinted in 1582, 8vo. The *Elizabethis*, of which the first edition is annexed to the reprint of the other poem, was translated by John Sharrock of New College, Oxford, and published in 1585, 4to, with the original dedication retained to Mildred, Lady Burleigh.]

² *Histriomastix*, 1633, pp. 913, 916.

³ Prefixed to the *Anglorum Prælia* is a Latin elegiac copy by Thomas Newton of Cheshire: to the *Elizabetha*, which is dedicated by the author to the learned lady Mildred Burleigh, two more; one by Richard Mulcaster the celebrated master of Merchant Taylor's school, the other by Thomas Watſon an elegant writer of sonnets. Our author was a very old man, as appears by the last of these copies. Whence, says Bishop Hall, *Sat.* iii. b. iv.

"Or cyte olde Oclands verse, how they did wield
The wars in Turwin or in Turney field."

⁴ Signat. A ij. Then follows an order from the ecclesiastical commissioners to all the bishops for this purpose. [Signed John London, Da. Lewes, Bar. Clerke,

With such abundant circumspection and solemnity did these profound and pious politicians, not suspecting that they were acting in opposition to their own principles and intentions, exert their endeavours to bring back barbarism, and to obstruct the progress of truth and good sense.

Holinshed mentions Lucas Shepherd of Colchester as an eminent poet of Queen Mary's reign.¹ I do not pretend to any great talents for deciphering; but I presume that this is the same person who is called by Bale, from a most injudicious affectation of Latinity, Lucas Opilio. Bale affirms that his contemporary, Opilio, was a very facetious poet, and means to pay him a still higher compliment in pronouncing him not inferior even to Skelton for his rhymes.² It is unlucky that Bale, by disguising his name, should have contributed to conceal this writer so long from the notice of posterity, and even to counteract his own partiality. Lucas Shepherd, however, appears to have been nothing more than a petty pamphleteer in the cause of Calvinism, and to have acquired the character of a poet from a metrical translation of some of David's Psalms about the year 1554. Bale's narrow prejudices are well known. The Puritans never suspected that they were greater bigots than the papists. I believe one or two of Shepherd's pieces in prose are among Bishop Tanner's books at Oxford. [He may have been related to Anthony Shepherd who, under the signature of Shepheard Tonie, has two or three pieces in *Englands Helicon*, 1600.]

Bale also mentions metrical English versions of *Ecclesiastes*, of the histories of *Esther*, *Susannah*, *Judith*, and of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, printed and written about this period, by John Pullaine, one of the original students of Christchurch at Oxford, and at length Archdeacon of Colchester. He was chaplain to the Dukes of Suffolk, and either by choice or compulsion imbibed ideas of reformation at Geneva.³

There were numerous versions of *Solomon's Song* before the year 1600: and perhaps no portion of Scripture was selected with more propriety to be clothed in verse. Beside those I have mentioned, there is *The Song of Songs*, that is the most excellent Song which was Solomons, translated out of the Hebrue into English meeter, [by Dudley Fenner, Middleburgh, 1587 and 1594, 8vo.] Nor have I yet mentioned *Solomon's Song*, translated from English prose into English verse by Robert Fletcher,⁴ a native of Warwickshire, and a member of Merton College, printed with notes in 1586. The *Canticles* in English verse are among the lost poems of Spenser.

W. Lewyn, Owen Hopton, W. Fletewoode, Pet. Osborne, Tho. Fanshaw; and dated from London, the 7th of May, 1582.—*Park*.]

¹ *Chron.* vol. iii. p. 1168.

² *Par. post.* p. 109.

³ Bale ix. 83. Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* i. 148.

⁴ [To this writer must probably be attributed a thin quarto of prose and verse published in 1606, containing brief historical registers of our regal Henries, and entitled *The Nine English Worthies; or the famous and worthy princes of England being all of one name*, &c.—*Park*.]

Bishop Hall, in his nervous and elegant satires printed in 1597, meaning to ridicule and expose the spiritual poetry with which his age was overwhelmed, has an allusion to a metrical English version of *Solomon's Song*.¹ Having mentioned *Saint Peters Complaint*, written by Robert Southwell, and printed in 1595, with some other religious effusions of that author, he adds :

Yea, and the Prophet of the heauenly Lire,
Great *Solomon*, sings in the English Quire;
And is become a new found Sonetist,
Singing his loue, the holy spouse of Christ:
Like as she were some light-skirts of the rest.²
In mightiest Ink-hornismes³ he can thither wrest.
Ye Sion Muses shall by my deare will,
For this your zeale and farre-admired skill,
Be straight transported from Ierusalem,
Vnto the holy house of Bethleem.

It is not to any of the versions of the *Canticles* which I have hitherto mentioned, that Hall here alludes. His cenfure is levelled at *The Poem of Poems, or Sions Muse*.⁴ *Contaynyng the diuine Song of King Salomon deuided into eight Eclogues*. 1596. The author signs his dedication,⁵ which is addressed to the "sacred virgin, diuine Mistress

¹ B. i. Sat. viii. But for this abuse of the diuine sonnetteers, Marston not inelegantly retorts against Hall. *Certain Satyres*, 1598. Sat. iv.

"Come daunce, ye stumbling Satyres, by his side,
If he list once the Syon Muse deride;
Ye Granta's white Nymphs come, and with you bring
Some fillabub, whilst he doth sweetly sing
Gainst Peters Teares, and Maries mouing Moane;
And like a fierce-enraged boare doth foame
At Sacred Sonnets, O daring hardiment!
At Bartas sweet Semaines' raile impudent.
At Hopkins, Sternhold, and the Scottish King,
At all translators that do strue to bring
That stranger language to our vulgar tongue," &c.

² Origen and Jerom say, that the youth of the Jews were not permitted to read *Solomon's Song* till they were thirty years of age, for fear they should inflame their passions by drawing the spiritual allegory into a carnal sense. Orig. Homil. in *Cantic. Cant.* apud Hieronymi Opp. tom. viii. p. 122. And Opp. Origen. ii. fol. 68; Hieron. Proem. in *Ezech.* iv. p. 330 D.

³ [This term is lauded by Pinkerton, in his *Letters of Literature*, p. 80, as a phrase of much felicity: but it was not Hall's coinage. See Wilson's *Rhetorike*, 1553, fol. 82.—Park. "For truly throughe out al this simple and rude translation, I studyed rather to use the most playn and famylier english speche the other Chaucers wordes (which by reason of antiquitie be almost out of use) or els *inkhorne termes* (as they call them), which the common people, for lacke of Latin, do not understand."—Ahton's Translation of Jovius's *Shorte treatise upon the Turkes Chronicles*, 1546, Dedic.—Rye. It is rather a favourite phrase with Galcoigne and Puttenham. The passage from Wilson will be found quoted a little further on.]

⁴ [Meres, in his [*Palladis Tamia*, or] *Wits Treasury*, speaks of [*The Poem of Poems, or Sions Muse*, 1596, 8vo.], by Jervis Markham, but without praise or cenfure.—Park.]

⁵ [In this dedication Markham candidly and conscientiously tells his readers that

¹ Du Bartas's *Divine Weeks*.

Elizabeth Sydney, sole daughter of the euer admired Sir Philip Sydney," with the initials J[eruis] M[arkham].

Although the translation of the Scriptures into English rhyme was for the most part an exercise of the enlightened Puritans, the recent publication of Sternhold's Psalms taught that mode of writing to many of the Papists, after the sudden revival of the mass under Queen Mary. One Richard Beearde, parson of Saint Mary-hill in London, celebrated the accession of that queen in a godly psalm, [written and perhaps] printed in 1553.¹ Much about the same time George Marshall wrote [*A Compendious treatise in metre, declaring the firste originall of Sacrifice and of buylding of Altares and Churches, and of the firste receauing of the Christen sayth here in Englande*], dedicated to George Wharton, Esq., and printed in 1554.

In 1557, Miles Huggard, a famous butt of the Protestants, published *A shorte treatise in meter vpon the cxxxix. psalme of David called De profundis*. Of the opposite or heretical persuasion was Peter Moone, who wrote a metrical tract on the abuses of the mass, [of which there were two editions], about the first year of Queen Mary.² Near the same period a translation of *Ecclesiastes* into rhyme by Oliver Starkey occurs in Bishop Tanner's library,³ if I recollect right, together with his translation of Sallust's two histories. By the way, there was another vernacular versification of *Ecclesiastes* by Henry Lok, or Lock, of whom more will be said hereafter, printed in 1597. This book was also translated into Latin hexameters by Drant who will occur again in 1572. The *Ecclesiastes* was versified in English by Spenser.⁴

[About 1540,]⁵ as it seems, Robert Wyer printed *A lytell boke*

"rapt in admiration with the excellency of our English poets, whose wandred spirits have made wonderfull the workes of prophane love, he gave himselfe over to the study of inchaunting poesie : till, at length he betooke himselfe to Divinitie, and found Poesie, which he had so much revered, created but her handmaid : for as Poesie gave grace to vulgar subjects, so Divinitie gave glorie to the best part of a poet's invention," &c.—*Park*.]

¹ See Strype's *Eliz.* p. 202 ; Newc. *Rep.* vol. i. p. 451 ; [and *Handb. of E. E. Lit.*, art. BEEARDE, in Additions.] See what is said above of Miles Hoggard.

² [*Handb. of E. E. Lit.*, in voce. Possibly this author may have been related to Amy Moone, the second wife of Tusser the Georgic writer.] Fox mentions one William Punt, author of a *Ballade made against the Pope and Popery*, under Edward the Sixth, and of other tracts of the same tendency under Queen Mary. *Martyr.* p. 1605, edit. vet. See in Strype an account of Underhill's Sufferings in 1553, for writing a ballad against the queen, he "being a witty and facetious gentleman." *Ecc. Mem.* vol. iii. pp. 60, 61, ch. vi. Many rhymes and ballads were written against the Spanish match in 1554. Strype, *ibid.* p. 127, ch. xiv. Fox has preserved some hymns in Sternhold's metre, sung by the Protestant martyrs in Newgate in 1555. *Mart.* fol. 1539, edit. 1597, vol. ii.

³ [Warton is most probably mistaken, as Tanner, who merely follows Bale and Pitts, does not appear to have seen [this] book.—*Ritson*.]

⁴ [Surrey's version of five chapters from the *Ecclesiastes* has been noticed.—*Park*.]

⁵ [No copy of Wyer's edition is known. For an account of the work, see *Remains of the E. Pop. Poetry of England*, iv. ; and *Handbook of E. E. Lit.*, art. WOMEN, where several other treatises for and against the fair sex will be found described. See, however, *Ibid.*, GOSYNHILL, MORE, &c.]

named the *Scole Howse*, wherein euery man may rede a goodly prayse of the condycions of women. Within the leaf is a border of naked women. This is a satire against the female sex. The writer was wise to suppress his name, as we may judge from the following passage :¹

Trewly some men there be,
That lyue alwaye in greate ho[n]oure :
And say, it goeth by deffenye
To hange or wed, both haue [but] one houre :
And whether it be, I am well sure,
Hangynge is better of the twayne,
Sooner done, and shorter payne.

[The *Schole-house of Women* became tolerably popular, and was republished in 1541, 1560, and 1572. But in 1542, a reply to it in alliterative verse appeared, entitled *A Dyalogue defensyue for Women agaynst malycyous detractions*. In the colophon, the piece is called *The Faucon and the Pye*. The name of Robert Vaughane, or Vaughan, is attached to some verses at the end ; but this person, perhaps only for the sake of evading the responsibilities of authorship, tells us that the main poem was not his, but was confided to him by a friend for publication.

In or about 1544, Edward Gofynhyll undertook a further and more general vindication of the fair sex in a poetical tract, entitled *The prayse of all women, called Mulierū Pean*. This gallant, if not very brilliant, performance passed through at least two editions, the second appearing about 1558. Gofynhyll's book opens thus :

What time y^e crabbe h^e course had past
And Phebus atteyned the Aquarye
The selfe same tyme whā it frose fast
A myddes the moneth of Januarye
I in my bedde, and slepe in myne eye,
A sodeyne assemblē before me dyd appere
And women they sēmed by abyte and chere.

This may not strike the reader as a very promising exordium. It should, perhaps, be pointed out that two impressions were published about the same period, of *A lytell treatyse of the Beauté of women* ; but this is professedly a translation from the French, and scarcely enters into the series. Probably the earliest production in our language, not derived directly from abroad, is the *Interlocucion with an argument betwixt man and woman y^e whiche of them could proue to be most excellēt*, printed by W. de Worde about 1520, or even before. But of course there are several of the books or tracts more immediately bearing upon the soft passion and on marriage, which help to illustrate the present subject.

The *Scole house of Women* found, after some lapse of time, a third challenger in the person of] Edward More, of Hambledon in Buckinghamshire. It required no very powerful abilities, either of genius

¹ [This and the notice of Vaughan's *Faucon and Pye* are brought hither from other parts of the History, where Warton introduced them in his peculiarly desultory fashion.]

or judgment, to confute such a groundless and malignant invective. More's book, [which was written in 1557, before he was twenty years of age,] is entitled *The Defence of Women, and especially of English women, made against the School-house of Women*. It is dedicated to Master William Page, secretary to his neighbour and patron, Sir Edward Hoby, of Bisham Abbey, and was printed in 1560.¹

With the Catholic liturgy, all the pageantries of Popery were restored to their ancient splendour by Queen Mary. Among others, the procession of the boy-bishop was too popular a mummary to be forgotten. In the reign of [Henry VIII.], Hugh Rhodes, a gentleman or musician of the royal chapel, published an English poem with the title, [*Stans puer ad mensā otherwyse called the boke of Nurture, newly imprinted and very necessary unto all youthe*. It is founded on Lydgate's poem and on the *Boke of Nurture*, by John Ruffell, an author unknown to Warton and his editors, and servant (as he calls himself) to Humphrey Duke of Gloucester. Ruffell's performance is in Harl. MS. 4011, and has been recently edited, with many other early educational tracts of great curiosity,² by Mr. Furnivall.] In the reign of Mary, [Rhodes] printed a poem, consisting of thirty-six octave stanzas, entitled *The Song of the Chylde-bysshop, as it was songe before the queenes maiestie in her priuie chamber at her manour of saynt James in the Feeldes on saynt Nicholas day and Innocents day this yeare nowe present, by the chylde byshope of Poules churche with his company*.³ By admitting this spectacle into her presence, it appears that her majesty's bigotry condescended to give countenance to the most ridiculous and unmeaning ceremony of the Roman ritual. As to the song itself, it is a fulsome panegyric on the queen's devotion, in which she is compared to Judith, Esther, the Queen of Sheba, and the Virgin Mary.⁴

¹ [Reprinted in Utterton's *Collection*, 1817.]

² [From the press of John Redman (circa 1530), 4to. twelve leaves. There are several other editions. See *Handb. of E. E. Lit.*, art. RHODES (and *Appx.*)]

³ [*The Babees Book, The Bokes of Nurture, The Boke of Kervynge*, &c. 1868.]

⁴ In the church of York, no chorister was to be elected boy-bishop, "nisi habuerit claram vocem puerilem."—*Registr. Capitul. Eccles. Ebor.* sub. ann. 1390, MS. ut *supr.*

⁵ In the old statutes of Saint Paul's are many orders about this mock solemnity. One is that the canon, called Stagiarius, shall find the boy-bishop his robes, and "equitatum honestum."—MS. fol. 86, *Diceto dean*. In the statutes of Salisbury Cathedral, it is ordered that the boy-bishop shall not make a feast, "sed in domo communi cum sociis conversetur, nisi eum ut Chorisam, ad domum Canonici, causa solatii, ad mensam contingerit evocari." Sub anno 1319. Tit. xlv.—*De Statu Choristarum*, MS.

⁶ In quarto, bl. lett. Strype says, that in 1556, "On S. Nicolas even, Saint Nicolas—that is, a boy habited like a bishop in pontificalibus—went abroad in most parts of London, singing after the old fashion, and was received with many ignorant but well-disposed people into their houses, and had as much good cheer as ever was wont to be had before."—*Eccl. Mem.* vol. iii. p. 310, ch. xxxix. See also p. 387, ch. l. In 1554, Nov. 13, an edict was issued by the Bishop of London to all the clergy of his diocese, to have a boy-bishop in procession, &c.—Strype, *ibid.* p. 202, ch. xxv. See also pp. 205, 206, ch. xxvi.

⁷ [Compare the *Paradyce of daynty deuyses*, ed. 1578, repr. Collier, p. 49.]

SECTION LV.



It appears, however, that the cultivation of an English style began to be now regarded. At the general restoration of knowledge and taste, it was a great impediment to the progress of our language, that all the learned and ingenious, aiming at the character of erudition, wrote in Latin. English books were written only by the superficial and illiterate, at a time when judgment and genius should have been exerted in the nice and critical task of polishing a rude speech. Long after the invention of typography, our vernacular style, instead of being strengthened and refined by numerous compositions, was only corrupted with new barbarisms and affectations, for want of able and judicious writers in English. Unless we except Sir Thomas More, whose *Dialogue of Comfort in Tribulation* and *History of Richard the Third* were esteemed standards of style so low as the reign of James the First, Roger Ascham was, perhaps, the first of our scholars who ventured to break the shackles of Latinity by publishing his *Toxophilus* in English; chiefly with a view of giving a pure and correct model of English composition, or rather of showing how a subject might be treated with grace and propriety in English as well as in Latin. His own vindication of his conduct in attempting this great innovation is too sensible to be omitted, and reflects light on the revolutions of our poetry: "As for y^e Latin or greke tonge, every thing is so excellently done in them, that none can do better: In the Englysh tonge contrary, every thinge in a maner so meanly, bothe for the matter and handelynge, that no man can do worse. For therein the least learned for the moste parte haue ben alwayes moost redye to wryte. And they whiche had least hope in latin haue bene moste bould in englyshe: when surelye every man that is moste ready to taulke, is not moost able to wryte. He that wyll wryte well in any tongue, muste folowe thys counsel of Aristotle, to speake as the common people do, to thinke as wise men do; and so shoulde every man vnderstande hym, and the iudgement of wyse men alowe hym. Many English writers haue not done so; but vsinge straunge wordes, as latin, french and Italian, do make all thinges darke and harde. Ones I communed with a man, whiche reasoned the englyshe tongue to be enryched and encreased therby, saying: Who wyll not prayse that feast where a man shall drinke at a diner bothe wyne, ale and beere? Truly, quod I, they be all good, every one taken by hym selfe alone; but if you putte Malmesye and sacke, read wyne and white, ale and beere, and al in one pot, you shall make a drynke neyther easie to be knownen, nor yet hol-som for the bodye. Cicero in folowyng Isocrates, Plato and Demof-

thenes, increafed the latine tongue after an other forte. This waye, bycaufe diuers men y^t write do not know, they can neyther folowe it bycaufe of theyr ignorauncie, nor yet will prayfe it for verye arrogancie : ii. faultes feldome the one out of the others companye. Englyfh writers by diuerfitie of tyme haue taken diuerfe matters in hande. In our fathers tyme nothing was red, but bookes of fayned cheualrie, wherein a man by redinge fhuld be led to none other ende but onely to manflaughter and baudrye. Yf any man fuppofe they were good ynough to paffe the time with al, he is deceyued. For furelye wayne woordes doo worcke no fmal thinge in wayne, ignoraunt, and young mindes, fpecially yf they be gyuen any thyng thervnto of theyr owne nature. Thefe bokes (as I haue heard fay) were made the moſte parte in Abbayes and Monasteries, a very lickely and fit fruite of fuche an ydle and blynde kinde of luyng.¹ In our tyme now, whan euery manne is gyuen to knowe much rather than to liue wel, very many do write but after fuche a fafhion as very many do fhoot. Some fhooters take in hande ftronger bowes than they be able to mayntayne. This thyng maketh them fummtye to outfhoot the marke, fummtye to fhote far wyde and perchaunce hurt fomme that looke on. Other that neuer learned to fhote, nor yet knoweth good fhafte nor bowe, wyll be as buſie as the beſt.”²

Ascham's example was followed by other learned men. But the chief was Thomas Wilson, who published a ſyſtem of Logic and Rhetoric, both in Engliſh. Of his Logic I have already ſpoken. I have at preſent only to ſpeak of the other, which is not only written in Engliſh, but with a view of giving rules for compoſing in the Engliſh language. It appeared in 1553, the firſt year of Queen Mary, and is entitled *The Arte of Rhetorike for the uſe of all ſuche as are ſtudious of eloquence, ſette forth in Engliſhe by Thomas Wilson.*³

¹ He ſays in his *Schoolemaſter*, written ſoon after the year 1563, “There be more of theſe vngracious bookes ſet out in print within theſe few monethes, than have bene ſcene in England many ſcore years before.”—B. i. fol. 26, a, edit. 1589.

² *To all Gentle Men and Yomen of Englande.* Prefixed to Toxophilus, *The ſchool of ſhootinge conteyned in two bookes.* 1545.

³ [Puttenham tells us that “Maſter ſecretary Wilson, giving an Engliſh name to his *Arte of Logicke*, called it *Witcraft*.” Qu. whether this term was not the conceit of Ralphe Lever, who in 1573 published *The Arte of Reaſon, rightly termed Witcraft, teaching a perfeſt way to argue and diſpute*. This quaint author was fond of new deviſed terms, whence he uſes “ſpeechcraft” for rhetoric, and “foreſpeech” for preface. Dudley Fenner, who has before been mentioned as a Puritan preacher, printed at Middleburgh in 1584, *The Artes of Logike and Rethorike, plainlie ſet forth in the Engliſhe tounge; togeather with examples for the praſtiſe of the ſame, &c.* Theſe examples and their illuſtrations are conſtantly drawn from Scripture.—Park.]

⁴ Dedicated to John Dudley, Earl of Warwick. In the Dedication he ſays, that he wrote great part of this treatiſe during the laſt ſummer vacation [“in my country”], at the houſe of Sir Edward Dimmoke, and that it originated from a late converſation with his lordſhip, “amonge other talke of learnyng.” It was reprinted in 1560, with *A Prologue to the Reader*, dated Dec. 7, 1560. Again, 1567, 1580, and 1584. In the *Prologue*, he mentions his eſcape at Rome, which

Leonarde Cox, a schoolmaster, patronised by Farringdon the last Abbot of Reading, had published in 153[2], as I have observed, an English tract on rhetoric, which is nothing more than a technical and elementary manual. Wilfon's treatise is more liberal and discursive, illustrating the arts of eloquence by example, and examining and ascertaining the beauties of composition with the speculative skill and sagacity of a critic. It may, therefore, be justly considered as the first book or system of criticism in our language. A few extracts from so curious a performance need no apology; which will also serve to throw light on the present period, and indeed on our general subject, by displaying the state of critical knowledge and the ideas of writing which now prevailed.

I must premise that Wilfon, one of the most accomplished scholars of his time, was originally a fellow of King's College,¹ where he was tutor to the two celebrated youths, Henry and Charles Brandon, [successively] Dukes of Suffolk. Being a doctor of laws, he was afterwards one of the ordinary masters of requests, master of Saint Katharine's hospital near the Tower, a frequent ambassador from Queen Elizabeth to Mary Queen of Scots, and into the Low countries,² a secretary of state, and a privy counsellor; and at length, in 1579, Dean of Durham. He died in 1581. His remarkable diligence and dispatch in negotiation is said to have resulted from an uncommon strength of memory. It is another proof of his attention to the advancement of our English style, that he translated seven orations of Demosthenes which, in 1570, he dedicated to Sir William Cecill.³

Under that chapter of his third book of *Rhetoric*, which treats of the four parts belonging to *Elocution*, *Plainness*, *Aptness*, *Composition*, *Exornation*, Wilfon has these observations on simplicity of style,

I have above related: and adds, "If others neuer get more by bookes then I have dooen, it wer better be a Carter then a Scholer, for worldlie profite."

¹ Admitted scholar in 1541. A native of Lincolnshire.—*MS. Hatcher*.

² [From a *Prologue to the reader*, before the second edition of his *Rhetoric* in 1560, we learn that he was in Italy and at Rome in 1558, where he was "coumpted an heretike," for having written his two books on Logic and Rhetorick, where he underwent imprisonment, was convened before the college of Cardinals, and narrowly escaped with life to England, "his deare countrie, oute of greate thraldome and forrein bondage."—*Park*.]

³ Which had been also translated into Latin by Nicholas Carr. To whose version Hatcher prefixed this distich.—[*MSS. More*, 102; Carr's *Autograph. MS.*]:

"Hæc eadem patrio Thomas sermone polivit
Wilfonus, patrii gloria prima foli."

In Gabriel Harvey's *Smithus*, 1578, dedicated to Sir Walter Mildmay, he is ranked with his learned cotemporaries. See Signat. D iii.—E ii.—I i.

[Barnaby Barnes has a sonnet in [Harvey's] *Pierces Supererogation* [1593], in which he speaks of our rhetorician as—

"Wilfon, whose discretion did redresse
Our English barbarisme."

Haddon, in his *Poemata*, 1567, pays twofold tribute to Wilfon's *Arts of Logic and Rhetoric*; and Dr. Knox, in his *Liberal Education*, regards the latter of these as doing honour to English literature, if we consider the state of the times.—*Park*.]

which are immediately directed to those who write in the English tongue.¹ "Among all other lessons this should first be learned, that we neuer affect any straunge ynkehorne termes, but to speake as is cōmonly receiued: neither seking to be ouer fine, nor yet liuyng ouer-carelesse, vsing our speeche as moste men doe, and ordering our wittes as the fewest haue done. Some seke so far for outlandishe English, that thei forget altogether their mothers langage. And I dare sweare this, if some of their mothers were aliue, thei were not able to tell what thei saie: & yet these fine English clerkes wil saie thei speake in their mother tonge, if a manne should charge them for counterfeityng the kinges Englishe. Some far iourneyed gentlemen at their returne home, like as thei loue to goe in forraigne apparell, so thei will powder their talke with ouersea langage. He that commeth lately out of Fraunce will talke Frēche English, and neuer blushe at the matter. An other chops in with Englishe Italianated, and applieth the Italian phraze to our Englishe speakyng:² the whiche is, as if an Oratour that professeth to vtter his minde in plaine Latine, would needes speake Poetrie, and farre fetched colours of strange antiquitie. The Lawyer will store his stomacke with the pratyng of Pedlers. The Auditor, in makyng his account and rekenyng, cometh in with 'fise sould,' and 'cater denere,'³ for vj.s. and [viij.]d. The fine courtier will talke nothing but *Chaucer*.⁴ The mysticall wisemen and Poeticall Clerkes will speake nothing but quainte Prouerbes and blinde Allegories, delightyng muche in their owne darcknesse, especially when none can tell what thei doe saie. The vnlearned or foolish phantasticall, that smelles but of learnyng (suche fellows as haue seen learned men in their daies) wil so Latin their tongues, that the simple can not but wonder at their talke, and thinke surely thei speake by some reuelation. I knowe them, that thinke Rhetorique to stande wholie vpon darke woordes; and he that can catche an ynke horne terme by the taile, him thei coumpt to bee a fine Englishman and a good Rhetorician.⁵

¹ [*Art of Rhet.* edit. 1584, sign. M 2.]

² [There is a proverb: "Inglese Italianato e un diavolo incarnato."—*Rye*.]

³ [*i. e.* accounts kept in French or Latin, sixe sous and quatre deniers.—*Ashby*.]

⁴ And yet Puttenham, a little afterwards, in the passage quoted by Mr. Warton, alleges that the language of Chaucer was then out of use, which made it unadvisable for poets to follow it. Spenser, however, thought otherwise, and Webbe seems to have applauded his practice.—*Park*.]

⁵ Puttenham, in *The Arte of English Poetrie*, where he treats of style and language, brings some illustrations from the practice of oratory in the reign of Queen Mary, in whose court he lived: and although his book is dated 1589, it was manifestly written much earlier. He refers to Sir Nicholas Bacon, who began to be high in the departments of the law in Queen Mary's time, and died in 157[8]. Having told a story from his own knowledge in the year 1553, of a ridiculous oration made in Parliament by a new speaker of the house, who came from Yorkshire, and had more knowledge in the affairs of his country, and of the law, than gracefulness or delicacy of language, he proceeds: "And though graue and wise counsellours in their consultations doe not vse much superfluous eloquence, and also in their iudicall hearings do much mislike all scholasticall rhetoricks; yet in such a case as it may be (and as this Parliament was), if the Lord Chancelour of England

And the rather to fette out this folie, I will adde fuche a letter as William Sommer¹ himself, could not make a better for that purpose a letter deuifed by a Lincolneshire man for a voide

or Archbishop of Canterbury himfelfe were to fpeake, he ought to doe it cunningly and eloquently, which can not be without the vfe of figures: and neuertheleffe none impeachment or blemifh to the grauitie of their perfons or of the caufe: wherein I report me to them that knew Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord keeper of the great Seale, or the now Lord Treafurer of England, and haue bene conuerfant with their fpeeches made in the Parliament houle and Starre Chamber. From whofe lippes I haue feene to proceede more graue and naturall eloquence, then from all the Oratours of Oxford or Cambridge. I haue come to the Lord Keeper Sir Nicholas Bacon, and found him fitting in his gallery alone, with the works of *Quintilian* before him. In deepe he was a moft eloquent man and of rare learning and wifedome as euer I knew England to breed, and one that ioyed as much in learned men and men of good witts."—Lib. iii. ch. ii. p. 116, *seq.* What follows foon afterwards is equally appofite: "This part in our maker or Poet muft be heedily looked vnto, that it [his language] be naturall, pure, and the moft vfuall of all his countray: and for the fame purpofe, rather that which is fspoken in the kings Court or in the good townes and Cities within the land, then in the marches and frontiers, or in port townes where ftraungers haunt for traffike fake, or yet in Vniuerfities where Schollers vfe much peeuiſh affectation of words out of the primitive languages: or finally, in any vplandifh village or corner of a Realme. . . . But he fhall follow generally the better brought vp fort, fuch as the Greekes call *charientes*, men ciuill and graciously behauoured and bred. Our maker therefore at theſe dayes fhall not follow *Piers plowman* nor *Gower*, nor *Lydgate*, nor yet *Chaucer*, for their language is now out of vfe with vs: neither fhall he take the termes of Northerne-men, fuche as they vfe in dayly talke, whether they be noble men or gentlemen, or of their beft clarkes, all is a matter. . . . Ye fhall therefore take the vfuall fpeech of the Court, and that of London, and the ſhires lying about London within lx. myles, and not much about. I fay not this but that in euery ſhyre of England there be gentlemen and others that fpeake, but fpecially write, as good Southerne as we of Middleſex or Surrey do, but not the common people of euery ſhire, to whom the gentlemen and alfo their learned clarkes do for the moft part condeſcend: but herein we are already ruled by th' English Dictionaries, and other bookes written by learned men. . . . Albeit peradventure ſome ſmall admonition be not impertinent; for we finde in our English writers many wordes and ſpeeches amenable, and ye fhall fee in ſome many inkhorne termes fo ill affected brought in by men of learning, as preachers and ſchoolemaſters, and many ftraunge termes of other languages by Secretaries and Marchaunts and trauailours, and many darke wordes and not vfuall nor well founding, though they be dayly fspoken in Court."—*Ibid.* ch. [iv.] fol. 120, 121.

¹ King Henry's Jeſter. In another place he gives us one of Sommer's jeſts: "Willyam Somer feying muche a doe for accomptes makyng, and that the Kynges Maieſtie of moſte worthie memorie Henrie the eight wanted money, fuche as was due vnto hym; and pleaſe your grace (q. he) you haue ſo many Frauditours, ſo many Conueighers, and ſo many Deceiuers, to get vp your money, that they get all to themſelues." That is, Auditors, Surveyors, and Receivers. [Ed. 1584, fol. 204.] I have ſeen an old narrative of a progreſs of King Henry the Eighth and Queen Katharine, to Newbery in Berkſhire, where Sommer, who had accompanied their maieſties as court buffoon, fell into diſgrace with the people for his impertinence, was detained, and obliged to ſubmit to many ridiculous indignities: but extricated himſelf from all his difficulties by comic expedients and the readineſs of his wit. On returning to court, he gave their maieſties, who were inſoluble for his long abſence, a minute account of theſe low adventures, with which they were infinitely entertained. [The jeſts of Sommers, or Summers, are nothing more than *alia leſiones* of Scogin's, collected by Dr. Andrew Borde, and purporting to repreſent adventures at the court, or in the reign, of Edward IV.]

benefice."¹ This point he illustrates with other familiar and pleasant instances.²

In enforcing the application and explaining the nature of fables, for the purpose of amplification, he gives a general idea of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*: "The saying of Poetes, and all their fables, are not to be forgotten, for by them wee maie talke at large, and win men by perswasion, if we declare before hand, that these tales were not fained of suche wisemen without cause, neither yet continued vntill this time and kept in memorie without good consideration, and thervpon declare the true meaning of all swche writing. For vndoubtedly there is no one tale among all the Poetes, but vnder the same is comprehēded some thing that parteineth either to the amendement of maners, to the knowledge of the truth, to the setting forth of Natures work, or els the vnderstanding of some notable thing done. For what other is the painful trauaile of *Vleses*, described so largely by *Homer*, but a liuely picture of mans miserie in this life? And as *Plutarch* saith, and like wise *Basilius Magnus*: in the *Iliades* are described strength and valiantnesse of the bodie: in *Odisea*, is set forth a liuely paterne of the mynde. The Poetes were wisemen, and wished in hart the redresse of thinges, the whiche when for feare they durst not openly rebuke, they did in colours paint them out, and tolde men by shadowes what they should doe in good sooth: or els because the wicked were vnworthie to heare the truthe, they spake so that none might vnderstande but those vnto whom they please[d] to vtter their meanyng, and knewe them to be men of honest conuersation."³

Wilson thus recommends the force of circumstantial description, or what he calls, "An euident or plaine setting forth of a thing as though it were presently done: An example: If our enemies shal inuade and by treason win the victorie, we shall all dye euery mothers sonne of vs, and our Citie shalbe destroyed sticke and stone. I see our children made slaues, our daughters rauished, our wiues caried awaye, the father forced to kil his owne sonne, the mother her daughter, the sonne his father, the sucking child slaine in the mothers bosome, one stāding to the knees in anothers blood, Churches spoyled, houses plucked doune, and all set on fire rounde about vs, euery one cursing the daie of their birth, children crying, women wayling, . . . Thus, where I might haue said, 'We shall al bee destroyed,' and saie no more, I haue by description set the euill forthe at large."⁴ It must be owned that this picture of a sacked city is literally translated from Quintilian. But it is a proof

¹ Viz. "Pondering, expending, and reuoluting with myself, your ingent affability, and ingenious capacity for mundaine affaires, I cānot but celebrate and extol your magnificall dexteritie aboue all other. For how could you haue adepted suche illustrate prerogatiue, and domistickall superioritie, if the fecunditie of your ingenie had not been so fertile and wonderfull pregnant," &c. It is to the Lord Chancellor.—[Ed. 1584, fol. 165.]

² B. iii. fol. 82, b. edit. 1567.

³ Lib. iii. fol. [198-9, edit. 1584].

⁴ [*Ibid.* fol. 181.]

that we were now beginning to make the beauties of the ancients our own.

On the necessity of a due preservation of character he has the following precepts, which seem to be directed to the writers of Historical Plays: "In describyng of persons, there ought alwaies a comelineffe to be vsed, so that nothyng be spoken which maie bee thought is not in them. As if one shall describe Henry the sixth, he might call hym gentle, milde of nature, led by perswasion, and readie to forgiue, carelesse for wealth, suspectyng none, mercifull to all, fearefull in aduersitie, and without forecast to espie his misfortune. Againe, for Richarde the third, I might bring him in, cruell of hart, ambitious by nature, enuious of minde, a deepe dissembler, a close man for weightie matters, hardie to reuenge and fearfull to lose his high estate, trustie to none, liberall for a purpose, castyng still the worst, and hoppyng euer the best.¹ By this figure² also wee imagine a talke for some one to speake, and accordyng to his person wee frame the Oration. As if one should bryng in noble Henrie the eight of most famous memorie, to enuelgh againt Rebelles, thus he might order his Oration. 'What if Henry the eight were aliuie, and saw suche Rebellion in this Realme, would not he saie thus and thus? Yea, me thinkes I heare him speake euen now.' And so set forth suche wordes as we would haue him to saie."³ Shakespeare himself has not delineated the characters of these English monarchs with more truth. And the first writers of the *Mirroure for Magistrates*, who "imagine a talke for some one to speak, and according to his person frame the oration," appear to have availed themselves of these directions, if not to have caught the notion of their whole plan from this remarkable passage.

He next shows the advantages of personification in enlivening a composition. "Sometymes it is good to make God, the Countrey, or some one Towne, to speake and looke what we would saie in our owne persone, to frame the whole tale to them. Suche varietie doeth much good to auoyde tediousnesse. For he that speaketh all in one sorte, though he speake thynges neuer so wittelie, shall sone wearie his hearers. Figures therefore were inuented, to auoid fatietie, and cause delite: to refreshe with pleasure, and quicken with grace, the dulnesse of mans braine. Who will looke of a white wall an houre together where no workmanship is at all? Or who will eate still one kinde of meate and neuer desire chaunge?"⁴

Prolix narratives, whether jocose or serious, had not yet ceased to

¹ Richard the Third seems to have been an *universal* character for exemplifying a cruel disposition. Our author, meaning to furnish a chamber with persons famous for the greatest crimes, says in another place, "In the Bedstead I will set Richard the third king of England, or some notable murtherer."—Fol. [218, edit. *ut sup.* Shakespeare's Richard was partly the creation of his own genius, but was also to a certain extent moulded on the traditionary account of him, and on the older dramas on the subject.]

² Lively description.

³ Fol. 91, b.

⁴ [Fol. 182-3, *ut sup.*]

be the entertainment of polite companies; and rules for telling a tale with grace now found a place in a book of general rhetoric.¹ In treating of Pleasaunt sport made rehearsing of a whole matter, he says, "Thei that can liuely tell pleasaunt tales and mery deedes doen, and set them out awel with gesture as with voice, leauying nothing behinde that maie serue for beautifying of their matter, are most mete for this purpose, wherof assuredly ther are but fewe. And what soeuer he is, that can aptly tel his tale, and with countenance, voice and gesture so temper his report, that the hearers maie still take delite, hym compte I mann worthie to be heihgly esteemed. For

¹ Yet he has here also a reference to the utility of tales both at the bar and in the pulpit. For in another place, professedly both speaking of pleadings and sermons, he says, "And if time maie so serue, it were good when men be wearied, to make them somewhat mery, and to begin with some pleasaunt tale, to take occasion to ieste wittely," &c. [p. 106]. Again, "Men commonly tarie the ende of a merie Plaie, and can not abide the halt hearyng of a sower checkyng Sermon. Therefore euen these auncient Preachers must nowe and then plaie the foolies in the pulpit to serue y^e tickle eares of their scting audience." [p. 3.] I know not if he means Latimer here, whom he commends, "There is no better Preacher among them all except *Hugh Latimer*, the Father of all Preachers." [p. 127.] And again, "I would thinke it not amisse to speake much according to the nature and phanfie of the ignorant, that the rather thei might be wonne through Fables to learne more weightie and graue matters. For all men can not brooke sage causes and auncient collations: but will like earnest matters the rather, if somethyng be spoken there among agreeing to their natures. The multitude (as *Horace* doth saie,) is a beast, or rather a monster that hath many heddes, and therefore, like vnto the diuersitie of natvres, varietie of inuention must alwaies be vsed. Talke altogether of moste graue matters, or deeply search out the ground of thynges, or vse the quiddities of Dunce [*Duns Scotus*] to set forth Gods misteries you shall see: and the ignorant, I warrant you, either fall a sleepe, or els bid you farewell. The multitude must nedes be made merie: & the more foolishhe your talke is, the more wiffe will thei compt it to be. And yet it is no foolishnesse but rather wisdome to win men, by tellyng of Fables to heare of Gods goodnesse." [p. 200-1.] Much to the same purpose he says, "Euen in this our tyme, some offende much in tediousnesse, whose part it were to comfort all men with cheerfulnessse. Yea, the Preachers of God mind so much edifying of soules, that thei often forget we haue any bodies. And therfore, some doe not so muche good with tellyng the truthes, as they doe harme with dulling the hearers; being so farre gone in their matters, that oftentimes thei can not tel when to make an end." [p. 139.] Yet still he allows much praise to the preachers in general of his age. "Yea, what tell I now of such lessons, seyng God hath raised suche worthie Preachers in this our tyme, that their Godly and learned doynges maie bee a moste iust example for all other to followe." [p. 110.] By the way, although a zealous gospeller, in another place he obliquely censures the rapacity with which the reformation was conducted under Edward VI. "I had rather," said one, "make my child a cobbler than a preacher, a tankard-bearer than a scholer. For what shall my sonne seke for learnyng, when he shall neuer get thereby any livyng? Set my sonne to that whereby he maie get somewhat. Doe you not see, how euery one catcheth and pulleth from the church what thei can? I feare me, one daie they will plucke downe church and all. Call you this the Gospell, when men seke onlie for to prouide for their bellies, and care not a groate though their soules go to helle? A patrone of a benefice will haue a poore yngrame soule to beare the name of a parson for twentie marke or tenne pounce: and the patrone hymself will take vp, for his snapshare, as good as an hundred marke. Thus, God is robbed, learnyng decayed, England dishonoured, and honestie not regarded." Fol. 9, a. [Edit. 1567.]

vndoubtedly no man can doe any suche thyng, excepte thei haue a greate mother witt, and by experience confirme suche their comeliness, whervpon by nature thei were moste apt. Many a man readeth histories, heareth Fables, seeth worthie actes dooen, euen in this our age; but fewe can set them out accordyngly, and tell them liuely, as the matter self requireth to be tolde. The kindes of delityng in this sorte are diuers: whereof I will set forth the many, as hereafter thei shall followe." [He then proceeds to instance:] "Sporte moued by tellyng of old tales.—If there bee any olde tale or straunge historie, well and wittely applied to some man liuing, all menne loue to heare it of life. As if one wer called Arthur, some good fellowe that were well acquainted with kyng Arthures booke and the knightes of the rounde table, would want no matter to make good sport, for a nede would dub him knight of the round Table, or els proue hym to be one of his kin, or els (which were muche) proue hym to be *Arthur* himself. And so likewise of other names, merie panions¹ would make mad pastime. Oftentimes the deformitie of a mannes bodie giueth matter enough to bee right merie, or els a picture in shape like an other man will make some to laugh right hartely," &c.² This is no displeasing image of the arts and accomplishments which seasoned the mirth and enlivened the conversations of our forefathers. Their wit seems to have chiefly consisted in mimicry.³

He thus describes the literary and ornamental qualifications of a young nobleman which were then in fashion, and which he exemplifies in the characters of his lamented pupils,⁴ Henry Duke of Suffolk and Lord Charles Brandon, his brother.⁵ "I maie commende hym for his learnyng, for his skill in the French or in the Italian, for his knowlege in Cosmographie, for his skill in the Lawes, in the histories of al countries, and for his gift of endityng. Againe, I maie commende hym for playyng at weapons, for runnyng vpon a greate horse, for chargyng his staffe at the Tilt, for vawtyng, for playyng upon Instrumentes, yea, and for paintyng, or drawyng of a Plat, as in olde Tyme noble Princes muche delited therein."⁶ And again, "Suche a man is an excellent fellow (saieth one) he can speake the tongues well, he plaies of Instrumentes, fewe men better, he feigneth to the Lute marueilous sweetly,⁷ he

¹ Companions.

² [P. 147.]

³ See fol. 70, a.

⁴ ["All Englande," he says, "lament the death of Duke Henry and Duke Charles, two noble brethren of the house of Suffolk. Then may we well iudge that these two Gentlemen were wonderfully beloued when they both were so lamented." [P. 129.]—*Park.*]

⁵ He gives a curious reason why a young nobleman had better be born in London than any other place. "The Shire or Towne helpeth somewhat towards the encrease of honor. As it is muche better to bee borne in Paris then in Picardie, in London then in Lincolne. For that bothe the ayre is better, the people more ciuill, and the wealth muche greater, and the men for the most parte more wise" [P. 8.]

⁶ [P. 8.]

⁷ He mentions the lute again. "The tongue giueth a certaine grace to euery

endites excellētly; but for all this (the moreis the pitie) he hath his faultes, he will be dronke once a daie, he loues women well," &c.¹

The following passage [which opens the Section *Of Composition*] acquaints us, among other things, that many now studied, and with the highest applause to write elegantly in English as well as in Latin. "When we haue learned vsual and accustomable wordes to set forth our meanyng, wee ought to ioyn them together in apt order, that the Eare maie delite in hearyng the harmonie. I knowe some Englishemen, that in this poincte haue suche a gifte in the Englishe as fewe Latine hath the like, and therefore delite the wife and learned so muche with their pleasaunte composition, that many reioyce when thei maie heare suche, and thinke muche learnyng is got when thei maie talke with them."² But he adds the faults which were sometimes now to be found in English composi-

matter, and beautifieth the cause, in like maner as a sweete sounding Lute much setteth forth a meane deuised Ballad." [P. 221.]

¹ [P. 133.]

² [Edit. 1584, p. 169.] This work is enlivened with a variety of little illustrative stories, not ill told, of which the following is a specimen. "An Italian hauing a sute here in Englande to the Archbushop of Yorke that then was, and commyng to Yorke Toun at that tyme, when one of the Prebendaries there brake his bread, as thei terme it, and therevpon made a solemne long diner, the which perhaps began at eleuen and continued well nye [till] fower in the after noone, at the whiche diner this Bishoppe was: It so fortunēd that as thei were set, the Italian knockt at the Gate, vnto whom the Porter, perceiuyng his errande, answered that my lorde Bushop was at diner. The Italian departed, and returned betwixt xii. and one; the Porter answered thei were yet at diner. He come again at two of the clocke; the Porter told hym thei had not half dined. He came at three a clocke, vnto whom the Porter in a heate answered neuer a woorde, but churlishly did shut the gates vpon hym. Whervpon others told the Italian, that ther was no speaking with my lorde almoste al that daie, for the solāne diner sake. The gentleman Italian, wonderyng much at suche long sitting, and greatly greued because he could not then speake with the Bishoppes grace, departed straight towards London; and leauyng the dispatch of his matters with a deare freend of his, tooke his journey towards Italie. Three yeres after, it happened that an Englishman came to Rome, with whom this Italian by chaunce fallyng acquainted, asked hym if he knewe the Bishop of Yorke? The Englishman saied he knewe hym right well. I praie you tell me, (quoth the Italian) hath that Bishoppe yet dined? The Englishman, much meruaillyng at his question, could not tell what to saie. The Italian vp and told him all, as I haue saied before, whereat thei bothe laughed hartely." [P. 156-7.]

He commends Dr. Haddon's latinity, which is not always of the purest cast. "There is no better Latine man within England, except Gualter Haddon, the Lawyer." [P. 125.] Again, he commends a prosopopeia of the duchess of Suffolk, in Haddon's *Oratio de vita et obitu fratrum Suffolcienſium Henrici et Caroli Brandon*, [edit. Hatcher, 1577, p. 89, viz. *Lucubrationes G. Haddon*.] fol. 94, a.

He condemns, in an example, the growing practice of mothers, who do not suckle their own children, which he endeavours to prove to be both against the law of nature and the will of God [fol. 56, a, ed. 1567.] Here is an early proof of a custom, which may seem to have originated in a more luxurious and delicate age.

To these miscellaneous extracts I shall only add, that our author, who was always esteemed a sincere advocate for Protestantism, and never suspected of leaning to Popery, speaking of an artificial memory, has this theory concerning the use of images in churches. "When I see a Lion, the Image thereof abideth faster in my mynde, then if I should heare some reporte made of a Lion. Among all the

tion, among which he censures the excess of alliteration.—“Sōe will be so short, and in suche wise curtall their sentences, that thei had nede to make a cōmentary immediatly after [of] their meanyng, or els the moſte that heare them ſhalbe forced to keepe counsaile. Some will speake Oracles, that a manne can not tell which waie to take them. Some will bee so fine and so poetically withall that to their seemyng there shall not stande one haire amisse, and yet every bodie els shall thinke them meeter for a Ladies chamber, then for an earnest matter in any open assemblie.—Some use ouermuch repetition of some one letter, as ‘pitifull pouertie praieth for a penie, but puffed presumption passeth not a point, pampering his panche with pestilent pleasure, procuring his passeporte to poste it to hell pitt, there to be punished with paines perpetuall.’” Others, he blames for the affectation of ending a word with a vowel and beginning the next with another. “Some,” he says, “ende their sentences all alike, making their talke rather to appeare rimed Meter, then to seeme plaine speeche.—I heard a preacher delityng muche in this kinde of composition, who used so often to ende his sentence with wordes like vnto that which went before, that in my iudgment there was not a dosen sentences in his whole sermon but thei ended all in Rime for the moſte parte. Some not best disposed wished the Preacher a Lute, that with his rimed sermon he might use some pleasant melody, and so the people might take pleasure diuers waies, & dāce if thei liſte.” Some writers, he observes, disturbed the natural arrangement of their words; others were copious, when they should be concise. The most frequent fault seems to have been the rejection of common and proper phrases, for those that were more curious, refined and unintelligible.²

The English *Rhetoric* of Richard Sherry, school-master of Magdalen College at Oxford, published in 1555, is a jejune and a very different performance from Wilson’s, and seems intended only as a manual for school-boys.³

William Fullwood, in his *Enemie of Idlenes*⁴ [1568], written

ſences, the eye ſight is moſte quicke, and containeth the impreſſion of thinges more aſſuredlie then any of the other ſenſes doe. And the rather, when a man bothe heareth and ſeeth a thing (as by artificiall memorie he doeth almoſt ſee thinges liuely), he doth remember it muche the better. The ſight printeth thinges in a mans memorie as a Seale doeth print a mans name in waxe. And therefore, heretofore Images were ſet vp for remembraunce of Sainctes, to bee laic mens bookes, that the rather by ſeying the Pictures of ſuche men, they might be ſtirred to follow their good liuyng.—Marie, for this purpoſe whereof we now write they would haue ſerued gaily well.” [P. 221, edit. 1584.]

¹ Preaching and controverſial tracts occaſioned much writing in Engliſh after the reformation.

² [Edit. *ut ſupra*, p. 170.]

³ It is entitled *A Treatiſe of the Figures of Grammer and Rhetorike, profitable to al that be ſtudious of Eloquence, and in eſpeciall for ſuche as in grammer ſcholes doe reade moſte eloquente Poetes and Oratours: Whereunto is ioyned the oration which Cicero made to Ceſar, geuing thanks vnto him for pardonyng and reſtoring again of that noble mā Marcus Marcellus. Sette forth by Richarde Sherry Londonar.*

⁴ “This booke, by praſtiſe of the pen
And judgement of the wiſe,

partly in prose and partly in verse, has left this notice: "Whofo will more circumspectly and narrowly entreat of fuch matters, let them read the rhetorike of maifter doctour Wilfon, or of maifter Richard Rainolde." [This refers to a book called the *Foundation of Rhetorike*, because all other parts of Rhetorike are grounded thereupon, &c. By Richard Rainolde, Maifter of Arte of the Univerfitee of Cambridge. Lond. 1563. 4to.]¹ The author, Rainolde, was of Trinity College in Cambridge, and created Doctor of Medicine in 1567.² He wrote alfo a Latin tract dedicated to the Duke of Norfolk, on the condition of princes and noblemen:³ and there is an old Chronicle by one Richard Reynolds [but this was a different perfon.]⁴ I truſt it will be deemed a pardonable anticipation, if I add here for the fake of connection, that Richard Mulcaſter, who from King's College in Cambridge was removed to a Studentſhip of Chriſt-Church in Oxford about the year 1555, and ſoon afterwards, on account of his diſtinguiſhed accompliſhments in philology, was appointed the firſt maſter of Merchant-Taylor's School in London, publiſhed a book which contains many judicious criticiſms and obſervations on the Engliſh language.⁵

In 1561 [Merchant-Taylor's School had been recently] founded as a profeminary for St. John's College, Oxford, in a houſe called the Manour of the Roſe in St. Lawrence Pounteney, by the company of Merchant-Taylor's. St. John's College had been then eſtabliſhed about ſeven years, which Mulcaſter ſoon filled with excellent ſcholarſ till the year 1586. In the Latin plays acted before Queen Elizabeth and James the Firſt at Oxford, the ſtudents of this college were diſtinguiſhed. This was in conſequence of their being educated under

Stands Enemie to Idleneſſe,
And friend to exerciſe."—*Park*.

It is dedicated to the maſter, wardens, and company of Merchant Taylor's, London. "Think not Apelles painted piece." *Pr.* "The ancient poet Lucanus." The ſame perſon tranſlated into Engliſh, *The Caſtle of Memorie*, from [Gratarolus], dedicated to Lord Robert Dudley, maſter of the horſe to the queen, 1573. *Ded.* begins, "Syth noble Maximilian kyng."

[Robinſon [of Alton] thus introduces him in *The Rewards of wickedneſſe*, 1573:]

"Let Studley, Hake, or Fulwood take,
That William hath to name,
This piece of worke in hande, that bee
More fitter for the ſame."—*Park*.]

¹ This work is much leſs attractive than that of Dr. Wilſon, and hence perhaps it has become proportionably rare. The following compliment ſeems liberally offered to his predeceſſor: "In fewe yeres paſt, a learned woorke of Rhetorike is compiled and made in the Engliſhe tounge, of one who floweth in all excellencie of arte, who in judgement is profounde, in wiſedome and eloquence moſt famous." Addreſs to the reader.—*Park*.]

² MSS. Cat. Graduat. Univ. Cant.

³ MSS. Stillingfl. 160, *De ſtatu nobilium virorum et principum*.

⁴ *Of the Emperors of the romaines from Julius Cæſar to Maximilian*. [Printed in 1571, 4to. See Herb. p. 860. Doubtleſs by the writer on Rhetoric, ſince he designates himſelf "Doctor in phiſicke."—*Park*.]

⁵ Entitled, *The firſt part of the Elementarie, which entreateth cheſely of the right writing of our Engliſh tung*, ſet furth by Richard Mulcaſter, 1582.

Mulcaster. He was afterwards, in 1596, Master of St. Paul's School. He was a prebendary of Salisbury, and at length was rewarded by the queen with the opulent rectory of Stanford-Rivers in Essex, where he died in 1611. He was elected scholar of King's College, Cambridge, in 1548.¹ Celebrated in its time was his *Catechismus Paulinus in usum Scholæ Paulinæ conscriptus* [1599.] It is in long and short verse. Many of Mulcaster's panegyrics in Latin verse may be seen prefixed to the works of his contemporaries. A copy of his Latin verses was spoken before Queen Elizabeth at Kenilworth Castle in 1575.²

[But before the appearance of the *Elementarie* in 1582, Mulcaster printed a work to which the latter, indeed, was a sort of sequel, namely,] "Positions, wherein those primitive circumstances be examined which are necessarie for the training vp of children either for skill in their booke or health in their bodie." He tells his readers that the stream of discourse in his first book named *Positions* did carry him on to promise, and bind him to perform, his book named *Elementarie*; that is "the hole matter which childern ar to learn, and the hole maner how masters ar to teach them, from their first beginning to go to anie school untill theie passe to grammar." The latter therefore was a ramification from the former, and treated chiefly of five points—reading, writing, drawing, singing, and playing.

I take this opportunity of observing that William Bullokar published a *Bref Grammar for English*, 1586. This little piece is also called, *W. Bullokars abbreviation of his Grammar for English extracted out of his Grammar at larg for the speedi parcing of English spech, and the eazier coming to the knowledge of grammar for other langages*.³ It is in the black letter, but with many novelties in the type, and affectations of spelling. In the preface, which is in verse, and contains an account of his life, he promises a dictionary of the English language which, he adds, will make his third work. Here he says also, that he has another volume lying by him of more fame, which is not to see the light till christened and called forth by the queen. His first work I apprehend to be *A Treatise of Orthographie in Englishe by William Bullokar*, licensed to Henry Denham in 1580.⁴ But I must not forget, that in 1585 he published *Esops fables in tru orthography, with grammar notz. Her-unto ar also coioned the shorte sentences of the wyz Cato, imprinted with lyke form and order: both of which authorz ar translated out of Latin intoo English by William Bullokar*. Among Tanner's books is a copy of his *Bref grammar* above mentioned, interpolated and corrected with the author's own hand, as it appears, for a new impression. In one of these manuscript insertions, he calls this, "the first grammar for Englishe that euer waz, except my grammar at large."⁵ In his metrical preface he says, that he served in the army under Sir Richard Wingfield, in

¹ MSS. Hatcher and Contin. Heath.

² See Gascoigne's *Poems*, Roxburghe Library edit. vol. ii. p. 96.]

³ Fol. 1.

⁴ Jun. 10. *Registr. Station. B.* fol. 169, a.

⁵ Fol. 68.

Queen Mary's time. There is "A petee schole of spellinge and writinge Englishe," licensed to Butter, Jul. 20, 1580.

The French have vernacular critical and rhetorical systems at a much higher period. I believe one of their earliest is *Le Jardin de Plaisance et fleur de Rhetorique* [printed by Verard late in 1499 or early in 1500.]¹ In one of its poems, *La Pipee ou chasse de dieu d'amour* is cited the year 1491.² Beside the system of Rhetoric, which is only introductory, and has the separate title of *L'Art de Rhetorique, de ses couleurs, figures et especes*,³ it comprehends a miscellaneous collection of Balades, rondeaux, chansons, dicties, comedies, and other entertaining little pieces,⁴ chiefly on the subject of the sentimental and ceremonious love which then prevailed.⁵ The *Rhetoric* is written in the short French rhyme: and the tenth chapter consists of rules for composing moralities, farces, mysteries, and other Romans. That chapter is thus introduced, under the Latin rubric *Prosecutio*:

Expediez sont neuf chapitres,
Il faut un dixième exposer:
Et comme aussi des derniers titers,
Qu'on doit a se propos poser,
Et comme l'on doit composer
Moralités, Farces, Misteres;
Et d'autres Rommans disposer
Selon les diverses matieres.

The Latin rubrics to each species are exceedingly curious. *Decimum Capitulum pro forma compilandi Moralitates.—Pro Comedis.*⁶—*Pro Misteriis compilandis.* Receipts to make poems have generally been thought dull. But what shall we think of dull receipts for making dull poems? Gratian du Pont, a gentleman of Toulouse, printed in 1539 the *Art et Science de Rhetorique metrisée*.⁷ It must be remembered that there had been an early establishment of prizes in poetry at Toulouse, and that the seven troubadours or rhetoricians at Toulouse were more famous in their time than the seven sages of Greece.⁸

But the *Grand et vrai Art de plein Rhetorique*, in two books, written by Pierre Fabri, properly Le Fevre, an ecclesiastic of Rouen,

[Brunet (*Manuel du Libraire*, 1862, vol. iii. p. 506) specifies eight editions, of which that mentioned in the text was the first.]

¹ Stance 22, fol. 134.—[Edit. de Lyon.]

² From fol. 2 a, to fol. 14 a.—[*Ibid.*]

³ But the compiler has introduced "Le Donnet, traité de grammaire baillé au feu roi Charles viii." fol. 20 a.—[*Ibid.*] One of the pieces is a *Morisque*, in which the actors are Amoreuse grace, Enuieuse jalousie, Espoir de parvenir, Tout habandonne, Sot penser, fol. 32 b.—[*Ibid.*]

[⁴ This was the remains of one half of chivalry-love, romantic and platonic beyond belief: the other half was just the contrary, and equally indelicate from the same source. He refers for examples to Sect. xliii. pp. 410, 411.—*Ashby.*]

⁵ The farce, or comedy, must have,

"Chose qui soit mélodieuse,
Matiere qui soit comédieuse," &c.

[See the full title in Brunet, last edit. v. *Dupont.*]

⁶ See Verdier, ii. 649.

for teaching elegance in prose as well as rhyme, is dated still higher. Goujet mentions a Gothic edition of this tract in 1521.¹ It contains remarks on the versification of mysteries and farces, and throws many lights on the old French writers.

But the French had even an *Art of Poetry* so early as the year 1548. In that year Thomas Sibilet published his *Art poetique* at Paris [anonymously]. This piece preserves many valuable anecdotes of the old French poetry: and, among other particulars which develop the state of the old French drama, has the following sensible strictures: "The French farce contains little or nothing of the Latin comedy. It has neither acts nor scenes, which would only serve to introduce a tedious prolixity: for the true subject of the French farce, or *Sottie*, is every sort of foolery which has a tendency to provoke laughter. The subject of the Greek and Latin comedy was totally different from everything on the French stage. For it had more morality than drollery, and often as much truth as fiction. Our *Moralities* hold a place indifferently between tragedy and comedy: but our farces are really what the Romans called mimes or *Priapées*, the intended end and effect of which was excessive laughter, and on that account they admitted all kinds of licentiousness, as our farces do at present. In the meantime, their pleasantries does not derive much advantage from rhymes, however flowing, of eight syllables."² Sibilet's work is chiefly founded on Horace. His definitions are clear and just, and his precepts well explained. The most curious part of it is the enumeration of the poets who in his time were of most repute. Jacques Pelletier du Mans, a physician, a mathematician, a poet, and a voluminous writer on various subjects both in prose and verse, also published an *Art Poétique* at Lyons, in 1555.³ This critic had sufficient penetration to perceive the false and corrupt taste of his contemporaries. "Instead of the regular ode and sonnet, our language is sophisticated by *ballads, rondeaux, lays, and triolets*. But with these we must rest contented, till the farces which have so long infatuated our nation are converted into comedy, our martyr-plays into tragedy, and our romances into heroic poems."⁴ And again, "We have no pieces in our language written in the genuine comic form, except some affected and unnatural moralities, and other plays of the same character, which do not deserve the name of comedy. The drama would appear to advantage, did it but resume its proper state and ancient dignity. We have, however, some tragedies in French learnedly translated, among which is the *Hecuba* of Euripides by Lazare de Baif," &c.⁵ Of rhyme the same writer says, "S'il n'étoit question que de parler

¹ *Bibl. Fr.* 361. He mentions another edition in 1539.

² Liv. ii. ch. viii. At the end of Sibilet's work is a critical piece of Quintil against Ch. Fontaine, first printed separately at Paris, 1538. 16mo.

³ By Jean de Tournes. 8vo.

⁴ Ch. de l'Ode.

⁵ Ch. de la Comedie et de la Tragedie. See also, to the same purpose, Colletet *Sur la poesie morale*, and Guillaume des Autels, *Repos d'un plus grand travail*.

ornement, il ne faudroit finon écrire en prose, ou s'il n'etoit question que de rimer, il ne faudroit finon rimer en farceur : mais en poesie, il faut faire tous les deux, et bien dire, et bien rimer."¹ His chapters on *Imitation* and *Translation* have much more philosophy and reflection than are to be expected for his age, and contain observations which might edify modern critics.² Nor must I forget, that Pelletier also published a French translation of Horace's *Art of Poetry* at Paris in 154[1].³ Joachim du Bellay's *Defense et Illustration de la Langue Française* was published [in 1549]. He has the same just notion of the drama. "As to tragedies and comedies, if kings and states would restore them in their antient glory, which has been usurped by farces and *Moralities*, I am of opinion that you would lend your assistance; and if you wish to adorn our language, you know where to find models."⁴

The Italian vernacular criticism began chiefly in commentaries and discourses on the language and phraseology of Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio. I believe one of the first of that kind is, *Le tre fontane di messer Nicolò Liburnio sopra la grammatica e l'eloquenza di Dante, del Petrarcha, e del Boccaccio*, 1526.⁵ Numerous expositions, lectures, annotations, and discourses of the same sort, especially on Dante's *Inferno* and the Florentine dialect, appeared soon afterwards. Immediately after the publication of their respective poems, Ariosto (whose *Orlando Furioso* was styled the *nuova poesia*) and Tasso were illustrated or expounded by commentators more intricate than their text. One of the earliest of these is *Sposizione de Simon Fornari da Reggio sopra l'Orlando Furioso di Lodovico Ariosto*, 1549[-50, 8vo.] Perhaps the first criticism on what the Italians call the *Lingua Volgare* is by Pietro Bembo: *Prose di Pietro Bembo della volgar Lingua divise in tre libri*, 154[8].⁶ But the first edition seems to have been in 1525. This subject was discussed in an endless succession of *Regole grammaticali*, *Osservazioni*, *Avvertimenti* and *Ragionamenti*. Here might also be mentioned the annotations, although they are altogether explanatory, which often accompanied the early translations of the Greek and Latin classics into Italian. But I resign this labyrinth of research to the superior opportunities and abilities of the French and Italian antiquaries in their native literature. To have said nothing on the subject might have been thought an omission, and to have said more, impertinent. I therefore return to our own poetical annals.

Our three great poets, Chaucer, Gower and Lydgate, seem to have maintained their rank, and to have been in high reputation during the period of which we are now treating. Splendid impressions of large works were at this time great undertakings. Sumptuous edition[s] of Gower's *Confessio Amantis* [were] published by Berthelet in [1532 and] 1554. On the same ample plan, in 1555, Robert

¹ Liv. ii. ch. i. De la Rime.

² See Liv. i. ch. v. and vi.

³ [Chez Jean Granjean, petit en 8vo. See Brunet, last edit. iii. 331.]

⁴ Liv. ii. ch. iv.

⁵ In quarto. Again, 1534. 8vo.

⁶ [But see Brunet, last edit. i. 764.]

Braham printed with great accuracy and a diligent investigation of the ancient copies, the first correct edition of Lydgate's *Troy-book*.¹ I have before incidentally remarked that Nicholas Briggam, a polite scholar, a student at Oxford and at the Inns of Court, and a writer of poetry, in the year 1555 deposited the bones of Chaucer under a new tomb, erected at his own cost, and inscribed with a new epitaph, in the chapel of Bishop Blase in Westminster Abbey, which still remains.² Wilson, as we have just seen in a citation from his *Rhetoric*, records an anecdote, that the more accomplished and elegant courtiers were perpetually quoting Chaucer. Yet this must be restricted to the courtiers of Edward VI. And indeed there is a peculiar reason why Chaucer, exclusive of his real excellence, should have been the favourite of a court which laid the foundations of the reformation of religion. It was, that his poems abounded with satirical strokes against the corruptions of the church and the dissolute manners of the monks. And undoubtedly Chaucer long before, a lively and popular writer, greatly assisted the doctrines of his cotemporary Wickliffe, in opening the eyes of the people to the absurdities of popery, and exposing its impostures in a vein of humour and pleasantry. Fox the martyrologist, a weak and a credulous compiler, perhaps goes too far in affirming that Chaucer has undeniably proved the Pope to be the anti-Christ of the Apocalypse.³

Of the reign of Queen Mary we are accustomed to conceive everything that is calamitous and disgusting. But when we turn our eyes from its political evils to the objects which its literary history presents, a fair and flourishing scene appears. In this prospect, the mind feels a repose from contemplating the fates of those venerable prelates, who suffered the most excruciating death for the purity and inflexibility of their faith; and whose unburied bodies, dissipated in ashes, and undistinguished in the common mass, have acquired a more glorious monument than if they had been interred in magnificent shrines which might have been visited by pilgrims, loaded with superstitious gifts, and venerated with the pomp of mistaken devotion.

¹ Nothing can be more incorrect than the first edition in 1513.

² Undoubtedly Chaucer was originally buried in this place. Leland cites a Latin elegy, or *Nenia*, of thirty-four lines, which he says was composed by Stephanus Surigonus of Milan, at the request of William Caxton the printer: and which, Leland adds, was written on a white tablet by Surigonus, on a pillar near Chaucer's grave in the south aisle at Westminster. *Script. Brit.* Galfrid. Chaucerus. See Caxton's *Epilogue* to Chaucer's *Book of Fame*, in Caxton's *Chaucer*. Wood says, that Briggam "exercised his muse much in poetry, and took great delight in the works of Jeffrey Chaucer: for whose memory he had so great a respect, that he removed his bones into the south cross-ile or transept of S. Peter's church," &c. *Ath. Oxon.* i. 130. I do not apprehend there was any removal, in this case, from one part of the abbey to another. Chaucer's tomb has appropriated this aisle, or transept, to the sepulture or to the honorary monuments of our poets.

³ Tom. ii. p. 42, edit. 1684.

SECTION LVI.



THE first poem which presents itself at the commencement of the reign of Queen Elizabeth is the play of *Gorboduc*, written by Thomas Sackville Lord Buckhurst, the original contriver of the *Mirror for Magistrates*.¹ Thomas Norton, already mentioned as an associate with Sternhold and Hopkins in the metrical version of David's Psalms, is said to have been his coadjutor.²

It is no part of my plan accurately to mark the progress of our drama, much less to examine the merit of particular plays. But as this piece is perhaps the first specimen in our language of an heroic tale, written in blank verse, divided into acts and scenes, and clothed in all the formalities of a regular tragedy, it seems justly to deserve a more minute and a distinct discussion in this general view of our poetry.

It was first exhibited in the great Hall of the Inner Temple by the students of that society, as part of the entertainment of a grand Christmas,³ and afterwards before Queen Elizabeth at Whitehall, [January 18, 1561-2.] It was never intended for the press. But being surreptitiously and very carelessly printed in 1565, an exact edition, with the consent and under the inspection of the authors, appeared [about 1570,] in black letter, [from the press of John

¹ It is scarcely worth observing, that one Thomas Brice, at the accession of Elizabeth, [wrote, among other works (see *Handb. of E. E. Lit.* in voce), *A Compendious Register in metre, containing the names and patient Suffryngs of the membres of Jesus Christ and the tormented; and cruelly burned within England, since the death of our famous Kynge. . . . Edward the first, &c.*, 1559, 8vo. [Again, 1599, 8vo.]

[Brice, at the end of his *Metrical Register*, has a poem of the ballad kind, which he calls *The Wishes of the Wife*. It begins:

“When shal this time of travail cease,
Which we with wo sustayne?
When shal the daies of rest and peace
Returne to us againe?”

Before his *Register* he expresses an earnest wish and desire, that “the authour and endightyng were halfe so worthye as the matter, that it myght bee conveyed and delyvered to the Quenes Majesties owne handes.”—*Park.*]

² See Preface to *Gorboduc*, edit. [Day.] Strype says, that Thomas Norton was a . . . Puritan, a man of parts and learning, well known to secretary Cecil and Archbishop Parker, and that he was suspected, but without foundation, of writing an answer to Whitgift's book against the Puritans, published in 1572.—*Life of Parker*, p. 364; *Life of Whitgift*, p. 28. I forgot to mention before, that Norton has a copy of commendatory verses prefixed to Turner's *Preservative*, a tract against the Pelagians, dedicated to Hugh Latimer. 1551. 12mo.

[³ See a description of the magnificent celebration of that festival in Dugdale's *Origines Juridicales*, p. 150.—*Park.*]

Day.]¹ In the edition of 1565 it is called the *Tragedie of Gorboduc*. I have a most incorrect black-lettered copy in duodecimo without title, but with the printer's monogram in the last page—I suspect of 1569—which once belonged to Pope,² and from which the late Mr. Spence most faithfully printed a modern edition of the tragedy, in the year 1736. I believe it was printed before that of 1571, for it retains all the errors of Griffith's first or spurious edition of 1565. In the Preface prefixed to the edition of [1570,] is the following passage: "Where [whereas] this tragedy was for furniture of part of the grand Christmasse in the Inner-temple, first written about nine years ago by the right honourable Thomas now lord Buckhurst, and by T. Norton; and afterwards showed before her maiestie, and neuer intended by the authors thereof to be published: Yet one W[illiam] G[riffith] getting a copie thereof at some young mans hand, that lacked a little money and much discretion in the last great plague *anno* 1565, about five yeares past, while the said lord was out of England, and T. Norton far out of London, and neither of them both made priuy, put it forth exceedingly corrupted," &c.

These are the circumstances of the fable of this tragedy: Gorboduc, a king of Britain about six hundred years before Christ, made in his life-time a division of his kingdom to his sons Ferrex and Porrex. The two young princes within five years quarrelled for universal sovereignty. A civil war ensued, and Porrex slew his elder brother Ferrex. Their mother Viden, who loved Ferrex best, revenged his death by entering Porrex's chamber in the night, and murdering him in his sleep. The people, exasperated at the cruelty and treachery of this murder, rose in rebellion, and killed both Viden and Gorboduc. The nobility then assembled, collected an army, and destroyed the rebels. An intestine war commenced between the chief lords: the succession to the crown became uncertain and arbitrary, for want of the lineal royal issue: and the country, destitute of a king, and wasted by domestic slaughter, was reduced to a state of the most miserable desolation.

In the dramatic conduct of this tale, the unities of time and place are eminently and visibly violated: a defect which Shakespeare so frequently commits, but which he covers by the magic of his poetry. The greater part of this long and eventful history is included in the representation. But in a story so fertile of bloodshed, no murder is committed on the stage. It is worthy of remark that the death of Porrex in the bed-chamber is only related. Perhaps the players had not yet learned to die, nor was the poniard so essential an article as

¹ The ed. of 1565 is reprinted by the Shakesp. Soc., 1847, 8vo.; that of (1570) in Sackville's Works, ed. West.]

² In the year 1717, my father, then a fellow of Magdalene College at Oxford, gave this copy to Mr. Pope, as appears by a letter of Pope to R. Digby, dat. Jun. 2, 1717. See Pope's *Letters*, vol. ix. p. 39, edit. 12mo. 1754: "Mr. Warton forced me to take *Gorboduc*," &c. Pope gave it to the late Bishop Warburton, who gave it to me about ten years ago, 1770.

at present among the implements of the property-room. Nor is it improbable that to kill a man on the stage was not now avoided as a spectacle shocking to humanity, but because it was difficult and inconvenient to be represented. The writer has followed the series of facts related in the chronicles without any material variation or fictitious embarrassments, and with the addition only of a few necessary and obvious characters.

There is a Chorus of Four Ancient and Sage Men of Britain, who regularly close every act, the last excepted, with an ode in long-lined stanzas, drawing back the attention of the audience to the substance of what has just passed, and illustrating it by recapitulatory moral reflections, and poetical or historical allusions. Of these the best is that which terminates the fourth Act, in which Prince Porrex is murdered by his mother Viden. These are the [opening lines :]¹

Whan greedy lust in royall seat to reigne,
Hath reft all care of Goddes and eke of men,
And cruell hart, wrath, treason, and disdain
Within ambitious brest are lodged, then
Beholde how mischief wide her selfe displayes,
And with the brothers hand the brother slayes.
When blood thus shed doth stain the heauens face,
Crying to Ioue for vengeance of the deede,
The mightie God euen moueth from his place,
With wrath to wreke: then sendes he forth with spede
The dreadfull furies, daughters of the night,
With Serpentes girt, carying the whip of ire,
With heare of stinging Snakes, and shining bright
With flames and blood, and with a brand of fire.
These for reuenge of wretched murder done
Do make the mother kill her onely sonne.

Blood asketh blood, and death must death requite:
Ioue by his iust and euerlasting doome
Justly hath euer so requited it, &c.²

In the imagery of these verses we discern no faint traces of the hand which drew the terrible guardians of hell-gate, in the *Induction* to the *Mirror for Magistrates*.

The moral beauties and the spirit of the following ode, which closes the third act, will, perhaps, be more pleasing to many readers:

The lust of kingdome³ knowes no sacred faith,
No rule of reason, no regarde of right,
No kindly loue, no feare of heauens wrath:
But with contempt of Goddes, and mans despise,
Through blodie slaughter doth prepare the waies
To fatall scepter and accursed reigne.
The sonne so lothes the fathers lingering daies,
Ne dreads his hand in brothers blode to stain.

¹ [The extracts of Warton from *Gorboduc* have been collated with Day's undated octavo edition. In the modern edition of the *Works*, 1859, it occurs with a modernized orthography.]

² Act iv. sc. ult.

³ "kingdoms," edit. 1565.

O wretched prince, ne doest thou yet recorde
The yet fresh murthers done within the lande
Of thy forefathers, when the cruell sworde
Bereft Morgan his life with cosyns hand ?

Thus fatall plagues pursue the giltie race,
Whose murderous hand imbrued with giltlesse blood,
Askes vengeance still before the heauens face,
With endlesse mischiefes on the cursed broode.

The wicked childe thus bringes to wofull fire
The mournfull plaintes, to waite his wery¹ life :
Thus do the cruell flames of ciuill fier
Destroy the parted reigne with hatefull strife.
And hence doth spring the well from which doth flow
The dead black streames of mourning, plaints & woe.²

Every act is introduced, as was the custom in our old plays, with a piece of machinery called the Dumb Show, shadowing by an allegorical exhibition the matter that was immediately to follow. In the construction of this spectacle and its personifications much poetry and imagination was often displayed. It is some apology for these prefigurations, that they were commonly too mysterious and obscure to forestall the future events with any degree of clearness and precision. Not that this mute mimicry was always typical of the ensuing incidents. It sometimes served for a compendious introduction of such circumstances as could not commodiously be comprehended within the bounds of the representation. It sometimes supplied deficiencies, and covered the want of business. Our ancestors were easily satisfied with this artificial supplement of one of the most important unities, which abundantly filled up the interval that was necessary to pass while a hero was expected from the Holy Land, or a princess was imported, married, and brought to bed. In the meantime the greater part of the audience were probably more pleased with the emblematical pageantry than the poetical dialogue, although both were alike unintelligible.

I will give a specimen in the "Dumb Shewe" preceding the fourth act: "First, the musick of howboies begā to plaie, duringe which there came from vnder the stage, as though out of hell, three furies, Alecto, Megera, and Ctesiphone,³ clad in black garmentes sprinkled with bloud and flames, their bodies girt with snakes, their heds spred with serpentes in steed of heare, the one bearing in her hand a Snake, the other a whip, and the thirde a burning Firebrand: ech driving before them a king and a queene, which moued by furies vnnaturally had slaine their owne children. The names of the kings and queenes were these: Tantalus, Medea, Athamas, Ino, Cambises, Althea. After that the furies and these had passed about the stage thrise, they departed, and than the musick ceased: hereby was signified the vnnaturall murders to follow, that is to saie, Porrex slaine by his owne mother. And of king Gorboduc and queene Viden, killed by their owne subiectes." Here, by the way, the visionary procession of

¹ "Very," a worse reading, in edit. 1571.

² Act iii. sc. ult.

³ Tisiphone.

kings and queens, long since dead, evidently resembles our author Sackville's original model of the *Mirror for Magistrates*, and for the same reason reminds us of a similar train of royal spectres in the tent scene of Shakespeare's *King Richard the Third*.

I take this opportunity of expressing my surprise that this ostensible comment of the Dumb Shew should not regularly appear in the tragedies of Shakespeare. There are even proofs that he treated it with contempt and ridicule. Although some critics are of opinion that, because it is never described in form at the close or commencement of his acts, it was therefore never introduced. Shakespeare's aim was to collect an audience, and for this purpose all the common expedients were necessary. No dramatic writer of his age has more battles or ghosts. His representations abound with the usual appendages of mechanical terror, and he adopts all the superstitions of the theatre. This problem can only be resolved into the activity or the superiority of a mind, which either would not be entangled by the formality, or which saw through the futility, of this unnatural and extrinsic ornament. It was not by declamation or by pantomime that Shakespeare was to fix his eternal dominion over the hearts of mankind.

To return to Sackville. That this tragedy was never a favourite among our ancestors, and has long fallen into general oblivion, is to be attributed to the nakedness and uninteresting nature of the plot, the tedious length of the speeches, the want of a discrimination of character, and almost a total absence of pathetic or critical situations. It is true that a mother kills her own son. But this act of barbarous and unnatural impiety, to say nothing of its almost unexampled atrocity in the tender sex, proceeds only from a brutal principle of sudden and impetuous revenge. It is not the consequence of any deep machination, nor is it founded in a proper preparation of previous circumstances. She is never before introduced to our notice as a wicked or designing character. She murders her son Porrex, because in the commotions of a civil dissension, in self-defence, after repeated provocations, and the strongest proofs of the basest ingratitude and treachery, he had slain his rival brother, not without the deepest compunction and remorse for what he had done. A mother murdering a son is a fact which must be received with horror; but it required to be complicated with other motives, and prompted by a co-operation of other causes, to rouse our attention and work upon our passions. I do not mean that any other motive could have been found to palliate a murder of such a nature. Yet it was possible to heighten and to divide the distress, by rendering this bloody mother, under the notions of human frailty, an object of our compassion as well as of our abhorrence. But perhaps these artifices were not yet known or wanted. The general story of the play is great in its political consequences; and the leading incidents are important, but not sufficiently intricate to awaken our curiosity, and hold us in suspense. Nothing is perplexed and nothing unravelled. The opposition of interests is such as does not affect our

nicer feelings. In the plot of a play our pleasure arises in proportion as our expectation is excited.

Yet it must be granted, that the language of *Gorboduc*¹ has great purity and perspicuity; and that it is entirely free from that tumid phraseology which does not seem to have taken place till play-writing had become a trade, and our poets found it their interest to captivate the multitude by the false sublime, and by those exaggerated imageries and pedantic metaphors which are the chief blemishes of the scenes of Shakespeare, and which are at this day mistaken for his capital beauties by too many readers. Here also we perceive another and a strong reason why this play was never popular.²

Sir Philip Sydney, in his admirable [*Apology for Poetry*, 1595,] remarks, that this tragedy is full of "notable moralitie." But tragedies are not to instruct us by the intermixture of moral sentences, but by the force of example and the effect of the story. In the first act, the three counsellors are introduced debating about the division of the kingdom in long and elaborate speeches, which are replete with political advice and maxims of civil prudence. By this stately sort of declamation, whatever eloquence it may display, and whatever policy it may teach, is undramatic, unanimated, and unaffecting. Sentiment and argument will never supply the place of action upon the stage. Not to mention, that these grave harangues have some tincture of the formal modes of address and the ceremonious oratory which were then in fashion. But we must allow, that in the strain of dialogue in which they are professedly written, they have uncommon merit, even without drawing an apology in their favour from their antiquity; and that they contain much dignity, strength of reflection, and good sense, couched in clear expression and polished numbers. I shall first produce a specimen from the speech of Arothus, who is styled a Counsellor to the King, and who is made

¹ [Rymer termed *Gorboduc* "a fable better turn'd for tragedy than any on this side the Alps, in the time of Lord Buckhurst, and might have been a better direction to Shakespeare and Ben Jonson than any guide they have had the luck to follow."—*Short View of Tragedy*, p. 84. Mr. Pope also observed, that "the writers of the succeeding age might have improved by copying from this drama, a propriety in the sentiments and dignity in the sentences, and an unaffected perspicuity of style, which are essential to tragedy." Yet Dryden and Oldham both spoke contemptuously of this piece, and apparently without having perused it; since they supposed *Gorboduc* to have been a female, and the former calls it the tragedy of "Queen Gorboduc." See Scott's Edit. of his (Dryden's) Works, vol. ii. p. 118, and *Biog. Dram.* vol. ii. p. 238.—*Park.*]

² [If Shakespeare could not of himself find out what was natural and right in language and sentiment, *Gorboduc* might have taught him. But Mr. Warton supposes that what we now reckon a beauty and merit was a strong reason why *Gorboduc* never became popular. Was not this reason enough for Shakespeare, whose only endeavours were *populo ut placerent quas fecisset fabulas*, to take another course? Had Shakespeare ever stretched his views to fame and posterity he would at least have printed some of his plays. But it is not easy to conceive how a man can write for a future generation. It is not in his power to know what they will like; though he may be able to please his contemporaries, by giving them what they have been accustomed to approve.—*A/hby.*]

to defend a specious yet perhaps the least rational side of the question.

And in your life while you shall so beholde
 Their rule, their vertues, and their noble deedes,
 Such as their kinde behighteth to vs all;
 Great be the profites that shall growe therof:
 Your age in quiet shall the longer last,
 Your lasting age shalbe their longer stay,
 For cares of kynges, that rule as you haue ruled,
 For publike wealth and not for priuate ioye,
 Do waite mannes lyfe, and haften crooked age,
 With furrowed face and with enfeebled lymmes,
 To draw on creepynge death a swifter pace.
 They two yet yong shall beare the parted reigne
 With greater ease than one, nowe olde, alone
 Can welde the whole: for whom muche harder is
 With lessened strength the double weight to beare.
 Your eye, your counsell, and the graue regarde
 Of Father, yea of suche a fathers name,
 Nowe at beginning of their sondred reigne,
 When is the hazarde of their whole succeffe,
 Shall bridle so the¹ force of youthfull heates,
 And so restraints the rage of insolence
 Which most assailes the yong and noble mindes,
 And so shall guide and traine in tempered stay
 Their yet greene bending wittes with reuerent awe,
 As now inured with vertues at the first.
 Custome (O king) shall bring delightfulness:
 By vse of vertue vice shall growe in hate,
 But if you so dispose it, that the daye
 Which endes your life, shal first begin their reigne,
 Great is the perill. What will be the ende,
 When such beginning of such liberties,
 Voide of suche stayes as in your life do lye,
 Shall leaue them free to randon of their will,
 An open praie to traiterous flatterie,
 The greatest pestilence of noble youthe:
 Whiche perill shalbe past, if in your life
 Their tempered youthe with aged fathers awe
 Be brought in vnto of skilfull stayednes, &c.²

From an obsequious complaisance to the king, who is present, the topic is not agitated with that opposition of opinion and variety of arguments which it naturally suggests, and which would have enlivened the disputation and displayed diversity of character. But Eubulus, the king's secretary, declares his sentiments with some freedom, and seems to be the most animated of all our three political orators:

To parte your realme vnto my lordes your sonnes,
 I thinke not good for you, ne yet for them,
 But worste of all for this our native lande,
 Within one lande one single rule is best:
 Diuided reignes do make diuided hartes,
 But peace preserues the country and the prince.
 Suche is in man the greedy minde to reigne,

¹ [Day's edit. reads *their*, the copy which Warton used, rightly, *the*.]

² A& i. Sc. ii. [edit. *ut sup.* sign. B ii.]

So great is his desire to climbe alofte,
 In worldly stage the stateliest partes to beare,
 That faith and iustice and all kindly loue
 Do yelde vnto desire of soueraigntie.
 Where egall state doth raise an egall hope
 To winne the thing that either wold attaine.
 Your grace remembreth, how in passed yeres
 The mightie Brute, first prince of all this lande,
 Possessed the fame, and ruled it well in one :
 He, thinking that the compasse did suffice
 For his three sonnes three kingdomes eke to make,
 Cut it in three, as you would now in twaine.
 But how much Brittish blood hath since bene spilt,
 What princes slaine before their timely houre,
 To ioyne againe the sondred vnitie ?
 What waft of townes and people in the lande ?
 What treasons heaped on murders and on spoiles ?
 Whose iust reuenge euen yet is scarcely ceased,
 Ruthefull remembraunce is yet rawe in minde, &c.¹

The illustration from Brutus is here both apposite and poetical.

Spence, with a reference to the situation of the author Lord Buckhurst in the court of Queen Elizabeth, has observed in his preface to the modern edition of his tragedy, that "'tis no wonder, if the language of kings and statesmen should be less happily imitated by a poet than a privy counsellor."² This is an insinuation that Shakespeare, who has left many historical tragedies, was less able to conduct some parts of a royal story than the statesman Lord Buckhurst. But I will venture to pronounce, that whatever merit there is in this play, and particularly in the speeches we have just been examining, it is more owing to the poet than the privy counsellor. If a first minister was to write a tragedy, I believe the piece will be the better the less it has of the first minister. When a statesman turns poet, I should not wish him to fetch his ideas or his language from the cabinet. I know not why a king should be better qualified than a private man to make kings talk in blank verse.

The chaste elegance of the following description of a region abounding in every convenience will gratify the lover of classical purity:

Yea, and that halfe, which in abounding store
 Of things that serue to make a welthy realme,
 In stately cities and in frutefull soyle,³
 In temperate breathing of the milder heauen,
 In thinges of nedeful vse, which frendly sea
 Transportes by traffike from the forreine partes,
 In flowing wealth, in honour and in force, &c.⁴

¹ A&T i. sc. ii. [sign. B iv.]

² [If Norton wrote the first three acts of *Gorboduc*, as the title-page of 1565 sets forth, and the later edition does not contradict, then the excellence of the speech above cited from A&T i. cannot have arisen from its being penned by a privy-counsellor.—*Park*.]

³ [Though the country is represented as fruitful, yet *imposts* only are mentioned. This was precisely the case of England then. Stafford's *Compendious Examination*, &c., 1581.—*Abbey*.]

⁴ A&T ii. sc. i. [sign. C iii.]

The clofe of Marcella's narration of the murder of Porrex by the queen, which many poets of a more enlightened age would have exhibited to the fpectators, is perhaps the moft moving and pathetic fpeech in the play.¹ The reader will obferve that our author, yet to a good purpofe, has transferred the ceremonies of the tournament to the court of an old Britifh king :

O Queene of adamant, O marble breft ;
 If not the fauour of his comely face,
 If not his princely chere and countenaunce,
 His valiant aſtiue armes, his manly breft,
 If not his faire and feemely perfonage,
 His noble limmes in fuch proportion² caſte,
 As would haue wrapt³ a fillie womans thought,
 If this mought not haue moued thy bloody hart,
 And that moſt cruell hand the wretched weapon
 Euen to let fall, and kiſſe him in the face,
 With teares for ruthe to reauue ſuche one by death :
 Should nature yet conſent to ſlay her ſonne ?
 O mother, thou to murder thus thy childe !
 Euen Ioue with iuſtice muſt with lightening flames
 From heauen ſend downe ſome ſtrange reuenge on thee.
 Ah noble prince, how oft haue I behelde
 Thee mounted on thy fierce and traumpling ſtede,
 Shining in armour bright before the tilt,
 And with thy miſtreſſe ſleue tied on thy helme,
 And charge thy ſtaffe, to pleaſe thy ladies eye,
 That bowed the head peece of thy frendly foe ?
 How oft in armes on horſe to bend the mace ?⁴
 How oft in armes on foote to breake the ſworde ?
 Which neuer now theſe eyes may ſee againe !⁵

Marcella, the only lady in the play except the queen, is one of the maids of honour ; and a modern writer of tragedy would have made her in love with the young prince who is murdered.

The queen laments the loſs of her eldeſt and favourite ſon, whoſe defeat and death had juſt been announced, in the following ſoliloquy. The ideas are too general, although happily expreſſed : but there is ſome imagination in her wiſhing the old maſſy palace had long ago fallen, and cruſhed her to death :

Why ſhould I lyue, and lynger forth my time
 In longer lief, to double my diſtreſſe ?
 O me moſt wofull wight, whome no miſhap
 Long ere this daie could haue bereued hence !
 Mought not theſe handes, by fortune or by fate,
 Haue perſt this breſt, and life with iron reſt ?

¹ [This ſpeech had before been commended as very much in the manner of the ancients by Mr. Hawkins, who adds : " There are few narrations of Euripides, not excepting even that in the Alceſtes, which are ſuperior to it in tenderneſs and ſimplicity."—Preface to the *Orig. of the Eng. Drama*, 1773, p. x.—*Park*.]

² In the edition of 1565 this word is "preparation." I mention this, as a ſpecimen of the great incorrectneſs of that edition.

³ Wrapped, rapt, i. e. raviſhed. I once conjectured "warped." We have "wrapped in wo." Aſt iv. ſc. ii.

⁴ The ſhaft of the lance.

⁵ Aſt iv. ſc. ii. [ſign. F 4, edit. *ut ſupr.*]

Or in this pallaice here, where I so longe
 Haue spent my daies, could not that happie houre
 Ones, ones, haue hapt, in which these hugie frames
 With death by fall might haue oppressed me !
 Or should not this most hard and cruell soile,
 So oft where I haue preft my wretched steps,
 Somtyme had ruthe of myne accursed liefte,
 To rend in twaine, and swallowe me therin !
 So had my bones possessed nowe in peace
 Their happie graue within the closed grounde,
 And greedie wormes had gnawen this pyned hart
 Without my feelynge paine ! So should not nowe
 This lyvyng breft remayne the ruthefull tombe
 Wherein my hart, yelden to dethe, is graued, &c.¹

There is some animation in these imprecations of Prince Ferrex upon his own head, when he protests that he never conceived any malicious design, or intended any injury, against his brother Porrex :²

The wrekefull gods poure on my cursed head
 Eternall plagues and neuer dyinge woes !
 The hellish prince³ adidge my dampned ghofte
 To Tantaies⁴ thirfte, or proude Ixions wheele,
 Or cruel gripe,⁵ to gnaw my growing harte ;
 To duryng tormentes and vnquenched flames ;
 If euer I conceived so foule a thought,
 To wiſhe his ende of life, or yet of reigne.

It muſt be remembered that the ancient Britons were ſuppoſed to be immediately deſcended from the Trojan Brutus, and that conſequently they were acquainted with the Pagan hiſtory and mythology. Gorboduc has a long alluſion to the miſeries of the ſiege of Troy.⁶

In this ſtrain of correſt verſification and language, Porrex explains to his father Gorboduc the treachery of his brother Ferrex :

Whan thus I ſawe the knot of loue unknitte,
 All honeſt league and faithfull promiſe broke,
 The law of kinde and trouth thus rent in twaine,
 His hart on miſchiefe ſet, and in his breſt
 Blacke treaſon hid : then, then did I diſpeire
 That euer time could winne him frend to me ;
 Then ſaw I howe he ſmiled with ſlaying knife
 Wrapped vnder cloke, then ſawe I depe deceite
 Lurke in his face, and death prepared for me, &c.⁷

As the notions of ſubordination, of the royal authority, and the diuine inſtitution of kings, predominated in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, it is extraordinary that eight lines, inculcating in plain terms the doctrine of paſſive and unreſiſting obedience to the prince, which appeared in the fifth act of the firſt edition of this tragedy, ſhould have been expunged in the [undated] edition publiſhed [in or about 1571], under the immediate inſpection of the authors.⁸ It is well known that the Calviniſts carried their ideas of reformation and

¹ A& iv. ſc. i.

⁴ *Tantalus*, edit. 1565.

⁶ A& iii. ſc. i.

⁸ See ſignat. D. v. [Day's undated edit.]

² A& ii. ſc. i.

⁵ The vulture of Prometheus.

⁷ A& iv. ſc. ii. [ſign. F ii.]

³ Pluto.

refinement into government as well as religion : and it seems probable that these eight verses were suppressed by Thomas Norton, Sackville's supposed assistant in the play, who was not only an active and, I believe, a sensible Puritan, but a licencer of the publication of books under the commission of the Bishop of London.

[The reflections of Eubulus at the close of the drama on the miseries of civil war, are so patriotically interesting, that I am impelled to take the occasion of placing an extract from them in the [text] :

And thou, O Brittain! whilome in renowne,
Whilome in wealth and fame, shalt thus be torne,
Dismembred thus, and thus be rent in twaine,
Thus waisted and defaced, spoyled and destroyed,
These be the fruites your ciuil warres will bring.
Hereto it commes, when kinges will not consent
To grave aduise, but followe wilfull will.
This is the end, when in fonde princes hartes
Flattery preuailes, and sage rede hath no place.
These are the plagges, when murder is the meane
To make new heires vnto the royall crowne.
Thus wreke the Gods, when that the mothers wrath
Nought but the bloud of her owne childe may swage.
These mischiefes spring when rebells will arise,
To worke reuenge, and iudge their princes fact.
This, this ensues, when noble men do faile
In loyall trouth, and subiectes will be kinges.
And this doth growe, when loe vnto the prince,
Whom death or fodeine happe of life bereaues,
No certaine heire remaines ; such certaine heire
As not all onely is the rightfull heire,
But to the realme is so made knowne to be,
And trouth therby vested in subiectes hartes.¹]

As to Norton's assistance in this play, it is said on better authority than that of Anthony Wood, who supposes *Gorboduc* to have been in old English rhyme, that the three first acts were written by Thomas Norton, and the two last by Sackville.² But the force of internal evidence often prevails over the authority of assertion, a testimony which is diminished by time, and may be rendered suspicious from a variety of other circumstances. Throughout the whole piece there is an invariable uniformity of diction and versification. Sackville has two poems of considerable length in the *Mirror for Magistrates*, which fortunately furnish us with the means of comparison : and every scene of *Gorboduc* is visibly marked with his characteristical

¹ [Mr. Park's addition collated (edit. *ut supra*. sign. H. iii.)]

² [Could we suppose that Norton wrote the first three acts of *Gorboduc*, it would infinitely diminish Sackville's merit; because the design and example must be given to the former. Norton might write dully, as we find most poets do, on sacred subjects; and with more spirit when left to his own invention. Shakespeare himself wrote but dully in his historic poem of *Lucrece*. Yet it is difficult to conceive how Sackville and Norton, whose general poetic talents were so widely different, could write distinct parts of a play, the whole of which should appear of uniform merit: like the famous statue made by two sculptors in different countries, which so greatly excited the wonder of Pliny.—*Ashby*.]

manner, which consists in a perspicuity of style, and a command of numbers, superior to the tone of his times.¹ Thomas Norton's poetry is of a very different and a subordinate cast : and if we may judge from his share in our metrical psalmody, he seems to have been much more properly qualified to shine in the miserable mediocrity of Sternhold's stanza, and to write spiritual rhymes for the solace of his illuminated brethren, than to reach the bold and impassioned elevations of tragedy.

SECTION LVII.



THIS appearance of a regular tragedy, with the division of acts and scenes, and the accompaniment of the ancient chorus, represented both at the Middle Temple and at Whitehall, and written by the most accomplished nobleman of the court of Queen Elizabeth, seems to have directed the attention of our more learned poets to the study of the old classical drama, and in a short time to have produced vernacular versions of the *Jocasta* of Euripides, as it is called, and of the ten tragedies of Seneca. I do not find that it was speedily followed by any original compositions on the same legitimate model.

The [*Phenissæ*] of Euripides was translated by George Gascoigne and Francis Kinwelmerth, both students of Gray's-Inn, and acted in the refectory of that society, in the year 1566. Gascoigne translated the second, third,² and fifth acts, and Kinwelmerth the first and fourth.³ [It is in blank verse.] It was printed in Gascoigne's poems, of which more will be said hereafter, in 157[3], under the following title. *Jocasta: A Tragedie written in Greeke by Euripides, translated and digested into Acte, by George Gascoigne and Francis Kinwelmerthe of Graies Inne, and there by them presented, 1566.* The Epilogue was written in quatrains by Christopher Yelverton, then one of their brother students. So strongly were our audiences still attached to spectacle, that the authors did not venture to present their play without introducing a dumb shew at the beginning of every act. For this, however, they had the example and authority of *Gorboduc*. Some of the earliest specimens of Inigo Jones's Grecian architecture are marred by Gothic ornaments.

¹ The same may be said of Sackville's *Sonnet* prefixed to Hoby's English version of Castiglio's *Cortegiano*, first printed in [1561.]

² [The name of the translator is not mentioned in the first 4to (1573). But in the Guilford MS. it is subscribed by Gascoigne in his own handwriting, and his name occurs at the end of it in the edits. of 1575 and of 1587.]

³ [But the Guilford MS. seems to have been written in 1568. See Gascoigne's *Poems*, Roxburghe Library edit. Introd. p. vi.]

It must, however, be observed, that this is by no means a just or exact translation of the *Jocasta*, that is the *Phœnissæ*, of Euripides. It is partly a paraphrase, and partly an abridgment, of the Greek tragedy. There are many omissions, retrenchments, and transpositions. The chorus, the characters, and the substance of the story are entirely retained, and the tenor of the dialogue is often preserved through whole scenes. Some of the beautiful odes of the Greek chorus are neglected, and others substituted in their places, newly written by the translators. In the favourite address to Mars,¹ Gascoigne has totally deserted the rich imagery of Euripides, yet has found means to form an original ode, which is by no means destitute of pathos or imagination :²

O fierce and furious *Mars*, whose harmefull harte
Reioyceth most to shed the gilleffe blood,
Whose headie wil doth all the world subuert,
And doth enuie the pleafant mery moode
Of our estate, that erst in quiet ftoode :
Why doeft thou thus our harmefleffe towne annoye,
Which mightie *Bacchus* gouerned in ioye ?

Father of warre and death, that doft remoue
With wrathfull wrecke from wofull mothers breast
The trustie pledges of their tender loue,
So graunt the Gods, that for our finall rest
Dame Uenus pleafant lookes may please thee best :
Wherby, when thou shalt all amazed stand,
The sword may fall out of thy trembling hand :³

And thou maist proue some other way full well
The bloudie prowesse of thy mightie speare,
Wherwith thou raifest from the depth of hell
The wrathfull sprites of all the furies there
Who, when they wake, doe wander euerywhere,
And neuer rest to range about the coastes,
Tenriche that pit with spoile of damned ghoftes.

And when thou hast our fieldes forsaken thus,
Let cruell discorde beare thee companie,
Engirt with snakes and serpents venomous ;
Euen she that can with red virmilion dye
The gladfome greene that florisht pleafantly :
And make the greedie ground a drinking cup,
To sup the bloud of murdered bodyes vp.

Yet thou returne, O ioye and pleafant peace,
From whence thou didst againft our wil depart,

¹ See *Phœnissæ*. p. 140, edit. Barnes :

ὦ πολέμοχος Ἄρης,
τί πρὸς αἵματι
καὶ θανάτῳ κινήσει, &c.

² [Warton quoted from a copy of the edit. of 1587 of Gascoigne's *Works*, given to him by Warburton. But all the extracts have now been collated with the Roxburghe Library edit. 1869-70, in which the text has been formed from a collation of all the old editions.]

³ So Tibullus, where he cautions Mars not to gaze on his mistress. Lib. iv. ii. 3 :

..... "At tu, violente, caveto,
Ne tibi miranti turpiter arma cadant."

Ne let thy worthie minde from trauell cease,
 To chafe disdain out of the poynded harte,
 That raised warre to all our paynes and smarte
 Euen from the brest of *Oedipus* his sonne,
 Whose swelling pride hath all this iarre begonne, &c.¹

I am of opinion that our translators thought the many mythological and historical allusions in the Greek chorus too remote and unintelligible, perhaps too cumbersome, to be exhibited in English. In the ode to *Concord*, which finishes the fourth act, translated by Kilwelsmershe, there is great elegance of expression and versification. It is not in Euripides :

O blisful concord, bredde in sacred brest
 Of him that guides the restlesse rolling sky,
 That to the earth for mans assured rest
 From height of heauens vouchsafest downe to flie !
 In thee alone the mightie power doth lie,
 With swete accorde to kepe the frowning starres
 And every planet else from hurtfull warres.

In thee, in thee, such noble vertue bydes,
 As may commaund the mightiest Gods to bend,
 From thee alone such sugred frendship flydes
 As mortall wightes can scarcely comprehend :
 To greatest strife thou settst delightfull ende.
 O holy peace, by thee are onely founde
 The passing ioyes that every where abound.

Thou, onely thou, through thy celestiall might
 Didst first of al the heauenly pole deuide
 From th' olde confusd heape that *Chaos* hight :
 Thou maddest the Sunne, the Moone, and starres to glide
 With ordred course about this world so wyde :
 Thou hast ordainde *Dan Tytans* shining light
 By dawne of day to chafe the darke some night.

When tract of time returns the lustie *Ver*,²
 By thee alone the buddes and blossomes spring,
 The fieldes with floures be garnisht every where,
 The blooming trees abundant fruite do bring,
 The cherefull birds melodiously do sing.
 Thou dost appoint the crop of sommers seede
 For mans reliefe, to serue the winters neede.

Thou doest inspire the heartes of princely peeres
 By providence proceeding from aboue,
 In flowing youth to chooseth their worthie seeres ;³
 With whome they liue in league of lasting loue,
 Till fearefull death doth fitting life remoue :
 And loke how fast to death man payes his due,
 So fast againe dost thou his stocke renewe.

By thee the basest thing aduanced is :
 Thou every where dost graffe such golden peace,
 As filleth man with more than earthly blisse :
 The earth by thee doth yelde her swete increase,
 At becke of thee all bloudy discords cease.
 And mightiest Realmes in quiet do remaine,
 Whereas thy hand doth holde the royall reine.

¹ Act ii. sc. ult. [Gascoigne's *Poems*, edit. Roxb. Libr. vol. i. pp. 299-300.]

² Spring.

³ Mates.

But if thou fayle, then al things gone to wracke :
 The mother then doth dread hir naturall childe :
 Then every towne is subiect to the sacke,
 Then spotlesse maids, the virgins, be defilde,
 Then rigor rules, then reason is exile;
 And this, thou wofull *Thebes*, to our great paine
 With present spoile art likely to sustaine.

Methinke[s] I heare the wailfull weeping cries
 Of wretched dames in euerie coast resound :
 Me thinkes I see, how vp to heauenly skies
 From battred walls the thundring clappes rebound :
 Methinke[s] I heare, how all things go to ground :
 Methinke[s] I see how souldiers wounded lye
 With gasping breath, and yet they can not dye, &c.¹

The constant practice of ending every act with a long ode, sung by the chorus, seems to have been adopted from *Gorboduc*.²

But I will give a specimen of this performance as a translation from that affecting scene, in which Oedipus, blind and exiled from the city, is led on by his daughter Antigone, the rival in filial fidelity of Lear's Cordelia, to touch the dead and murdered bodies of his Queen Jocasta, and his sons Eteocles and Polynices. It appears to be the chief fault of the translators that they have weakened the force of the original, which consists in a pathetic brevity, by needless dilatations and the affectations of circumlocution. The whole dialogue in the original is carried on in single lines. Such, however, is the pregnant simplicity of the Greek language that it would have been impossible to have rendered line for line in English :³

Oed. Daughter, I must commend thy noble heart.
Ant. Father, I will not live in company,⁴
 And you alone wander in wilderness.
Oed. O yes, deare daughter, leave thou me alone
 Amid my plagues : be merrie, while thou maist.
Ant. And who shal guide these aged feete of yours,
 That banisht bene, in blinde necessitie ?
Oed. I will endure, as fatal lot me drives,
 Resting these crooked sorie sides of mine
 Where so the heauens shall lend me harborough.

¹ Act iv. sc. ult. [*ut supra*, vol. i., pp. 326-8.]

² It may be proper to observe here, that the tragedy of *Tancred and Gismund*, acted also before the queen at the Inner Temple, in 1568, has the chorus. The title of this play, not printed till 1591, shews the quick gradations of taste. It is said to be "Newlie reuied and polished according to the Decorum of these daies, by R[obert] W[ilmot]," who is mentioned with applause as a poet in Webb's *Discourse*, [1586], Signat. c 4. The play was the joint production of five students of the society. Each seems to have taken an act. At the end of the fourth is *Composuit Chr. Hatton*, or Sir Christopher Hatton, undoubtedly the same who was afterwards exalted by the queen to the office of Lord Keeper for his agility in dancing. [See Nicolas's *Life of Hatton*, 1847, p. 4.]

³ [The Reviewers pronounced Mr. Potter's attempt to preserve this single-line dialogue, "snip-snap," and insist upon it, that however agreeable it might appear on the Athenian stage, it cannot be borne with us. Yet Mr. Hayley not quite unsuccessfully has tried it in some of his rhyming dramas.—*Park*.]

⁴ I will not marry.

And, in exchange of rich and stately towers,
The woodes, the wildernesse, the darkefome dennes,
Shall be the bowre of mine vnhappy bones.

Ant. O father, now where is your glorie gone?

Oed. One happie day did raise me to renoune,
One haplesse day hath throwne mine honour doune.

Ant. Yet will I beare a part of your mishappes.

Oed. That fitteth not amid thy pleasant yeares.

Ant. Deare father, yes : let youth giue place to age.

Oed. Where is thy mother? Let me touch hir face :

That with these handes I may yet feele the harme
That these blinde eyes forbid me to beholde.

Ant. Here father, here hir corps, here put your hande.

Oed. O wife, O mother! O both wofull names,
O wofull mother and O wofull wyfe,
O woulde to God, alas, O woulde to God,
Thou nere had bene my mother nor my wyfe.
But where lye now the paled bodies two
Of myne vnluckie sonnes, oh, where be they?

Ant. Lo, here hey lye, one by an other deade.

Oed. Stretch out this hand, dere daughter, stretch this hand
Upon their faces.

Ant. Loe, father, here; now lo, you touche them both.

Oed. O bodies deare, O bodies dearly boughte
Unto your father, bought with high missehap.

Ant. O louely name of my deare *Pollinice*,
Why can I not of cruel *Creon* craue,
Ne with my death nowe purchase thee a graue?

Oed. Now comme *Apollo's* oracle to passe,
That I in *Athens* towne should end my dayes,
And since thou doest, O daughter myne, desire
In this exile to be my wofull mate,
Lend me thy hande, and let vs goe togither.

Ant. Loe, here all prest,¹ my deare beloued father,
A feeble guyde and eke a simple scowte,
To passe the perills of our doubtful waye.

Oed. Vnto the wretched be a wretche guyde.

Ant. In this alonly equall to my father.

Oed. And where shal I set forth my trembling feete?
O reach me yet some surer staffe,² to stay
My staggering pace amyd these wayes vnknownen.

Ant. Here, father, here, and here, set forth your feete.

Oed. Nowe can I blame none other for my harmes
But secret spite of fore-decreed fate.
Thou art the cause, that crooked, old, and blind,
I am exile farre from my countrey soyle, &c.³

That it may be seen in some measure how far these two poets, who deserve much praise for even an attempt to introduce the Grecian drama to the notice of our ancestors, have succeeded in translating this scene of the tenderest expostulation, I will place it before the reader in a plain literal version :

Oed. My daughter, I praise your filial piety. But yet—

Ant. But if I was to marry *Creon's* son, and you, my father, be left alone in banishment?

¹ Ready.

² "She giueth him a staffe and stayeth him hir selfe also."—Stage direction.

³ Act v. sc. ult. [*ut supr.* p. 344-5.]

Oed. Stay at home, and be happy. I will bear my own misfortunes patiently.

Ant. But who will attend you, thus blind and helpless, my father?

Oed. I shall fall down, and be found lying in some field on the ground, as it may chance to happen.¹

Ant. Where is now that Oedipus, and his famous riddle of the Sphinx?

Oed. He is lost! one day made me happy, and one day destroyed me!

Ant. Ought I not, therefore, to share your miseries?

Oed. It will be but a base banishment of a princess with her blind father!

Ant. To one that is haughty: not to one that is humble, and loves her father.

Oed. Lead me on then, and let me touch the dead body of your mother.

Ant. Lo, now your hand is upon her.²

Oed. O my mother! O my most wretched wife!

Ant. She lies a wretched corpse, covered with every woe.

Oed. But where are the dead bodies of my sons Eteocles and Polynices?

Ant. They lie just by you, stretched out close to one another.

Oed. Put my blind hand upon their miserable faces!

Ant. Lo, now, you touch your dead children with your hand.

Oed. O, dear, wretched carcases of a wretched father!

Ant. O, to me the most dear name of my brother Polynices!³

Oed. Now, my daughter, the oracle of Apollo proves true.

Ant. What? Can you tell any more evils than those which have happened?

Oed. That I should die an exile at Athens.

Ant. What city of Attica will take you in?

Oed. The sacred Colonus, the house of equestrian Neptune. Come, then, lend your assistance to this blind father, since you mean to be a companion of my flight.

Ant. Go then into miserable banishment! O my ancient father, stretch out your dear hand! I will accompany you, like a favourable wind to a ship!

Oed. Behold, I go! Daughter, be you my unfortunate guide!

Ant. Thus, am I, am I, the most unhappy of all the Theban virgins!

Oed. Where shall I fix my old feeble foot? Daughter, reach to me my staff.

Ant. Here, go here, after me. Place your foot here, my father, you that have the strength only of a dream.

Oed. O most unhappy banishment! Creon drives me in my old age from my country. Alas! alas! wretched, wretched things have I suffered, &c.⁴

So sudden were the changes or the refinements of our language, that in the second edition of this play [1575], it was thought necessary to affix marginal explanations of many words, not long before in common use, but now become obsolete and unintelligible. Among others, are *bebest* and *quell*.⁵ This, however, as our author says, was done at the request of a lady, ["who vnderstode not poetycall words or termes"].⁶

¹ It is impossible to represent the Greek, v. 1681:

Παῖδά, τὴν μου γυναῖκα, καὶ τὰ τέκνα.

² "The dear old woman," in the Greek.

³ Creon had refused Polynices the rites of sepulture. This was a great aggravation of the distress.

⁴ *Phoenix*. v. 1677. seq. pag. 170. edit. Barnes. [In Sir John Davis's Epigrams, which appeared about ten years later, a new-fangled youth who gives into every fashionable foolery of the time, is made to close the catalogue of his absurdities by giving praise to *Old George Gascoigne's Rimes*. Epig. 22.—*Park*.]

⁵ *Command, kill*. By the way, this is done throughout this edition of *Gascoigne's Poems*. So we have *Will, will not*, [not, for *ne not*,] &c.

⁶ [Poems, edit. 1869-70, i. 349.] Among others, words not of the obsolete kind are explained, such as *Monarchie, Diademe*, &c. Gascoigne is celebrated by Gabriel

Seneca's ten Tragedies were translated at different times and by different poets. These were all printed together, under this title, *Seneca, his tenne Tragedies, translated into Englysh. Mercurij Nutrices horæ.* 1581. The book is dedicated from Butley in Cheshire to Sir Thomas Henneage, treasurer of the queen's chamber. I shall speak of each man's translation distinctly.

The *Hyppolitus*, *Medea*, *Hercules Oeteus*, and *Agamemnon*, were translated by John Studley, educated at Westminster school, and afterwards a scholar of Trinity College in Cambridge. The *Hyppolitus*, which he calls the fourth and *most ruthfull tragedy*, the *Medea*,¹ in which are some alterations of the chorus, and the others, [were all printed separately in 8vo. or 4to., before they were collected into a volume by Newton. No copy of the *Hyppolitus*, however, is at present known, although it was licensed in 1566-7 and in 1579, and doubtless published in both cases.] The *Agamemnon* was separately published in 1566, and entitled, "The eyght Tragedie of Seneca entituled *Agamemnon*, translated out of Latin into English by John Studley student in Trinitie college in Cambridge."² Recommendatory verses are prefixed, in praise of our translator's performance. It is dedicated³ to secretary Cecil. To the end of the fifth act our translator has added a whole scene for the purpose of relating the death of Cassandra, the imprisonment of Electra, and the flight of Orestes. Yet these circumstances were all known and told before. The narrator is Euribates, who in the commencement of the third act had informed Clitemnestra of Agamemnon's return. These efforts, however imperfect or improper to improve the plot of a drama by a new conduct or contrivance, deserve particular notice at this infancy of our theatrical taste and knowledge. They shew that authors now began to think for themselves, and that they were not always implicitly enslaved to the prescribed letter of their models.

Harvey, as one of the English poets who have written in praise of women. *Gratulat. Valdin.* 1578. Lib. iv. p. 22.

"Chaucerusque adsit, Surreius et inclytus adsit,
Gascoignoque aliquis sit, mea Corda, locus."

¹ [The following lines which close the fourth chorus in *Medea*, seem worthy of notice for their poetical expression :

"Nowe Phœbus, lodge thy Chariot in the west,
Let neyther Raynes nor Bridle stay thy Race :
Let groueling light with *Dulceat* nyght opprest,
In cloking Cloudes wrap vp his muffed Face ;
Let *Hesperus*, the lodesman of the nyghte,
In Western floodes drench deepe the day so brighte."—*Park.*]

² [In the Bodleian library, marked 8°. 4. 44. Art. Seld.—*Park.* The bibliography of this subject is given at large in the *Handb. of E. E. Lit.* 1867, v. *Seneca.*]

³ [In this dedication Studley says, he "was somtyme scholler in the Queenes maiesties Grammer schole at Westminster." Wood speaks of him as "a noted poet" in his day; and probably inferred this, from the metrical compliments of contemporaries prefixed to the early edition of his *Agamemnon*. Chetwood, whose authority is at all times very doubtful, tells us he was killed in Flanders in 1587. See *Brit. Bibl.* ii. 373.—*Park.*]

Studley, who appears to have been qualified for better studies, misapplied his time and talents in translating Bale's [*Pageant of Popes*.] That translation, dedicated to Thomas [Earl of Suffex], was printed in 1574. He has left twenty Latin distichs on the death of the learned Nicholas Carr, Cheke's successor in the Greek professorship at Cambridge.¹

The *Octavia* is translated by T[homas] N[uce], a fellow of Pembroke Hall in 1562, afterwards rector of Oxburgh in Norfolk, Beccles, Weston-Market, and vicar of Gayley in Suffolk,² and at length prebendary of Ely Cathedral in 1586.³ This version is for the most part executed in the heroic rhyming couplet. All the rest of the translators have used, except in the chorus, the Alexandrine measure in which Sternhold and Hopkins rendered the Psalms, perhaps the most unsuitable species of English versification that could have been applied to this purpose. Nuce's *Octavia* was first printed in 4to. without date [1566]. He has two very long copies of verses, one in English and the other in Latin, prefixed to the first edition of Studley's *Agamemnon* in 1566, just mentioned.

Alexander Nevile translated, or rather paraphrased, the *Oedipus*, in the sixteenth year of his age, and in the year 1560; [but it was not printed till 1563.] It is dedicated to Doctor Wootton, a privy counsellor and his godfather. Notwithstanding the translator's youth, it is by far the most spirited and elegant version in the whole collection, and it is to be regretted that he did not undertake all the rest.⁴ He seems to have been persuaded by his friends, who were of the graver sort, that poetry was only one of the lighter accomplishments of a young man, and that it should soon give way to the more weighty pursuits of literature. The first act of his *Oedipus* begins with these lines, spoken by Oedipus:

The Night is gon, and dredfull day begins at length t'appeere,
And Phœbus, all bedimmed with Clowdes, himselfe aloft doth reere.
And glyding forth with deadly hue, a dolefull blase in Skies
Doth beare: Great terror & dismay to the beholders Eyes.
Now shall the houses voyde bee scene, with Plague deuoured quight,
And slaughter that the night hath made, shall day bring forth to light.
Doth any man in Princely throne reioyce? O brittle Joy,
How many ills? how fayre a Face? and yet how much annoy

¹ At the end of Bartholomew Doddington's *Epistle of Carr's Life and Death*, addressed to Sir Walter Mildmay, and subjoined to Carr's Latin Translation of seven Orations of Demosthenes, 1571. Doddington, a fellow of Trinity College, succeeded Carr in the Greek chair, 1560. See Camden's *Monum. Eccles. Coll. Westmon.* edit. 1600. Signat. K. 2.

² Where he died in 1617, and is buried with an epitaph in English rhyme. See Bentham's *Ely*, p. 251.

³ Feb. 21.

⁴ ["On this point I differ, with the greatest humility, from Warton."—*Collier*. Mr. Collier thinks Nevile "inferior to all his coadjutors," and he also points out that Warton having only perused his version in the reprint of 1581, saw it to great advantage, as since its original appearance in 1563 it underwent at the hands of author or editor important revision.]

In thee doth lurke, and hidden lies? What heapes of endles strife?
They iudge amisse, that deeme the Prince to haue the happy life.¹

Nevile was born in Kent in 1544,² and occurs taking a master's degree at Cambridge with Robert Earl of Essex, on the sixth day of July, 1581.³ He was one of the learned men whom Archbishop Parker retained in his family:⁴ and at the time of the Archbishop's death in 1575 was his secretary.⁵ He wrote a Latin narrative of the Norfolk insurrection under Kett, which is dedicated to Archbishop Parker, and was printed in 1575.⁶ To this he added a Latin account of Norwich printed the same year, called *Norwicus*, the plates of which were executed by Lyne and Hogenberg, Archbishop Parker's domestic engravers, in 1574.⁷ He published the Cambridge verses on the death of Sir Philip Sydney, which he dedicated to Lord Leicester, in 1587. He projected, but I suspect never completed, an English translation of Livy, in 1577.⁸ He died in 1614.⁹

The *Hercules Furens*, *Thyestes*, and *Troas*, were translated into English by Jasper Heywood,¹⁰ [who deserves the honour of having

¹ [Edit. 1581, p. 78.]

² Lambarde, *Peramb. Kent*, p. 72.

³ MS. Catal. Grad. Univ. Cant.

⁴ Strype's *Grindal*, p. 196.

⁵ Strype, *Life of Parker*, p. 497. He is styled Armiger. See also the dedication to his *Kettus* [1582].

⁶ Again, 1582, 8vo. And in English, 1615 and 1623. The disturbance was occasioned by an enclosure in 1549, and began at an annual play, or spectacle, at Wymondham, which lasted two days and two nights, according to ancient custom, p. 7, edit. 1582. He cites part of a ballad sung by the rebels, which had a most powerful effect in spreading the commotion, p. 88. Prefixed is a copy of Latin verses on the death of his patron Archbishop Parker. And a commendatory Latin copy by Thomas Drant, the first translator of Horace. See also Strype's *Parker*, p. 499. Nevile has another Latin work, *Apologia ad Wallie proceres*, 1576. He is mentioned in G. Gascoigne's [*Memories (Poems*, edit. 1869-70, i. 67).] His name, and the date 1565, are inscribed on the *Cartularium S. Gregorii Cantuarie*, among Bishop More's books, with two Latin lines, which I hope he did not intend for hexameters.

⁷ It is sometimes accompanied with an engraved map of the Saxon and British kings. See Holinsh. *Chron.* i. 139.

⁸ See [Collier's *Extracts from Reg. Stat. Co.* 1849, ii. 37.] [Nevile has five pages of verses in commendation of the author before Googe's *Eglogs*, &c. 1563.—*Park.*]

⁹ Octob. 4. Batteley's *Canterb.* App. 7. Where see his Epitaph. He is buried in a chapel in Canterbury Cathedral with his brother Thomas, dean of that church. The publication of Seneca's *Oedipus* in English by Studley, or rather Gascoigne's *Jocasta*, [possibly] produced a metrical tale of *Eteocles and Polynices*, in *The Forrest of Fancy*, 1579. See Signat. B. ij. [Mr. Warton's copy of *The Forrest of Fancy* came into the possession of my respected friend James Bindley, Esq., who favoured me with the perusal, and from its great difference in style to the received productions of Constable, I should hesitate to assign the work to him; nor does it much resemble the compositions of Chettle: such, at least, as I have inspected, viz. *Kind Harts Dreame* (1592), and *England's Mourning Garment*, on the death of Queen Elizabeth.—*Park.*]

¹⁰ [To Heywood, Nevile, and other contemporary translators, the following tribute was offered by T. B. in verses to the Reader before Studley's version of the *Agamemnon*, 1566:

“When Heywood did in perfect verse
And dofull tune set out,

been the first to present any of the tragedies of Seneca in an English dress. This translation of the *Troas* was published in 1559, 8vo., and again without date.] The *Hercules Furens* was printed in 1561, and dedicated to William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke. The *Thyestes*, said to be *faithfully englished by Jasper Heywood fellowe of Alsoule College in Oxforde*, was also first separately printed in 1560.¹ He

And by hys smooth and fyled style
Declared had aboute,
What tounge reproche the Troyans of
The hardy Greekes receyued,
When they of towne, of goods, & lyues,
Togyther were depryued &c.
May *Heywood* this alone get prayse,
And *Phaer* be cleane forgott,
Whose verse & style doth far surmount,
And gotten hath the lot?
Or may not *Googe* haue part with hym,
Whose trauallye and whose payne,
Whose verse also is full as good,
Or better of the twaine?
A *Neuyle* also one there is
In verse that gyues no place
To *Heiwood* (though he be full good)
In usyng of his grace.
Nor *Goldinge* can haue lesse renoume,
Whych *Ouid* dyd translate;
And by the thondryng of hys verse
Hath set in chayre of state;—
A great sorte more I reckon myght
With *Heiwood* to compare,
And this our Authour one of them
To compte I will not spare;
Whose paynes is egall with the rest
In thys he hath begon,
And lesser prayse deserueth not
Then *Heiwoods* worke hath done.
Gyue therfore *Studley* parte of prayse,
To recompence hys payne,
For egall labour euermore
Deferueth egall gayne.”—*Park*.]

¹ It is dedicated in verse to Sir John Mason. Then follows in verse also, “The translatour to the booke.” From the metrical Preface which next follows I have cited many stanzas. See *supr.* This is a Vision of the poet Seneca, containing 25 pages. In the course of this Preface, he laments a promising youth just dead, whom he means to compliment by saying, that he now “lyues with Ioue, another Gany-mede.” But he is happy that the father survives, who seems to be Sir John Mason. Among the old Roman poets he mentions Palingenius! After Seneca has delivered him the *Thyestes* to translate, he feels an unusual agitation, and implores Megæra to inspire him with tragic rage:

“O thou Megæra, then I sayde,
If might of thyne it bee
Wherwith thou Tantal drouoste from hell
That thus dysfurbeth mee,
Enspyre my pen!”
This sayde, I felte the furies force
Enflame me more and more:

has added a scene to the fourth act, a soliloquy by Thyestes, who bewails his own misfortunes, and implores vengeance on Atreus. In this scene, the speaker's application of all the torments of hell to Atreus's unparalleled guilt of feasting on the bowels of his children, furnishes a sort of nauseous bombast, which not only violates the laws of criticism, but provokes the abhorrence of our common sensibilities. A few of the first lines are tolerable :

O kyng of Dytis dungeon darke, and gryfly Ghosts of hell,
That in the deepe and dredfull Denne of blackest Tartare dwell,
Where leane and pale dyseases lye, where feare and famyne are,
Where discord stands with bleeding browes, where every kinde of care,
Where furies fight on beds of Steele, and heares of crawling snakes,
Where Gorgon grimme, where Harpyes are, & lothsome Lybbo lakes,
Where most prodigious¹ vgly things the hollowe hell doth hyde,
If yet a monster more mylhapt, &c.²

In the *Troas* he has taken greater liberties. At the end of the chorus after the first act, he has added about sixty verses of his own invention. In the beginning of the second act he has added a new scene, in which he introduces the spectre of Achilles raised from hell, and demanding the sacrifice of Polyxena. This scene, which is in the octave stanza, has much of the air of one of the legends in the *Mirror for Magistrates*. To the chorus of this act he has subjoined three stanzas. Instead of translating the chorus of the third act, which abounds with the hard names of the ancient geography, and which would both have puzzled the translator and tired the English reader, he has substituted a new ode. In his preface to the reader, from which he appears to be yet a fellow of All Souls' college, he modestly apologises for these licentious innovations, and hopes to be pardoned for his seeming arrogance, in attempting "to set forth in English this present piece of the flowre of all writers Seneca, among so many fine wittes and towardly youth, with which England this day flourisheth." Our translator, Jasper Heywood, has several poems extant in the *Paradise of Dainty Devises*, published in 157[6].

He was the son of John Heywood, commonly called the epigrammatist, and born in London. In 1547, at twelve years of age, he

And ten tymes more now chafte I was
Then euer yet before.
My heare stoode vp, I waxed woode,
My synewes all dyd shake:
And, as the furye had me vext,
My teethe began to ake.
And thus enflamde," &c.

He then enters on his translation. Nothing is here wanting but a better stanza. [Mr. Warton has omitted to notice that a fourth scene to the fifth act is added by the translator. It consists of a monologue or soliloquy assigned to Thyestes, who invokes all the infernal tribes of Tartarus to become his conjoined associates.—*Park.*]

¹ So Milton, on the same subject, and in the true sense of the word, *Par. L.* ii. 625.

"—All monstrous, all *prodigious* things."

² [Edit. 1581, fol. 39.]

was sent to Oxford, and in 1553 elected fellow of Merton College. But inheriting too large a share of his father's facetious and free disposition, he sometimes in the early part of life indulged his festive vein in extravagances and indiscretions, for which being threatened with expulsion he resigned his fellowship.¹ He exercised the office of Christmas-prince, or lord of misrule, to the college, and seems to have given offence by suffering the levities and jocularities of that character to mix with his life and general conversation.² In the year 1558, he was recommended by Cardinal Pole as a polite scholar, an able disputant, and a steady catholic, to Sir Thomas Pope, founder of Trinity College in the same University, to be put in nomination for a fellowship of that college, then just founded. But this scheme did not take place³. He was, however, appointed fellow of All Souls' College the same year. Dissatisfied with the change of the national religion, within four years he left England, and became a Catholic priest and a Jesuit at Rome, in 1562.⁴ Soon afterwards he was placed in the theological chair at Dilling in Switzerland, which he held for seventeen years. At length returning to England in the capacity of a popish missionary, he was imprisoned, but released by the interest of the Earl of Warwick. For the deliverance from so perilous a situation, he complimented the Earl in a copy of English

¹ In proof of this, I venture to print the two annexed epigrams by Harington, ed. 1625:—

OF OLD HAYWOODS SONNES.

Old *Haywoods* sons did wax so wild & youthfull,
It made their aged father sad and wrathfull,
A friend one day, the elder did admonish
With threats, as did his courage halfe astonish,
How that except he would begin to thrive,
His Sire of all his goods would him deprive.
For whom, quoth he? Eu'n for your yonger brother.
Nay then, said he, no feare, if it be none other.
My brother's worse then I, and till he mends,
I know, my father no such wrong intends;
Sith both are bad, to shew so partiall wrath,
To giue his yonger vnthrif that he hath.

YONG HAYWOODS ANSWERE TO MY LORD OF WARWICKE.

One neere of kinne to *Heywood* by his birth,
And no lesse neere in name, and most in mirth,
Was once for his Religion sake committed,
Whose case a Noble Peere so lately pittied:
He sent to know what things with him were scant,
And offered frankly to supply his want.
Thankes to that Lord, said he, that will me good,
For I want all things sauing hay and wood.

² Among Wood's papers, there is an oration *De Ligno et foeno*, spoken by Heywood's cotemporary and fellow collegian, David de la Hyde, in commendation of his execution of this office.

³ MS. Collectan. Fr. Wife: See *Life of Sir T. Pope*.

⁴ [Arthur Hall, before his *Homer* in 1581, speaks of the learned and painful translation of *part* of Seneca by M. Jasper Heywood, "a man then (*circa* 1562) better learned than fortunate, and since more fortunate than he hath well bestowed, as it is thought, the giftes God and nature hath liberally lent him."—*Park*.]

verses, two of which, containing a most miserable paronomasy on his own name, almost bad enough to have condemned the writer to another imprisonment, are recorded in Harington's Epigrams¹. At length he retired to Naples, where he died in 1597.² He is said to have been an accurate critic in the Hebrew language.³ His translation of the *Troas* is mentioned in a copy of verses by T. B.⁴ prefixed to the first edition, above mentioned, of Studley's *Agamemnon*. He was intimately connected abroad with the biographer Pitts, who has given him rather too partial a panegyric.

Thomas Newton, the publisher of all the ten tragedies of Seneca in English in one volume, as I have already remarked, in 1581,⁵ himself added only one to these versions of Studley, Nevile, Nuce, and Jasper Heywood. This is the *Thebais*, probably not written by Seneca, as it so essentially differs in the catastrophe from his *Oedipus*. Nor is it likely the same poet should have composed two tragedies on the same subject, even with a variation of incidents. It is without the chorus and a fifth act. Newton appears to have made his translation in 1581, and perhaps with a view only of completing the collection. He is more prosaic than most of his fellow-labourers, and seems to have paid the chief attention to perspicuity and fidelity. In the general *Epistle Dedicatory* to Sir Thomas Henneage, prefixed to the volume, he says: "I durst not haue geuen the aduētūre to approach your presence, vpon trust of any singularity, that in this Booke hath vnkilfully dropped out of myne owne penne, but that I hoped the perfection of others artificiall workmāship that haue trauallyed herein, aswell as my selfe, should somewhat couer my nakednesse, and purchase my pardon.—Theirs I know to be deliuered with singuler dexterity: myne, I confesse to be an vnslidge [unfledged] nestling, vnhabable to flye; an vnnatural abortion, and an vnperfect Embryon: neyther throughlye laboured at Aristophanes and Cleantes candle, neither yet exactly weighed in Critolaus his precise ballaūce. Yet this dare I saye, I haue deliuered myne Authors meaning with as much perspicuity as so meane a Scholler, out of so meane a stoare, in so smal a time, and vpon so short a warning, was well able to performe," &c.

Of Thomas Newton, a slender contributor to this volume, yet, perhaps, the chief instrument of bringing about a general translation of Seneca, and otherwise deserving well of the literature of this

¹ *Ut supra*.

² *Ath. Oxon.* i. 290.

³ H. Morus, *Hist. Provinc. Angl. Soc. Jes.* lib. iv. num. 11, sub ann. 1585.

⁴ With these initials there is a piece prefixed to Gascoigne's poems, 157[5].

⁵ The English version seems to have produced an edition of the original in 1585.

I am informed by a manuscript note of Oldys, that Richard Robinson translated the *Thebais*. Of this I know no more, but R. Robinson was a large writer both in verse and prose. [See *Handb. of E. E. Lit.* in voce. Warton and his former editors were not aware that there were two writers of this name. See Chetham Soc. repr. of Robinson's *Golden Mirrour*, Introd. by Rev. T. Corser, and Collier's *Bibl. Cat.* 1865, vol. ii. p. 271.]

period, some notices seem necessary. The first letter of his English *Thebais* is a large capital D. Within it is a shield exhibiting a sable lion rampant, crossed in argent on the shoulder, and a half moon argent in the dexter corner, I suppose his armorial bearing. In a compartment, towards the head, and under the semicircle, of the letter, are his initials, T. N. He was descended from a respectable family in Cheshire, and was sent while very young, about thirteen years of age, to Trinity College in Oxford. Soon afterwards he went to Queen's College in Cambridge; but returned within a very few years to Oxford, where he was re-admitted into Trinity College. [In 1569, he prefixed Epistles to the Reader before Grafton's *Chronicle* and Bracon's *Treatise*, and in the same year published an Epitaph on Lady Knowles on a broad sheet.] He quickly became famous for the pure elegance of his Latin poetry. Of this he has left a specimen in his *Principum ac Illustrum aliquot Anglorum Encomia*, published in 1589.¹ He is, perhaps, the first Englishman that wrote Latin elegiacs with a classical clearness and terseness after Leland, [to] whose *Encomia* and *Trophæa* he [annexed some additional matter of his own] in this little work.² Most of the learned and ingenious men of that age appear to have courted the favours of this polite and popular encomiast. His chief patron was the unfortunate Robert Earl of Essex. I have often incidentally mentioned some of Newton's recommendatory verses, both in English and Latin, prefixed to cotemporary books, according to the mode of that age. One of his earliest philological publications is a *Notable Historie of the Saracens* (digested from ["Augustine Curio & Sundry other good Authours"]) in [to] three books, 1575.³ [In 1586, he published *The Old Mans Dietarie*, a translation from the Latin, apparently by an anonymous pen, and merely edited by Newton.] I unavoidably anticipate in remarking here, that [a person of the same name, supposed to be his son,] wrote a poem on the death of Queen Elizabeth, called *Atropoion Delion, or, the Death of Delia with the Tears of her funeral. A poetical excursive discourse of our late Eliza*. By T[homas] N[ewton] (*the Younger*) G[entleman]. 1603. The next year he published a flowery romance, *A pleasant new history, or a fragrant posse made of three flowers, Rosa, Rosalynd, and Rosemary*, London, 1604, [4to.] He seems to have been a partisan of the Puritans, from his pamphlet of *Christian Friendship, with an Invec-tive against dice-play and other profane games*, [a translation from Lambertus Danæus, Lond. 1586, 8vo.] For some time our author

¹ His master, John Brunswerd, at Macclesfield in Cheshire schoolmaster, was no bad Latin poet. See his *Progymnasmata* [*Quædam Poetica*], 1590, [collected and edited by Newton]. See Newton's *Encom.* p. 128, 131. Brunswerd died in 1589; and his epitaph, made by his scholar Newton, yet remains in the chancel of the church of Macclesfield:

"Alpha poetarum, coryphæus grammaticorum,
Flos *παιδαγωγῶν*, hac sepelitur humo."

² Reprinted by Hearne, 1715.

³ With a summary annexed on the same subject.

practised physic, and, in the character of that profession, wrote or translated many medical tracts. The first of these, on a curious subject, *A direction for the health of magistrates and students* from Gratarolus, appeared in 1574.¹ At length taking orders, he first taught school at Macclesfield in Cheshire, and afterwards at Little Ilford in Essex, where he was beneficed. In this department, [about] 1596, he published a correct edition of Stanbridge's *Latin Prose*.² In the general character of an author, he was a voluminous and a laborious writer. He died at Little Ilford, and was interred in his church, in 1607. From a long and habitual course of studious and industrious pursuits he had acquired a considerable fortune, a portion of which he bequeathed in charitable legacies.

It is remarkable that Shakespeare has borrowed nothing from the English Seneca.³ Perhaps a copy might not fall in his way. Shakespeare was only a reader by accident. Holinshed and translated Italian novels supplied most of his plots or stories. His storehouse of learned history was North's *Plutarch*. The only poetical fable of antiquity, which he has worked into a play, is *Troilus*. But this he borrowed from the romance of Troy. Modern fiction and English history were his principal resources. These, perhaps, were more suitable to his taste; at least, he found that they produced the most popular subjects. Shakespeare was above the bondage of the classics.

Among Hatton's MSS. in the Bodleian library,⁴ there is a long translation from the *Hercules Oetaeus* of Seneca by Queen Elizabeth. It is remarkable that it is blank verse, a measure which her majesty perhaps adopted from *Gorboduc*; and which, [if so, may prove] it to have been done after the year 1561. It has, however, no other recommendation but its royalty.⁵

¹ See *British Bibliographer*, ii. 414-418.

² *Vocabula magistri Stanbrigii ab infinitis quibus scatebant mendis repurgata, observata interim (quoad ejus fieri potuit) carminis ratione, et meliuscule etiam correctâ, studio et industria Thomæ Newtoni Cestreshyrii*. See [Herbert's *Ames*, iii. 1016; and] our author's *Encom.* p. 128. Our author published one or two translations on theological subjects.

³ [Yet, the learned Mr. Whalley remarks, it exceeds the usual poetry of that age, and is equal, perhaps, to any of the versions which have been made of it since. *Enquiry into the Learning of Shakespeare*, 1748.—PARK.]

⁴ *MSS. Mus. Bodl.* 55, 12. [Olim. *Hyper. Bodl.*] It begins:

"What harminge hurle of Fortunes arme," &c.

⁵ [Warton seems to have derived a good deal of information throughout his volumes from the Register of the Stationers' Company. In one place he observes:] "I take this opportunity of acknowledging my great obligations to that very respectable society, who in the most liberal manner have indulged me with a free and unreserved examination of their original records; particularly to the kind assistance and attention of one of its members, Mr. Lockyer Davies, Bookseller in Holbourn." [But these extracts are, unfortunately, of very little use, being given inaccurately, except where, as occasionally happens, they supply an item overlooked by Collier, in his volumes, 1848-9.]

SECTION LVIII.

BUT, as scholars began to direct their attention to our vernacular poetry, many more of the ancient poets now appeared in English verse. Before the year 1600, Homer, Musæus, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, and Martial, were translated. Indeed, most of these versions were published before the year 1580. For the sake of presenting a connected display of these early translators, I am obliged to trespass, in a slight degree, on that chronological order which it has been my prescribed and constant method to observe. In the meantime we must remember that their versions, while they contributed to familiarise the ideas of the ancient poets to English readers, improved our language and versification; and that, in a general view, they ought to be considered as valuable and important accessions to the stock of our poetical literature. These were the classics of Shakespeare.

I shall begin with those that were translated first in the reign of Elizabeth. But I must premise that this inquiry will necessarily draw with it many other notices much to our purpose, and which could not otherwise have been so conveniently disposed and displayed.

Thomas Phaer, already mentioned as the writer of the story of *Owen Glendower* in the *Mirror for Magistrates*, a native of Pembroke-shire, educated at Oxford, a student of Lincoln's Inn, and an advocate to the council for the Marches of Wales, but afterwards doctorated in medicine at Oxford, translated the seven first books of the *Eneid* of Virgil, on his retirement to his patrimonial seat in the forest of Kilgarran, in Pembroke-shire, in the years 1555, 1556, 1557. They were printed in 1558, and dedicated to Queen Mary.¹

¹ ["To the ende," says Phaer, "that like as my diligence employed in your service in the Marches, maie otherwise appeare to your Grace by your hon'ble counsaile there: so your Highness hereby may receiue the accompts of my pastyme in all my vacations, since I haue been prefered to your service by your right noble and faithful counsaillour William lord marquis of Winchester, my first bringer-up and patron."—*Park.*] At the end of the seventh book is this colophon, "Per Thomam Phaer in foresta Kilgerran finitum iii. Decembris. Anno 1557. Opus xii. dierum." And at the end of every book is a similar colophon, to the same purpose. The first book was finished in eleven days, in 1555. The second in twenty days, in the same year. The third in twenty days, in the same year. The fourth in fifteen days, in 1556. The fifth in twenty-four days, on May the [fourth], in 1557, "post periculum eius Karmerdini," i.e. at Caermarthen. The sixth in twenty days, in 1557.

Phaer is pathetically lamented by Sir Thomas Chaloner as a most skilful physician, *Eucom.* p. 356, 1579. He has a recommendatory English poem prefixed to

He afterwards finished the eighth book on the 10th of September, within forty days, in 1558. The ninth, in thirty days, in 1560. Dying at Kilgarran the same year, he lived only to begin the tenth.¹ All that was thus done by Phaer,² William Wightman,³ [Receiver of South Wales,] published in 1562, with a dedication to Sir Nicholas Bacon: *The Nynne first Bookes of the Eneidos of Virgil converted into Englishe verse by Thomas Phaer, Doctour of Physike, &c.*⁴ The imperfect work was at length completed, with Maphaeus's supplemental or thirteenth book, in [1573], by Thomas Twyne, a native of Canterbury, a physician of Lewes, in Suffex, educated in both universities, an admirer of the mysterious [mystical] philosophy of John Dee, and patronised by Lord Buckhurst the poet.⁵ The ninth, tenth, eleventh and twelfth books were finished

Philip Betham's *Military Precepts*, translated from the Latin of James, Earl of Purtilia, dedicated to Lord [Audley,] 1544.

[In his version of the *Aeneid*, Phaer was thus complimented along with several of his cotemporaries :

"Who covets craggy rock to clime
Of high Parnassus hill,
Or of the happy Helicon
To drawe and drinke his fill:
Let him the worthy worke surview.
Of Phare the famous wight,
Or happy phrase of Heywood's verse,
Or Turberviles aright:
Or Googe, or Golding, Gascoine else,
Or Churchyard, Whetstone, Twyne,
Or twentie worthy writers moe,
That drawe by learned line,
Whose painefull pen hath wel procured
Ech one his proper phrase," &c.

Ded. to Fulwood's *Enemie of Idlenesse*, 1568. And Hall, in the dedication to his translation of Homer, 1581, says, he was abashed when he came to look upon Phaer's Virgilian English in his heroical Virgil, and his own poor endeavour to learn Homer to talk our mother-tongue.—*Park.*]

¹ Ex. coloph. *ut supr.*

² [In the poems of Barnabe Googe, written before March 1563, there is an epitaph "on maister Thomas Phayre, which flatters him with having excelled the Earl of Surrey, Grimaold, and Douglas (Bishop of Dunkeld) in his style of translating Virgil, and expresses regret that his death, in the midst of his toil, had left a work imperfect which no other man could end."—*Park.*]

³ [At the end of the edit. of 1562, are printed "The two verses which Thomas Phaer did the daye before his death translate and sende to William Wightman Receyuour of South Wales," after which occurs:

"Nec potuit supplere moriens
Hoc fuit infomnium eius nouissimum.

Thomas Phaer olim tuus nunc Dei."]

[⁴ For a complete list of the impressions of Phaer's Virgil, see *Handb. of E. E. Lit.*, 1867, v. VIRGIL.]

⁵ His father was John Twyne, of Bolington, in Hampshire, an eminent antiquary, author of the Commentary *De Rebus Albiomicis*, &c. 1590. It is addressed to, and published by, his said son Thomas, with an epistle. Laurence, a fellow of All Souls and a civilian, and John Twyne, both Thomas's brothers, have copies of verses prefixed to several cotemporary books, about the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Thomas wrote and translated many tracts, which it would be superfluous and

at London in 1573.¹ The whole was printed at London in [that year, with the dedication to Sir Nicholas Bacon retained; Bacon dying in 1578, the book, on its re-appearance in] 1584, had a new dedication, dated the same year from Lewes, to Robert Sackville, the eldest son of Lord Buckhurst, who lived in the dissolved monastery of the Cluniacs at Lewes.² So well received was this work, that it was followed by [four other editions, published between 1596 and 1620.] In that of 1607, it is said "to be newly set forth for the delight of such as are studious in poetry." Soon after the last-mentioned period, it became obsolete and was forgotten.

Phaer undertook this translation for the defence, to use his own phrase, of the English language, which had been by too many deemed incapable of elegance and propriety, and for the "honest recreation of you the nobilitie, gentlemen, and Ladies that studye not Latyne." He adds, "By me first this gate is set open. If nowe the yong writers wil vouchesaue to enter, thei may find in this language both large & abvndāt campos [fields] of varietie, wherein they may gather innumerable sortes of most beautifull floures, figures, and phrases, not onely to supplie the imperfection of me, but also to garnishe al kindes of their owne verses with a more cleane and compendious order of meter than heretofore comonly hath ben accustomed." Phaer has omitted, misrepresented, and paraphrased many passages; but his performance in every respect is evidently superior to Twyne's continuation. The measure is the fourteen-footed Alexandrine of Sternhold and Hopkins. I will give a short specimen from the siege of Troy, in the second book. Venus addresses her son Eneas:

Thou to thy parents heast take heede (dread not) my minde obey.
In yonder place where stones frō stones, & bildings huge to swey
Thou seest, & mixt w̄ dust & smoke thick streames of reekings rise:
Himself the God Neptune that side doth turne in wonders' wise;
With forck thretynde y^e wallis vprootes, foudatiōs all vp shakes,
And quyte frō vnder soyl the town, w̄ grould workes all vp rakes.
On yonder side with furies most dame Juno fiercely standēs,
The gates she keeps, and fro their ships the Grekes her friendly bandes

tedious to enumerate here. To his *Breviary of Britaine*, a translation from the Latin of Humphrey Lhuyd, in 1573, are prefixed recommendatory verses by Browne, prebendary, and Grant the learned schoolmaster, of Westminster: Llodowick Lloyd, a poet in the *Paradise of Daintie Devises*, and his two brothers, aforesaid, Laurence and John.

Our translator, Thomas Twyne, died in 1613, aged 70, and was buried in the chancel of St. Anne's church at Lewes, where his epitaph of fourteen verses still, I believe, remains on a brass plate affixed to the eastern wall.

Large antiquarian and historical manuscript collections by the father, John Twyne, are now in Corpus Christi library at Oxford. In his *Collectanea Varia*, (*ibid.* vol. iii. fol. 2.) he says he had written the lives of T. Rob[ynson,] T. Lupset, Rad. Barnes, T. Eliot, R. Sampson, T. Wriothesle, Gul. Paget, G. Day, Joh. Christopheron, N. Wooton. He is in Leland's *Encomia*, p. 83.

¹ Coloph. *ut sup.*

² Now ruined. But to this day called Lord's Place.

³ See *Maister Phaers Conclusion to his interpretation of the Aeneidos of Virgil*, by him converted into English verse, [edit. 1562, sign. Gg 3 verso.]

⁴ Wondrous.

In armour gyrt she calls.

Lo there agayne where Pallas sittes, on fortes and castle towres,
With Gorgons eies in lighting cloudes inclosyd grim the loures.
The father god him self to Grekes their mightes & courage steres,
Him selfe against the Troian blood both gods & armour reres.
Betake the to thy flight my son thy labours end procure,
I will the neuer faile, but the to resting place assure.

Thus said she, & through the dark night shade her self she drew frō fight :

Apperes the grisly facys than, Trois ennies vgly dight.¹

The popular ear, from its familiarity, was tuned to this measure. It was now used in most works of length and gravity, but seems to have been consecrated to translation. Whatever absolute and original dignity it may boast, at present it is almost ridiculous, from an unavoidable association of ideas, and because it necessarily recalls the tone of the versification of the Puritans. I suspect it might have acquired a degree of importance and reverence, from the imaginary merit of its being the established poetic vehicle of Scripture, and its adoption into the celebration of divine service.

I take this opportunity of observing, that I have seen an old ballad called *Gads-hill* by Faire, that is probably, our translator Phaer. In the Registers of the Stationers, among seven *Ballettes* licenced to William Bedell and Richard Lante, one is entitled *The Robbery at Gads-Hill*, under the year 1558.² I know not how far it might contribute to illustrate Shakespeare's *Henry the Fourth*. The title is promising.

After the associated labours of Phaer and Twyne, it is hard to say what could induce³ Richard Stanyhurst, a native of Dublin, to translate the first four books in Virgil's *Eneid* into English hexameters, which he printed at [Leyden] in [1582], and dedicated to his brother Peter Plunket,⁴ the "lorde baron of Dunfanay in Ireland."⁵

¹ [*The Nyne fyrst Bookes of the Eneidos*, &c. 1562, sign. E 3.]

² *Regist.* A. fol. 32, b. See Clavell's *Recantation*, 16[28]. Clavell was a robber, and here recites his own adventures on the high-way. His first depredations are on Gad's-hill. See fol. 1. [*Shooter's Hill* is alluded to in the play of *Hyckescorner*, printed by W. de Worde about 1520, or perhaps earlier.]

³ [His apparent inducement was to try his strength against Phaer; at whose translation though he frequently carps, yet he gives him credit for having effected his task "with surpassing excellence." Ded. to the Lord Baron of Dunfanyne. Nash alludes to this when he writes: "But fortune respecting Master Stanibursts praise, would that Phaer shoulde fall that hee might rise, whose heroically poetry inspired, I should say inspired, with an hexameter furie recalled to life whatever hissed barbarisme hath bin buried this hundred yeare, and revived by his ragged quill such carterlie varietie as no hedge plowman in a countrie but would have held as the extremitie of clownerie," &c. Epist. before Greene's *Menaphon*. 1589.—*Park*.]

⁴ [Query whether this was not his brother-in-law; since he and the dedicator appear to have married two sisters. The father of Stanyhurst was recorder of Dublin, and himself was educated under Peter Whyte, some time Dean of Waterford. He married Janetta, the daughter of Sir Charles Barnwell, knt. who died in child-birth at Knightbridge near London 1579. His poetical conceits convey this information, and contain a description of his mistress at the Hague 1582. Vid. *Cens. Liter.* iv. 364.—*Park*.]

⁵ [Reprinted at London, 1583, 8vo.] At the end of the Virgil are the four first

Stanyhurst at this time was living at Leyden, having left England for some time on account of the change of religion. In the choice of his measure, he is more unfortunate than his predecessors, and in other respects succeeded worse. It may be remarked, that Meres, in his *Wits Treasurie*, 1598, among the learned translators mentions only "Phaier, for Virgil's *Aeneads*."¹ And William Webbe, in his *Discourse of English Poetrie*, 1586,² entirely omits our author, and places Phaer at the head of all the English translators.³ Thomas Nash, in his [*Strange Newes of the intercepting certaine Letters*, printed twice, if not thrice, during 1592 and 1593], observes, that "Master Stanyhurst (though otherwise learned) trod a foule, lumbring boyf-trous, wallowing measure in his translation of Virgil. He had neuer been praised by Gabriel⁴ for his labour, if therein he had not bin

of David's psalms Englished in Latin measures, p. 82. Then follow "Certayne Poetical Conceits (in Latyn and English)." Afterwards are printed Epitaphs, written by our author, both in Latin and English. The first, in Latin, is on James Earl of Ormond, who died at Ely House, Octob. 18, 1546. There is another on his father, James Stanyhurst, Recorder of Dublin, who died, aged 51, Dec. 27, 1573. With translations from More's *Epigrams*. Stanyhurst has a copy of recommendatory verses prefixed to Verstegan's *Restitution of Decayed Intelligence*, 1605.

[Two other epitaphs by Stanyhurst are in English: one upon the Baron of Louth, who was traitorously murdered about 1577; another upon the death of Gerald Fitzgerald Baron of Offalye, who died June 30, 1580, with verses by the latter entitled "A penitent sonnet," which constitutes him a noble author.—*Park*.]

¹ Fol. 289, p. 2.

² [Puttenham evidently refers to the version of Stanyhurst, which (as Mr. Southey has observed before in his poetic specimens) "could excite nothing but wonder, ridicule and disgust,"] where he says, "And as one who translating certaine bookes of Virgil's *Aeneidos* into English meetre, said, that *Aeneas* was fayne to trudge out of Troy, which terme became better to be spoken of a beggar, or of a rogue or a lackey," &c. Lib. iii. ch. xxiii. p. 219.

[Nash has aptly characterized the tenor of this translation by the term "Thra-sonical huffe-snuffe," a term indeed derived from the translator himself. "So terrible," he adds, "was his stile to all milde eares, as would have affrighted our able poets from intermeddling hereafter with that quarreling kinde of verse, had not sweete Master Fraunce, by his excellent translation of Master Thomas Watsons sugred Amyntas animated their dulled spirits to such high witted endeavors." *Epist. ubi supra*. Bishop Hall had also flurred these uncouth fooleries in his Satires, and exclaimed:

"Fie on the forged mint that did create
New coin of words, never articulate."

One of our modern poets had supplied the following remarks: "As Chaucer has been called the well of English undefiled, so might Stanyhurst be denominated the common sewer of the language. It seems impossible that a man could have written in such a style without intending to burlesque what he was about, and yet it is certain that Stanyhurst intended to write heroic poetry. His version is exceedingly rare, and deserves to be reprinted for its incomparable oddity." Southey's *Omniana*, i. 193.—*Park*.]

³ Fol. 9.

⁴ Gabriel Harvey, in his *Four Letters and certaine Sonnets*, says, "I cordially recommend to the dere louers of the Muses, and namely, to the professed sonnes of the same, Edmond Spencer, Richard Stanihurst, Abraham France, Thomas Watson, Samuell Daniell, Thomas Nash, and the rest, whome I affectionately

so famously absurd."¹ Harvey, Spenser's friend, was one of the chief patrons, if not the inventor, of the English hexameter here used by Stanyhurst. I will give a specimen in the first four lines of the second book :

With tentive listning eache wight was setled in harkning ;
Then father Æneas chronicled from loftie bed hautie :
You me bid, O Princeesse, too scarrifie a festered old soare,
How that the Troians wear prest by Grecian armie.²

With all this foolish pedantry, Stanyhurst was certainly a scholar. But in this translation he calls Chorebus, one of the Trojan chiefs, a bedlamite ; he says that old Priam girded on his sword Morglay, the name of a sword in the Gothic romances, that Dido would have been glad to have been brought to bed even of a cockney, a *Dandi-prat hopthumb*, and that Jupiter, in kissing his daughter, *bust his pretty prating parrot*. He was admitted at University college in 1563, where he wrote a system of logic in his eighteenth year.³ Having taken one degree, he became successively a student at Furnival's and Lincoln's Inns. He has left many theological, philosophical and historical books. In one of his *Epitaphs* called *Commune Defunctorum*, he mentions Julietta among the celebrated heroines.⁴ The title and some of the lines deserve to be cited, as they shew the poetical squabbles about the English hexameter.

thancke for their studious endeouours commendably employed in enriching and polishing their native tongue," &c. *Lett.* iii. 29.

[In the same publication he exclaims: "If I never deserve any better remembrance, let mee rather be epitaphed the Inventour of the English hexameter! whom learned M. Stanihurst imitated in his *Virgill*, and excellent Sir Philip Sidney diddained not to follow in his *Arcadia* and elsewhere." Ascham in [1570] had well observed that "carmen hexametrum doth rather trotte and hobble than runne smoothly in our English tong." *Scholemaster*, p. 60. Yet Stanyhurst strangely professes in his dedication to take upon him "to execute some part of Maister Aschams will, who had recommended carmen iambicum while he dispraised carmen hexametrum."—*Park*.]

¹ Signat. B.

² Fol. 21. ["Infandum, Regina, jubes renovare dolorem." Stanyhurst is thus alluded to in an anonymous, and probably unique, volume in the British Museum:—

"If the Poet Stanihurst yet live, and feedeth on ayer,
I do request him (as one that wisheth a grace to the meter)
With wordes significant to refine and finely to polishe
Those fower Æneis, that he late translated in English,
I doe the man reverence as a fine, as an exquisite Author ;
For that he first did attempt to translate verse as a Doctor."

The First Booke of the Preservation of King Henry the viij., 1599.—*Rye*.]

³ "Harmonia five Catena Dialectica in Porphyrianas constitutiones," a commentary on Porphyry's *Isagoge*. 1570. Campion, then of St. John's College, afterwards the Jesuit, to whom it was communicated in manuscript, says of the author, "Mirifice lætatus sum, esse adolefcentem in academia nostra, tali familia, eruditione, probitate, cujus extrema pueritia cum multis laudabili maturitate viris certare possit." *Epistol.* edit. Ingoldstat. 1602, fol. 50. Four or five of Campion's *Epistles* are addressed to Stanyhurst.

⁴ Meres mentions Stanyhurst and Gabriel Harvey as "Jambical poets." *Ubi sup.* fol. 282, p. 2.

"An Epitaph Entitled *Commune Defunctorum*, such as our unlearned Rithmours customably make upon the death of euerie Tom Tyler, as if it were a last for euery one his foote, in which the quantities of sillables are not to be heeded:"

A Sara for goodnesse, a greate Bellona for hudgenesse,
For myldnesse Anna, for chaſtitye godlye Suſanna.
Heſter in a good ſhift, a Iudith ſtoute at a dead liſt:
Alſo Iulietta, with Dido, ritch Cleopatra:
With ſundrie nameleſſe, and woomen more many blameleſſe, &c.¹

His Latin *Descriptio Hiberniæ*, translated into English, appears in the first volume of [the second edition of] Holinshed's *Chronicles*. He is styled by Camden "Eruditissimus ille nobilis Richardus Stanihurstus."² He is said to have been caressed for his literature and politeness by many foreign princes.³ He died at Brussels in 1618.

Abraham Fleming, brother to Samuel,⁴ published a version of the *Bucolics* of Virgil, in 1575, with notes and a dedication to Peter Osborne, Esquire. This is the title, *The Bukolikes of Publius Virgilius Maro, with Alphabetical annotations, &c. Drawne out into plaine and familiar Engliſhe, verse for verse, by Abraham Fleming, Student, &c. 1575.*⁵ His plan was to give a plain and literal translation, verse for verse. These are the first five lines of the tenth Eclogue:

O Arethusa, graunt this labour be my last indeede!
A few songes vnto Gallo, but let them Lycoris reede:
Needes muſt I ſinge to Gallo mine, what man would ſonges deny?
So when thou ronnest vnder Sicane seas, where froth doth fry,
Let not that bytter Doris of the ſalte ſtreame mingle make.

Fourteen years afterwards the same author published a new version both of the *Bucolics* and *Georgics* of Virgil with notes, which he dedicated to John Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury. This is commonly said and supposed to be in blank verse, but it is in the regular Alexandrine without rhyme. It is entitled, *The Bucolics of P. Virgilius Maro, &c. otherwise called his pastoralls or Shepherds Meetings*;⁶ *Together with his Georgicks, or Ruralls, &c. All newly*

¹ At the end of his *Virgil*, signat. H iij, he mentions the friends Damon and Pythias in the same piece.

² In *Hibernia*, Com. West Meath.

³ In the title of his *Hebdomada Mariana*, 1609, he styles himself "Serenissimorum principum Sacellanus." That is, Albert Archduke of Austria and his princeſſe Isabell.

⁴ They were both born in London. Thinne apud Holinsh. vol. ii. 1590. Samuel wrote an elegant Latin Life of Queen Mary, never printed. He has a Latin commendatory poem prefixed to Edward Grant's *Spicilegium* of the Greek tongue, a Dialogue, dedicated to Lord Burleigh, and printed in 1575.

⁵ See the title more in full, with an account of the book, in Collier's *Bibl. Cat.* 1865, i. 286-8.]

⁶ ["The Georgicks of Publius Virgilius Maro; otherwise called his Italian Husbandrie. Grammaticallie translated into English meter in so plaine and familiar sort, as a learner may be taught thereby to his profit and contentment." In a short address to the reader, the Translator hints a future intention "to make this interpretation of his version run in round rime, as it standeth now upon bare metre:" but this was not performed.—Park.]

translated into English verse by A. F. 1589. I exhibit the five first verses of the fourth Eclogue :

O Muses of Sicilia ile, let's greater matters singe !
Shrubs, groves, and bushes lowe, delight and please not every man :
If we do singe of woodes, the woods be worthy of a consul.
Nowe is the last age come, whereof Sybilla's verse foretold ;
And now the Virgin come againe, and Saturnes kingdom come.

The fourth Georgic thus begins :

O my Mecenas, now will I dispatch forthwith to shew
The heavenly gifts, or benefits, of airie honie sweet.
Look on this piece of worke likewise, as thou hast on the rest.

[But besides his translation of the *Bucolics* and *Georgics* of Virgil, Fleming, it must be remembered, executed a version (the earliest in our language) of the *Hero and Leander* of the grammarian Musæus. For so it is to be presumed that we ought to interpret a marginal note in his blank-verse edition of the *Georgics* in 1589, to the effect that he had printed a *historie of Leander and Hero* a dozen years ago. Fleming's *Musæus*, however, is one of those numerous works in early English literature, which no doubt once existed, but which, if not lost, at least remain still unrecovered.]¹

Abraham Fleming supervised, corrected and enlarged the second edition of Holinshed's *Chronicle* in 1586-7.² He translated Aelian's *Various History* into English in 1576, which he dedicated to Goodman, Dean of Westminster, [under the title of] *Ælian's Registre of Hystories*. He published also *Certaine select epistles of Cicero into English*, in 1576 ; and, in the same year, he imparted to our countrymen a fuller idea of the elegance of the ancient epistle by his *Panoplie of Epistles from Tully, Isocrates, Pliny and others*. He translated Synesius's Greek *Panegyric on Baldness*, which had been brought into vogue by Erasmus's *Moriæ Encomium*.³ Among some other pieces, he Englished many celebrated books written in Latin about the fifteenth century and at the restoration of learning, which was a frequent practice, after it became fashionable to compose in English, and our writers had begun to find the force and use of their own tongue.⁴ Sir William Cordell, the queen's solicitor-general, was his chief patron.⁵

¹ [Collier's *Bibl. Cat.* 1865, i. 288.]

² His brother Samuel assisted in compiling the *Index*, a very laborious work, and made other improvements.

³ Lond. 1579, 12mo. At the end, is [The Tale of Hemetes the Heremite, by G. Gascoigne, falsely claimed by Fleming. A MS. of it is in the British Museum. Mr. Collier (*Bibl. Cat.* 1865, i. 289) remarks that Fleming "has altered Gascoigne's language in a few places, not generally for the better." *The Hermit's Tale* is of course included in the Roxburghe Library edit. of Gascoigne, 1869-70.]

⁴ See *supra*. Among his original pieces are, *The Battel between the Virtues and Vices*, 1582. *The Diamant of Devotion* in six parts, 1586. *The Cundy of Comfort*, 1579. He prefixed a recommendatory Latin poem in iambics to the *Voyage* of Dennis Settle, a retainer of the Earl of Cumberland, and the companion of Martin Probiſher, Lond. 1577, 12mo. Another, in English, to Kendal's *Flowers of Epigrammes*, 1577. Another to John Baret's *Alvearie*, or quadruple Lexicon, 1580,

William Webbe, who is styled a graduate, translated the *Georgics* into English verse, as he himself informs us in the *Discourse of English Poetrie*, lately quoted, and printed in 1586.¹ And in the same discourse, which was written in defence of the new fashion of English hexameters, he has given us his own version of two of Virgil's *Bucolics*, written in that unnatural and impracticable mode of versification. I must not forget here, that the same Webbe ranks Abraham Fleming as a translator after Barnabe Googe the translator of Palingenius's *Zodiac*, not without a compliment to the poetry and the learning of his brother Samuel, whose excellent *Inventions*, he adds, had not yet been made public.

Abraham Fraunce,² in 1591, translated Virgil's *Alexis* into English hexameters, verse for verse, which he calls *The Lamentation of Corydon for the love of Alexis*.³ It must be owned that the selection of this particular Eclogue from all the ten for an English version is somewhat extraordinary. But in the reign of Queen Elizabeth I could point out whole sets of sonnets written with this sort of attachment, for which perhaps it will be but an inadequate apology, that they are free from direct impurity of expression and open immodesty of sentiment. Such at least is our observance of external propriety, and so strong the principles of a general decorum, that a writer of the present age who was to print love-verses in this style, would be severely reproached and universally proscribed. I will

[See *Mus. Ashmol.* Oxon. 835]. Another to Whetstone's *Rock of Regard*. I take this opportunity of observing that the works of one John Fleming, an ancient English poet, are in Dublin College library, of which I have no farther notice, than that they are numbered 304. See *Registr. Station.* B. fol. 160, a; 171, a; 168, a.

¹ His *Panoplie* is dedicated to Cordell. See *Life of Sir Thomas Pope*, p. 226, ed. 2.

² For the sake of juxtaposition, I observe here, that Virgil's *Bucolics* and fourth *Georgic* were translated by [John Brinsley, and printed in 1620 and 1633, 4to.] And the "second parte of Virgil's *Æneids* in English, translated by Sir Thomas Wroth knight," [was published (with his *Abortive of an Idle Hour*) in 1620, 4to. See *Ath. Oxon.* ii. 258; and Lysons' *Environ.* ii. 316.—*Park*.]

³ Abraham Fraunce was entered of Gray's Inn after being eight years at Cambridge, and had the honour of being intimate with Sir P. Sidney, from whose production he drew the illustrative examples of his rare little volume entitled *The Arcadian Rhetorike*. A very curious MS. in the Bodleian Library (MS. Rawl. Poet. 85) contains the *Recreations of his leisure hours*; being, as Mr. P. Blifs obligingly informs me, the first copy of a work he afterwards published: *Insignium armorum emblematum*, &c. The symbols are finely finished with a pen; and in a concluding address to Sir P. Sidney, he proposes, if these meet his approbation, to continue them. He ends with—"Iterum vive, atque iterum vale, Mæcenas ornatissime." A. F.—*Park*.]

⁴ At the end of the *Countesse of Pembrokes Ivy-church*, in the same measure. He wrote also in the same verse, *The lamentation of Amyntas for the death of Phillis*, [which went through four editions between 1587 and 1596: it is a paraphrase from Tasso.] He translated into English hexameters the beginning of Heliodorus's *Ethiopics* [which is also at the end of the *Ivy-church*, 1591. The full title of the three parts of the *Ivychurch*, 1591-2, may be seen in *Handb. of E. E. Lit.* 1867, art. FRAUNCE. "The first piece (the *Pastorall*) is an entire translation of Tasso's *Aminta*, made in Tasso's lifetime; the *Funerall*, which is the second part, is translated from Thomas Watfon's Latin poem *Amyntas*, printed in 1585."—*Rye*.]

instance only in the *Affectionate Shepherd*¹ of Richard Barnesfield, printed in 159[4]. Here, through the course of twenty sonnets not inelegant, and which were exceedingly popular, the poet bewails his unsuccessful love for a beautiful youth by the name of Ganymede, in a strain of the most tender passion,² yet with professions of the chafteft affection.³ Many descriptions and incidents which have a like complexion may be found in the futile novels of Lodge and Lyly.

Fraunce is also the writer of a book, with the affected and unmeaning title of the *Arcadian Rhetorike, or the Præceptes of Rhetorike made plaine by examples, Greeke, Latyne, Englishhe, Italian, Frenche, and Spanishe*. It was printed in 1588, and is valuable for its English examples.⁴

It will perhaps be sufficient barely to mention Spenser's *Culex*, which is a vague and arbitrary paraphrase of a poem not properly belonging to Virgil. From the testimony of many early Latin

¹ [Only one edition of the *Affectionate Shepherd* is at present known. Warton refers to a second printed, he says, with the same author's *Cynthia*, in which, according to Warton, he apologizes for his Sonnets, saying: "I will vnsshadow my conceit: being nothing else but an imitation of Virgill in the second Eclogue of *Alexis*." The *Affectionate Shepherd* was (imperfectly) printed for the Percy Society in 1845, and the *Cynthia* is among the not very correct issues of the Beldornie Press.] The volume comprises *The teares of an affectionate shepherd, sicke for love. The second dayes lamentation of the affectionate Shepherd. The Shepherds content, or the happiness of a harmles life. The complaint of Chastitie: and Hellens rape, or a light lanthorne for light ladies*; written in English hexameters.—*Park.*

² [In the same strain, and to a similar object, the greater part of Shakespeare's Sonnets appeared to be addressed. Mr. Chalmers indeed, in his *Apology*, has persuaded himself that the bard of Avon intended his for Queen Elizabeth; but so far as I can gather, he has failed to persuade any other reader of the same.—*Park.*]

³ See *Handb. of E. E. Lit.* art. BARNFIELD. In the preface Barnfield hopes the reader will bear with his rude conceit of *Cynthia* "if for no other cause, yet for that it is the first imitation of the verse of that excellent poet Maister Spencer, in his *Fayrie Queene*:" to whom he again alludes in his 20th Sonnet, as "great Colin, the chief of Shepherds:" while he designates Drayton under the name of "gentle Rowland, his professed friend." In 1598 were published by Richard Barnfield, graduate in Oxford, *The Encomium of Lady Pecunia, or the Praise of money. The complaint of Poetrie for the death of Liberalitie. The combat betweene Conscience and Covetousnesse in the minde of man: and poems in divers humors*. These pieces, it seems, he was encouraged to offer to the courtesy of his readers through the gentle acceptance of his *Cynthia*. One of his sonnets thus addresses itself to his friend Maister R. L. the author probably of *Diella*:

"If musike and sweet poetrie agree,
As they must needs (the sister and the brother),
Then must the love be great 'twixt thee and mee,
Because thou lov'st the one, and I the other.
Dowland to thee is dear, whose heavenly touch
Upon the lute doeth ravish human sense;
Spenser to me, whose deepe conceit is such,
As passing all conceit, needs no defence," &c.—*Park.*]

⁴ [Warton speaks of Lyly's *Gallathea*, of which, though apparently licensed in 1584, there is no edition at present known before 1592, as having appeared "in consequence of the versions of Virgil's *Bucolics*."]]

writers it may be justly concluded, that Virgil wrote an elegant poem with this title. Nor is it improbable that in the *Culex*, at present attributed to Virgil, some very few of the original phrases, and even verses, may remain, under the accumulated incrustation of critics, imitators, interpolators and paraphrasts, which corrupts what it conceals. But the texture, the character, and substance of the genuine poem is almost entirely lost. The *Ceiris*, or the fable of Nisus and Scylla, which follows, although never mentioned by any writer of antiquity, has much fairer pretensions to genuineness. At least the *Ceiris*, allowing for uncommon depravations of time and transcription, appears in its present state to be a poem of the Augustan age, and is perhaps the identical piece dedicated to the Messala whose patronage it solicits. It has that rotundity of versification, which seems to have been studied after the Roman poetry emerged from barbarism. It has a general simplicity, and often a native strength of colouring; nor is it tinctured, except by the casual innovation of grammarians, with those sophistications both of sentiment and expression, which afterwards of course took place among the Roman poets, and which would have betrayed a recent forgery. It seems to be the work of a young poet: but its digressions and descriptions, which are often too prolix, are not only the marks of a young poet, but of early poetry. It is interspersed with many lines now in the *Eclogues*, *Georgics*, and *Eneid*. Here is an argument which seems to assign it to Virgil. A cotemporary poet would not have ventured to steal from poems so well known. It was natural, at least allowable, for Virgil to steal from a performance of his youth, on which he did not set any great value, and which he did not scruple to rob of a few ornaments, deserving a better place. This consideration excludes Cornelius Gallus,¹ to whom Fontanini with much acute criticism has ascribed the *Ceiris*. Nor, for the reason given, would Virgil have stolen from Gallus. The writer has at least the art of Virgil, in either suppressing, or throwing into shade, the trite and uninteresting incidents of the common fabulous history of Scylla, which were incapable of decoration, or had been preoccupied by other poets. The dialogue between the young princess Scylla, who is deeply in love, and her nurse, has much of the pathos of Virgil. There are some traces which discover an imitation of Lucretius: but on the whole, the structure of the verses, and the predominant cast and manner of the composition, exactly resemble the *Argonautica* of Catullus, or the *Epithalamium* of *Peleus and Thetis*. I will instance in the following passage, in which every thing is distinctly and circumstantially touched, and in an affected pomp of numbers. He is alluding to the stole of Minerva, interwoven with the battle of the giants, and exhibited at Athens in the magnificent Panathenaic festival. The classical reader will perceive one or two interpolations, and lament that this rich piece of em-

¹ [The reputed author of the *Book of Elegies*, which really belongs to Maximianus.]

broidery has suffered a little from being unskilfully darned by another and a more modern artificer :

Sed magno intexens, si fas est dicere, peplo,
Qualis Erietheis olim portatur Athenis,
Debita cum castæ solvuntur vota Minervæ,
Tardaque confecto redeunt Quinquennia lustro,
Cum levis alterno Zephyrus concrebuit Euro,
Et prono gravidum provexit pondere curram.
Felix ille dies, felix et dicitur annus :
Felices qui talem annum videre, diemque !
Ergo Palladiæ texuntur in ordine pugnæ :
Magna Gigantæis ornantur pepla tropæis,
Horrida sanguineo pinguntur prælia cocco.
Additur aurata dejectus cuspidè Typho,
Qui prius, Ossæis confternens æthera faxis,
Emathio celsum duplicabat vertice Olympum.
Tale deæ velum solemnè in tempore portant.¹

The same stately march of hexameters is observable in Tibullus's tedious panegyric on Messala : a poem which, if it should not be believed to be of Tibullus's hand, may at least from this reasoning be adjudged to his age. We are sure that Catullus could not have been the author of the *Ceiris*, as Messala, to whom it is inscribed, was born but a very few years before the death of Catullus. One of the chief circumstances of the story is a purple lock of hair, which grew on the head of Nisus king of Megara, and on the preservation of which the safety of that city, now besieged by Minos king of Crete, entirely depended. Scylla, Nisus's daughter, falls in love with Minos, whom she sees from the walls of Megara : she finds means to cut off this sacred ringlet, the city is taken, and she is married to Minos. I am of opinion that Tibullus, in the following passage, alludes to the *Ceiris*, then newly published, and which he points out by this leading and fundamental fiction of Nisus's purple lock :

Pieridas, pueri, doctos et amate poetas ;
Aurea nec superent munera Pieridas !
Carmine purpurea est Nisi coma : carmina ni sint,
Ex humero Pelopis non nituisset ebur.²

Tibullus here, in recommending the study of the poets to the Roman youth, illustrates the power of poetry ; and for this purpose, with much address, he selects a familiar instance from a piece recently written, perhaps by one of his friends.

Spenser seems to have shewn a particular regard to these two little poems, supposed to be the work of Virgil's younger years. Of the *Culex* he has left a paraphrase, under the title of *Virgil's Gnat*, dedicated to Lord Leicester who died in 1588. It was printed without a title page at the end of the *Tears of the Muses*, 1591. From the *Ceiris* he has copied a long passage, which forms the first part of the legend of Britomart in the third book of the *Fairy Queen*.

¹ Ver. 21, seq. [Edit. Heyne, 1793, iv. 109-11.]

² Eleg. lib. i, iv. 61. [Corpus Poet. Latin. edit. Weber, 263.]

Although the story of Medea existed in Guido de Columna and perhaps other modern writers in Latin, yet we seem to have had a version of Valerius Flaccus in 1565. For in that year, I know not if in verse or prose, was entered: *The story of Jason, how he gotte the golden flece, and howe he ded begyle media*, oute of laten into engleshe by nycholas Whyte.¹ Of the translator Whyte I know nothing more.

Of Ovid's *Metamorphosis*, the first four books were translated by Arthur Golding in 1565. But [in 1567] he printed the whole.² This work became a favourite, and was [often] reprinted [between 1567] and 1612. The dedication, an epistle in verse, is to Robert Earl of Leicesther, and dated at Berwick, April 20, 1567. In the metrical Preface to the Reader, which immediately follows, he apologises for having named so many fictitious and heathen gods. This apology seems to be intended for the weaker Puritans.³ His style is poetical and spirited, and his versification clear: his manner ornamental and diffuse, yet with a sufficient observance of the original. On the whole, I think him a better poet and a better translator than Phaer. This will appear from a few of the first lines of the second book, which his readers took for a description of an enchanted castle:

The Princely Pallace of the Sunne, stood gorgeous to beholde,
On stately Pillars builded high, of yellow burnisht golde,
Beset with sparckling Carbuncles, that like to fire did shine,
The rooffe was framed curiously, of Yuorie pure and fine.
The two doore leaues of siluer cleare, a radiant light did cast:
But yet the cunning workemanship of things therein farre past
The stuffe wherof the doores were made. For there a perfect plat
Had Vulcane drawne of all the worlde: Both of the fourges that
Embrace the earth with winding waues, and of the stedfast ground,
And of the heauen it self also that both encloseth round.
And first and formost of the Sea the Gods thereof did stande,
Loude sounding Tryton, with his shirle & writhen Trumpe in hande,
Unstable Proteus, chaunging aye his figure and his hue,
From shape to shape a thousand fithes, as list him to reneue.
In purple Robe and royall Throne of Emeraudes freshe and greene
Did Phœbus sitte, and on eche hande stoode wayting well beseene,
Dayes, Monthes, yeares, ages, seasons, times, & eke the equall houres.
There stoode the springtime with a crowne of fresh and fragrant floures.
There wayted Sommer naked starke, all saue a wheaten hat:
And Autumne smerde with treading grapes late at the pressing Fat.
And lastly quaking for the colde stood Winter all forlorne,
With rugged heade as white as doue, and garments al to torne;
Forladen with the Ifycles, that dangled vp and downe

¹ [Collier's *Extraits from the Reg. of the Stat. Co.* 1348-9, i. 121.]

² *The xv. Bookes of P. Ouidius Naso; entytuled Metamorphosis, translated oute of Latin into English meeter, by Arthur Golding Gentleman, a worke very pleasaunt and delectable.*

³ Afterwards he says of his author,

"And now I haue made him so well acquainted with our toong,
As that he may in English verse as in his owne bee soong,
Wherein although for pleasant stile, I cannot make account," &c.

[Edit. 1567, sign. A 3.]

Vpon his gray and hoarie bearde and snowie frozen crowne.
The Sunne thus sitting in the middes, did cast his piercing eye, &c.¹

But I cannot resist the pleasure of transcribing a few more lines from the transformation of Athamas and Ino, in the fourth book. Tisiphone addresses Juno :

The hatefull Hag Tisiphone, with horie ruffled heare,
Remouing from hyr face the snakes, that loosely dangled there,
Sayd thus, &c.

He proceeds :

The furious fiende Tisiphone, doth cloth hir out of hand,
In garment streaming gorie bloud, and taketh in hir hand
A burning cresset² sleept in bloud, and girdeth hir about
With wreathed Snakes, and so goes forth, and at hir going out,
Feare, terror, grieve, and peniueneffe for companie she tooke,
And also madnesse with his flaight and gasty staring looke.
Within the house of Athamas no sooner foote she set,
But that the postes began to quake, and doores looke blacke as Jet.
The sunne withdrew him : Athamas and eke his wife were cast
With ougly fightes in such a feare, that out of doores agast
They would haue fled. There stoode the Fiend, and stopt their passage out;
And splaying forth hir filthy armes beknit with Snakes about,
Did tosse and waue hir hatefull head. The swarme of scaled snakes
Did make an irksome noyse to heare, as she hir tresses shakes.
About hir shoulders some did craule: some trayling downe hir breest
Did hiffe and spit out poyson greene, and spirt with tongues infest.
Then from amynd her haire two snakes with venymd hand she drew,
Of which thee one at Athamas and one at Ino threw.
The snakes did craule about their breasts, inspiring in their heart
Most grievous motions of the minde : the bodie had no smart
Of any wound : it was the minde that felt the cruell stings.
A poyson made in Syrup wise, she also with hir brings.
The filthie fume of Cerberus, the casting of the Snake
Echidna, bred among the Fennes about the Stygian Lake :
Desire of gadding forth abroad : forgetfullnes of minde:
Delight in mischiefe : woodnesse,³ teares, and purpose whole inclinde
To cruell murder: all the which she did together grinde:
And mingling them with new shed bloud, she boyled them in brasse,
And stird them with a Hemblock stalke. Now whyle that Athamas
And Ino stood, and quaked for feare, this poyson ranke and fell
She tourned into both their breastes, and made their heartes to swell.
Then whisking often round about hir head, hir balefull brand,
She made it soone by gathering winde to kindle in hir hand.
Thus, as it were in triumph wise accomplishing hir heft,
To Duskie Plutos emptie Realme shee gettes hir home to rest,
And putteth of the snarled Snakes that girded in hir breest.⁴

We have here almost as horrid a mixture as the ingredients in Macbeth's cauldron. In these lines there is much enthusiasm, and the character of original composition. The abruptnesses of the text are judiciously retained, and perhaps improved. The translator seems to have felt Ovid's imagery, and this perhaps is an imagery in which Ovid excels.

Golding's version of the Metamorphoses kept its ground till

¹ [Edit. 1567, fol. 14-15.]

³ Madnes.

² A torch. The word is used by Milton.

⁴ Edit. 1567, fol. 50-1.

Sandys's English Ovid appeared [before 1621.] I know not who was the author of what is called a *ballet*, perhaps a translation from the *Metamorphoses*, licensed to John Charlewood, in 1569, *The unfortunate ende of Iphis sonne unto Teucer kynge of Troye*. Nor must I omit *The Tragical and lamentable Historie of two saythfull Mates Ceyx Kynge of Thrachine, and Alcione his wife, drawen into English meeter*. By W. Hubbard, 1569. In stanzas.¹

Golding was of a gentleman's family, a native of London, and lived with secretary Cecil at his house in the Strand.² Among his patrons, as we may collect from his dedications, were also Sir Walter Mildmay, William Lord Cobham, Henry Earl of Huntingdon, Lord Leicester, Sir Christopher Hatton, Lord Oxford, and Robert Earl of Essex. He was connected with Sir Philip Sydney: for he finished an English translation of Philip Mornay's treatise in French on the *Trueness of the Christian Religion*, which had been begun by Sydney, and was published in 1587.³ He enlarged our knowledge of the treasures of antiquity by publishing English translations of Justin's *History* in 1564,⁴ of Cæsar's *Commentaries* in 1565,⁵ of Seneca's [*Woorke concerning Benefyting*], in 157[8], and of the *Geography* of Pomponius Mela and the *Polyhistory* of Solinus [in one volume in 1590, the latter, however, having been separately printed in 1587. It is, perhaps, a little singular that Golding should have taken the trouble to render Solinus into English, inasmuch as his work is a mere compilation from Pliny, posterior to whose time it was, of course, written.⁶] He has left versions of many modern Latin writers, which then had their use, and suited the condition and opinions of the times; and which are now forgotten by the introduction of better books

¹ [As these stanzas are somewhat singular in their structure, and the work itself is rarely to be seen, I subjoin a single specimen. Alcione is the person described:]

“Three times she then about to speake,
Three times she washt hir face with teares.
Three times she off from teares did breake,
And thus complained in his eares,
‘What fault of myne, O husbände deare, doth thee compell,
That thou wilt dwell no longer heere, but go to spell?’”

To “go to spell,” is an expression employed for going to consult the oracle.—*Park*. See Collier's *Bibl. Cat.*, 1865, i. 382-3, for further specimens.]

² His dedication to the first four books of Ovid is from Cecil-house, 1564. See his dedication to his version of Aretine's *War of Italy with the Goths*, 1563. To this he has prefixed a long preface on the causes of the irruption of the Goths into Italy. He appears to have also lived in the parish of All Saints *ad murum* (London Wall) in 1577. *Epist.* prefixed to his *Seneca*. His *Poetsils* of Chytræus are dedicated from Paul's-Belchamp to Sir W. Mildmay, March 10, 1570.

³ It was afterwards corrected and [reprinted in 1604.]

⁴ There is the *Psalter* in English, by Author Golding. Lond. 1571. 4to.

⁵ The dedication to *Cecil* is dated from Pauls Belchamp, 12 Octob. Again, 1590. There was a translation by Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, printed, [it is supposed, by John Rastell, about 1530, but *sine ulla notâ*.]

⁶ [Arthur Hall likewise eulogises the excellent and laudable labour of Golding, for making Ovid speak English in no worse terms than the author's own gifts gave him grace to write in Latin. Ded. before the *ten books of Homers Iliades*, 1581. —*Park*.]

and the general change of the system of knowledge. I think his only original work is an account of an earthquake in 1580. Of his original poetry I recollect nothing more than an encomiastic copy of verses prefixed to Baret's *Alvearie* published in 1580. It may be regretted that he gave so much of his time to translation.

The learned Afcham wishes that some of these translators had used blank verse instead of rhyme. But by blank verse¹ he seems to mean the English hexameter or some other Latin measure. He says, "Indeede Chauser, Th. Norton of Bristow, my L. of Surrey, M. Wiat, Th. Phaer, and other Jentlemen, in translating Ouide, Palingenius, and Seneca, haue gone as farre to theyr great prayse as the cobby they followed could cary them, but if such good wittes, and forwarde diligence, had beene directed to follow the best examples, and not haue been caryed by tyme and custome to content themselues with that barbarous and rude Ryming, amongest theyr other woorthy prayes which they haue iustly deserued, this had not beene the least, to be counted amongest men of learning and skill, more like vnto the Grecians than vnto the Gothians in handling of their verse."² The sentiments of another cotemporary critic on this subject were somewhat different. "In queene Maries time florished aboute any other Doctour *Phaer*, one that was well learned, and excellently well translated into English verse Heroicall, certaine bookes of *Virgils Æneidos*. Since him followed Maister *Arthure Golding*, who with no lesse commendation turned into English meetre the *Metamorphosis of Ouide*, and that other Doctour who made the supplement to those bookes of *Virgils Æneidos*, which Maister Phaer left vndone." Again, he commends "*Phaer and Golding*, for a learned and well corrected verse, specially in translation cleare, and very faithfully answering their authours intent."³

I learn from Coxeter's notes, that the *Fæsti* were translated into English verse before the year 1570.⁴ If so, the many little pieces now current on the subject of *Lucretia*, although her legend is in Chaucer, might immediately originate from this source. In 1568 occurs a *Ballett called the grievous complaynt of Lucrece*.⁵ And afterwards, in the year 1569[-70], is licensed to James Roberts, *A Ballet entituled the death of Lucryffie*.⁶ These publications might give rise to Shakespeare's *Lucrece*, which appeared in 1594. At this period of our poetry, we find the same subject occupying the attention of the

¹ [Daniel, in his *Apology for Ryme*, 1603, seems to mean *blank verse* when he speaks of *single numbers*.—PARK.]

² Fol. [60, edit. 1570.] ³ Puttenham's *Arte of English Poesie*, 1589, lib. i. ch. [31.]

⁴ [No one has ever heard, I believe, of such a translation. Coxeter's authority is always very suspicious.]

⁵ Collier's *Extra's Reg. Stat. Co.*, 1848, i. 182. Warton adds, a little further on, on what appears to be very doubtful ground: "There is also a ballad of the legend of *Lucrece*, printed in 1576." The story might however have been taken from Livy: as was *The Tragicall Comedie of Apianus and Virginia*, licensed in 1567, but now only known in an edition of 1575.]

⁶ [Collier *ut suprà*. i. 226.]

public for many years, and successively presented in new and various forms by different poets. Lucretia was the grand example of conjugal fidelity throughout the Gothic ages.¹

The fable of *Salmacis and Hermaphroditus*, in the fourth book of the *Metamorphoses*, was translated by Thomas Peend, or De la Peend, in 1565, [and printed in that or the ensuing year.²] I have seen it only among Antony Wood's books in the Ashmolean Museum, [now removed to the Bodleian; but a second copy is at Althorp.] An epistle is prefixed, addressed to Nicolas Saint Leger esquire, from the writer's study in Chancery Lane, opposite Serjeants' Inn. At the end of which is an explanation of certain poetical words occurring in the poem. In the preface he tells us, that he had translated great part of the *Metamorphoses*; but that he abandoned his design, on hearing that another, undoubtedly Golding, was engaged in the same undertaking. Peend has a commendatory poem prefixed to Studley's version of Seneca's *Agamemnon* in 1566. In 1562, was licensed *The boke of Perymus and Thesbye*, copied perhaps in the *Midsummer Night's Dream*. I suppose a translation from Ovid's fable of *Pyramus and Thisbe*.³

The fable of Narcissus had been translated, and printed separately in 1560, by a nameless author, *The fable of Ovid tretting of Narcissus translated out of Latin into English mytre, with a moral thereunto, very plesante to rede*.⁴ The translator's name was luckily suppressed.

¹ It is remarkable that the sign of Berthelet, the king's printer in Fleet Street, who flourished [between 1529 and 1549], was the Lucretia, or, as he writes it, Lucretia Romana.

There is another Lucretia belonging to our old poetic story. Lancham, in his narrative of the queen's visit at Kenilworth Castle in 1575, mentions among the favourite story-books, *Lucres and Eurialus*, p. 34. [See *Handbk. of E. E. Lit.* 1867, art. SYLVIVS. But to the information there given, it may be added that license was given in 1569 to W. (not T.) Norton to print the book.] This story was first written in Latin prose, and partly from a real event, about the year 1440, by Æneas Sylvius, then imperial poet and secretary, afterwards Pope Pius the Second. It may be seen in *Epistolarum Laconicarum et Selectarum Farragines duæ*, collected by Gilbertus Cognatus, Basil, 1554, 12mo. (See *Farrag.* ii. p. 386.) In the course of the narrative, Lucretia is compared by her lover to Polyxena, Venus, and Amelia. The last is the Emilia of Boccaccio's *Thesid*, or Palamon and Arcite. p. 481.

² [It was licensed in 1565-6. See Collier *ut sup.* i. 123. It begins:

“ Dame Venus, once by Mercurye
Comprest, a chylde did beare,
For beuty farre excellyng all
That erst before hym weare.”—Park.]

³ In quarto. Lond. for T. Hackett. Bl. lett. [No copy has ever been seen in modern times, so far as I am aware. See Collier's *Extrañs*, *ut sup.* i. 79-80.]

⁴ I know not whether the following were regular versions of Ovid, or poems, formed from his works now circulating in English. Such as, *The Ballet of Pygmalion*, To R. Jones, in 1568. *Reg.* fol. 176, a. Afterwards reprinted and a favourite story. There is the *Ballet of Pygmalion*, in 1568. *Ibid.* fol. 176, a.—A ballet entitled the *Golden Apple*, to W. Pickering, in 1568. *Ibid.* fol. 175, a. *A ballet intituled, Hercules and his Ende*, to W. Griffith, in 1563. *Ibid.* fol. 102, b. There is also, which yet may be referred to another source, *A ballet intituled the History of Troilus*, “whose troth had been well tried,” to Purfoot, in 1565. *Ibid.* fol. 134, b. This occurs again in 1581, and 1608. Again, in 1567, *The ballet of Acrifous*,

But at the close of the work are his initials, "Finis. T. H."¹ Annexed to the fable is a moralisation of twice the length in the octave stanza. Almost every narrative was anciently suppoed or made to be allegorical, and to contain a moral meaning. I have enlarged on this subject in the *Dissertation on the Gesta Romanorum*. In the reign of Elizabeth, a popular ballad had no sooner been circulated than it was converted into a practical instruction, and followed by its moralisation. The old registers of the Stationers afford numerous instances of this custom, which was encouraged by the increase of Puritanism.² Hence in Randolph's *Muses Looking-glass*, where two

that is, Acrisius the father of Danae. Ibid. fol. 177, b. Also, *A ballet of the mesurable state of King Medas*, or Midas, in 1569. Ibid. fol. 185, b. These are a few and early instances out of many.

There is likewise, which may be referred hither, a booke intituled *Procris and Cephalus* divided into four parts, licensed Oct. 22, 1595, to J. Wolfe, [and printed by him. It is a dull poem by Thomas Edwards. No perfect copy is known.]

There is also, at least originating from the English Ovid, a pastoral play, presented by the queen's choir-boys, Peele's *Arraignement of Paris*, in 1584. And I have seen a little novel on that subject, with the same compliment to the queen, by Dickenson, in 1598]. By the way, some passages are transferred from that novel [*Greene in Conceit*, &c., 1598] into another written by Dickenson, *Ariobas, Euphues amidst his slumbers, or Cupid's Journey to hell*, &c., 1594. One of them, where Pomona falls in love with a beautiful boy named Hyalus, is as follows. Signat. E 3. "She, desirous to winne him with ouer-cloying kindnesse, fed him with apples, gaue him plumes, presented him peares. Having made this entrance into her future solace, she would vse oft his company, kisse him, coll him, check him, chucked him, walke with him, weepe for him, in the fields, neere the fountaines, sit with him, sue to him, omitting no kindes of dalliance to wooe him," &c. I have selected this passage, because I think it was recollected by Shakespeare in the *Midsummer Night's Dream*, where he describes the caresses bestowed by the queen of the fairies on her loved boy, act [iv.], sc. i:—

"Come, sit thee down upon this flowery bed
While I thy amiable cheeks do coy,
And stick musk roses in thy sleek smooth head.
I have a ventrous fairy that shall seek
The squirrel's hoard," &c.

[Dyce's 2nd edit. 1868, ii. 304-5.] See also, act ii. sc. i. In the *Arraignement of Paris* just mentioned, we have the same subject and language:

"Playes with Amyntas lusty boye, and coyes him in the dales."

To return. There is, to omit later instances, *A proper ballet dialogue-wise between Troilus and Cressida*, Jun. 23, in 1581. *Registr. Station.* B. fol. 180, b. A ballad, *A mirror meete for wanton and insolent dames by example of Medusa kinge of Phorcus his daughter*. Feb. 13, 1577. Ibid. fol. 145, b. Ibid. fol. 248, b. *Narcissus and Phaeton* were turned into plays before 1610. See Heywood's *Apol. for Actors*. Lilly's *Sappho and Phao*, *Endimion*, and *Midas*, are almost too well-known to be enumerated here. Among Harington's *Epigrams*, is one entitled, *Ovid's Confession translated into English for General Norreyes*, 1593. *Epigr.* 85, lib. iii. Of this I know no more. The subject of this note might be much further illustrated.

¹ [It is supposed that T. H. may be the initials of the printer Hacket: the work appears to have been written some years before it was published, from the unpolished and archaic style.]

² As, *Maukin was a Coventry mayde*, moralised in 1563. *Registr.* A. fol. 102, a. With a thousand others. I have seen other moralisations of Ovid's stories by the Puritans. One by W. K. or William Kethe, a Scottish divine, no unready rhymers, mentioned above. In our singing-psalms, the psalms 70, 104, 122, 125, 134, are signatured with W. K. At the end of Knox's *Appellation*, 1558,

Puritans are made spectators of a play, a player, to reconcile them in some degree to a theatre, promises to *moralise* the plot: and one of them answers,

That moralizing
I do approve; it may be for instruction.¹

Ovid's *Ibis* was translated, and illustrated with annotations, by Thomas Underdowne born, and I suppose educated, at Oxford. It was printed at London in 1569,² with a dedication to Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst,³ the author of *Gorboduc*, and entitled, *Ovid his inuective against Ibis Translated into English meeter, whereunto is added by the Translator a short draught of all the stories and tales containd therein, very pleasant to read.*⁴ The notes are large and historical. There was a second edition in 1577.⁵ This is the first stanza:

Whole fiftie yeares be gone and past
Since I alyue haue been
Yet of my Muse ere now there hath
No armed verse be seene.⁶

The same author [had] opened a new field of romance, and which seems partly to have suggested Sir Philip Sydney's *Arcadia*, in translating into English prose the ten books of Heliodorus's Ethiopic history, [before 1568]. This work, the beginning of which was afterwards verified by Abraham Fraunce in 1591, is dedicated to Edward Earl of Oxford, [and was published without date, but probably in 1569, in which year it was licensed. There are several later impressions.] The knights and dames of chivalry, Sir Tristram and Bel Isoulde,

is psalm 93, turned into metre by Kethe. He wrote, about the same time [*A Ballad declaring the fall of the whore of babylon intituled Tye thy mare tom boye, &c.*, reviewed by Collier, (Bibl. Cat. 1865, i. 424-5),] see Strype, *Ann. Ref.* vol. ii. B. i. ch. 11, p. 102, edit. 1725. Another is by J. K. or John Keper, mentioned above as another coadjutor of Sternhold and Hopkins, and who occurs in [T. Howell's] *Arbor of Amitie*, [1568, 8vo. This work is] dedicated to ladie Anne Talbot.

[Another ballad by William Kethe occurs among several metrical relics in the library of the Society of Antiquaries. It is thus entitled:

"Of misrules contending with God's worde by name,
And then, of ones judgment that heard of the same."—*Park*.

See Lemon's *Catalogue*, 1866, p. 6.]

¹ Aft 1, sc. ii., edit. Oxf. 1638, 4to. Again, Mrs. Flowerdew says, "Pray, sir, continue the moralizing."—Aft iii. sc. 1.

² See *Registr. Station.* A. fol. 177, b.

³ [To this distinguished nobleman the translator professes to have inscribed his book, for the "good affection" his honour had to his "deare father, Steuen Underdowne. And bycause (he adds) the sense is not easy otherwise to be understood, I have drawne a brieve draught of al the storyes and tales containd therein, which are so many as I dare affirme, in the like volume a man may not read anywhere: so that I doubt not, the reading hereof will be very pleasant to your Honor, and perhaps profitable also."—*Park*.]

⁴ Salmacis and Hermaphroditus was translated [in] 1602. [Beaumont] translated part of Ovid's *Remedy of Love*. As did Sir T. Overbury the whole soon afterwards; [the latter version was printed in 1620, and is republished in the *Works*, ed. Rimbault.]

⁵ This work is reviewed by Collier (*Bibl. Cat.* ii. 73-7).]

now began to give place to new lovers and intrigues : and our author published the *excellent Historye of Theseus and Ariadne*, [which was] most probably suggested by Ovid, [and] which was printed at London in 1566.¹

The *Elegies of Ovid*, which convey the obscenities of the brothel in elegant language, but are seldom tinged with the sentiments of a serious and melancholy love, were translated by Christopher Marlowe below mentioned, and printed [at London in 1596, or thereabout, with the fictitious imprint of Middleburgh.] This book was burnt at Stationer's Hall, in 1599, by command of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishop of London.²

Ovid's *Remedy of Love* had a translator in 1599.³ This version was printed the next year under the title of *Ovidius Naso his Remedy of Love. Translated and Intituled to the Youth of England*. [At the end of the dedication occur the unidentified initials, F. L.]

The *heroical Epistles of Ovid*, with Sabinus's Answers, were set out and translated by George Turberville, a celebrated writer of poems in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and of whom more will be said in his proper place. This version was printed [twice] in 1567, and followed by [three other] editions.⁴ It is dedicated to Thomas Howard Viscount Byndon.⁴ Six of the epistles are rendered in blank verse, the rest in four-line stanzas. Turberville was a polite scholar, and some of the passages are not unhappily turned. From Penelope to Ulysses :⁵

To thee that lingrest all too long
Thy wife (Ulysses) sendes :
'Gayne write not : but by quicke returne
For absence make amendes.
O that the surging seas had drencht
That lustfull Letcher tho :
When he to Lacedæmon came
Inbarkt, and wrought our woe.

[But Sir Thomas Chaloner *the Elder*, who died in 1565, has the merit of having been the first to translate into our language any por-

¹ [Collier, *ubi supr.* ii. 458-9.]

² [I believe there were five if not six different impressions, in despite of ecclesiastical interdiction. The first of these had appeared in 1596, as Harington's *Metamorphosis of Ajax* sufficiently ascertains. A duplicate version of Eleg. xv. lib. i. is ascribed to B. J. probably Ben Jonson, and if so, must have been his earliest printed production.—*Part.* The book was doubtless printed as late as 1640, but with the old (false) imprint retained in successive editions.]

³ Under the same year occur *Ovydes Epistles in Englyshe*, and *Ovydes Metamorphoses in Englyshe*. Ibid. fol. 57, a. There seems to have been some difficulty in procuring a licence for the *Comedie of Sappho*, [Lyly's *Sappho and Phao*,] Apr. 6, 1583. *Registr.* B. fol. 198, b.

⁴ I find entered to Henry Denham, 1565-6, a *boke* called "the fyrste epeffle of Ovide." *Registr. Station.* A. fol. 148, b. Again, the same year to the same, "An epeffle of Ovide beyng the iijth epeffle." Ibid. fol. 149, a. In the same year, to the same, the rest of Ovid's Epistles. Ibid. fol. 152, a. [But no separate issue has come down to us. The probability is, that the epistles were entered sectionally thus merely to guard against forestallers.]

⁵ [Edit. without date (1569), sign. (a. 7).]

tion of Ovid's Epistles. He selected that of *Helen to Paris*; his version was never printed, but it has been preserved among the Harington MSS., and is included in the last edition of *Nugæ Antiquæ*.]

I add here that Mantuan, who had acquired the rank of a classic, was also versified by Turberville [and printed in 1567, 8vo. There were later editions in 1572 and 1594, 8vo. The same writer published in the ensuing year (1568), also in 8vo., the then popular work of Mancinus *De Quatuor Virtutibus* in English. He dedicated this performance to the Countess of Warwick.]

Coxeter says, that he had seen one of Ovid's Epistles translated by Robert Earl of Essex. This I have never seen;¹ and, if it could be recovered, I trust it would only be valued as a curiosity. A few of his sonnets are in the Ashmolean Museum, which have no marks of poetic genius. He is a vigorous and elegant writer of prose. But if Essex was no poet, few noblemen of his age were more courted by poets. From Spenser to the lowest rhymers he was the subject of numerous sonnets, or popular ballads. I will not except Sydney. I could produce evidence to prove, that he scarce ever went out of England, or even left London, on the most frivolous enterprise, without a pastoral in his praise, or a panegyric in metre, which was sold and sung in the streets. Having interested himself in the fashionable poetry of the times, he was placed high in the ideal Arcadia now just established: and among other instances which might be brought, on his return from Portugal in 1589 he was complimented [by George Peele, the eminent dramatic writer, with a gratulatory eclogue, in which he was described as "the renowned Shepherd of Albions Arcadia."]² This is a light in which Lord Essex is seldom viewed. I know not if the Queen's fatal partiality, or his own inherent attractions, his love of literature, his heroism, integrity, and generosity, qualities which abundantly overbalance his presumption, his vanity and impetuosity, had the greater share in dictating these praises. If adulation were any where justifiable, it must be when paid to the man who endeavoured to save Spenser from starving in the streets of Dublin, and who buried him in Westminster Abbey with becoming solemnity. Spenser was persecuted by Burleigh, because he was patronised by Essex.

Thomas Churchyard, who will occur again, rendered the three first [books] of the *Tristia*, which he dedicated to Sir Christopher Hatton, and printed at London in 1580.³

Among Coxeter's papers is mentioned the *ballet* of Helen's epistle to Paris, from Ovid, in 1570, by B. G. [It has been thought

¹ [Nor anybody else.]

² [Printed in the editions of Peele's *Works*, by Dyce. See edit. 1861, 560, *et seqq.*]

³ In quarto. An entry appears in 1577 and 1581. Registr. Station. [Reprinted for the Roxburghe Club, 1816.]

Pr. "My little booke (I blame thee not)

To stately towne shall goe;

O cruell chaunce that where thou goest,

Thy maister may not fo."—*Park*.]

this might be Bernard Garter, the well-known versifier; but as the *ballet* referred to by Coxeter is not known, it is difficult to say.] The title of ballad was often applied to poems of considerable length. [But it seems to be more than questionable whether the *Murninge of Edward Duke of Buckingham*, licensed in 1557-8, was not some such fugitive piece as occurs in Additional MS. 15,225, in the British Museum, rather than (as has been conjectured somewhat hastily) Sackville's *Legend of Buckingham*.]¹ A romance or history versified, so as to form a book or pamphlet, was sometimes called a ballad. As *A ballet intituled an history of Alexander, campaspe and apples, and of the saythfull fryndeshippe betwene them*, [licensed to] Colwell, in 1565[-6].² This was [not] from the grand romance of Alexander.³ Sometimes a ballad is a work in prose. I cannot say whether *a ballet intituled the Encorraggen all kynde of men to the reedyfinge and buyldynge of powles steple agayne*, [licensed in 1565-6,] was a pathetic ditty or a pious homily, or both. A play or interlude was sometimes called a ballet, as [W. Wager's interlude of the *Cruel Detter* is termed]. Religious subjects were frequently called by this vague and indiscriminating name. In 1561[-2,] was registered for publication *A new ballett of iiijth of the commandementes*: that is, four of the Ten Commandments in metre. Again, among many others of the same kind, as Puritanism gained ground, "*A ballet intituled The xvijth chapter of the iiijth [second] boke of Kynges*,"⁴ And I remember to have seen, of the same period, a ballad of the first chapter of Genesis. John Hall, above mentioned, wrote or compiled [before] 1564: "*The Courte of Vertue*,"⁵ containyng many holy or

[¹ See Collier's *Extracts Reg. Stat. Co.* 1848-9, i. 4, and *Handb. of E. E. Lit.* 1867, art. BUCKINGHAM (H. Stafford, D. of).]

² *Registr. Station.* A. fol. 137, b.

³ There is, under the year 1565, *A ballet of kyng Pollicente* [f. Polyuctes] *to the tune of Appelles*.—*Ibid.* fol. 133, b. Also, *The Songe of Appelles*, in the same year.—*Ibid.* fol. 138, a. By the way, Lyly's *Campaspe*, first printed in [1584,] might originate from these pieces.

⁴ *Ibid.* fol. 166, a.

⁵ [In 1557 was licensed to Henry Sutton, *The Courte of Venus*. See Herbert's *Ames*, p. 846. To this licentious publication, of which Douce possessed a fragment [see *Handb. of E. E. Lit.* 1867, art. VENUS], John Hall designed his *Courte of Vertue* as a moral and religious antidote. In his metrical prologue it is thus described and stigmatized, as the study of loose readers:

"A booke also of songes they have,
And Venus' Court they doe it name:
No fylthy mynde a songe can crave,
But therein he may finde the same:
And in such songes is all their game."

Nashe also, in his *Anatomie of Absurditie*, 1589, passed a censure on *Venus' Court*. As the *Courte of Vertue*, by Hall, is a book of uncommon rarity, I subjoin a short specimen. It is taken from a ditty named *Blame not my lute*:

"Blame not my lute, though it doe sounde
The rebuke¹ of your wicked sinne,

[¹ A quibble probably on *rebeck*.]

spretuall songes, sonnettes, psalmes, balletts, and shorte sentences, as well as of holy scripture, as others."

It is extraordinary that Horace's *Odes* should not have been translated within the period of which we are speaking.¹ [The first translator of any portion of the *Satires* appears to have been Lewis Evans, a schoolmaster, one of the numerous editors (at successive dates) of the *Dictionary* of Withals, and a controversial writer. Evans rendered into English the two first satires, which were printed by Thomas Colwell, probably in 1565, having been licensed the year before. No copy of the first satire is known; but the existence of a copy of the second, printed on a sheet, seems to prove that both were printed.] In the year 1566, Thomas Drant published what he called *A Medicinable Morall, that is, the two Bookes of Horace his Satyres Englyshed, acording to the prescription of Saint Hierome*,² &c. It is dedicated to "my Lady Bacon and my Lady

But rather seke, as ye are bound,
To know what *case* that ye are in :
And though this song doe sinne confute,
And sharply wyckednes rebuke :
Blame not my lute.

"If my lute blame the covetyse,
The glottons and the drunkards vyle,
The proud disdayne of worldly wyse,
And howe falshood doth truth exyle ;
Though vyce and sinne be nowe in place,
In stead of vertue and of grace :

Blame not my lute.

"Though wrong in justice' place be set
Committing great iniquitie :
Though hypocrites be counted great
That mainteine styll idolatrie :
Though some set more by thynges of nought
Then by the Lorde, that all hath wrought :

Blame not my lute.

"Blame not my lute, I you desyre,
But blame the cause that we thus playe :
For burnyng heate blame not the fyre
But hym that blow'th the cole alway.
Blame ye the cause, blame ye not us,
That we mens faultes have touched thus :

Blame not my lute."—*Park*.

The only remains of the *Court of Venus* at present known is the first sheet in 8vo. of an edition "newly and diligently corrected :—" this was sold among Mr. Bright's books in 1845. Douce's fragment did not go to the Bodleian. The poem from the *Court of Vertue*, cited by Park, is a moralization of a lyrical piece then recently published, but to which I have mislaid my reference.]

[¹ Horace's *Odes* found their first translator in 1621 in the person of John Ashmore of Ripon, but he executed only a few. A version of the whole, from the pen of Sir T. Hawkins, appeared in 1625.]

² That is, *Quod malum est muta, quod bonum est prode*, from his Epistle to Rufinus. At the end of this translation are, *The wailings of the Prophet Hieremiah done into Englyshe verse. Also Epigrammes*. T. Drant. *Antidotis salutaris amator. Perused and allowed according to the Quenes Maiesties Inuincions* Of the Epigrams four are in English, and seven in Latin. This book is said to be authorised by the Bishop of London. The argument of the *Jeremiah*, which he compared with the Hebrew and the Septuagint, begins [edit. 1566, sign. I 4.]:

Cecill fauourers of learning and vertue.¹ The following year appeared, *Horace his Arte of Poetrie, Pistles, and Satyrs Englished, and to the earle of Ormounte by Thomas Drant addressed.*² This version is very paraphrastic, and sometimes parodical. In the address to the reader prefixed, our translator says of his Horace, "I haue translated him sumtymes at Randun. And nowe at this last time welnye worde for word, and lyne for lyne. And it is maruaile that I, being in all myne other speaches so playne and perceauable, should here desyer or not shun to be harde, so farre forth as I can kepe the lernynge and sayinges of the author." What follows is too curious not to be transcribed, as it is a picture of the popular learning, and a ridicule of the idle narratives, of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. "But I feare me a number do so thincke of thys booke, as I was aunswered by a prynter not longe agone: Though sayth he (Sir,) your boke be wyfe and ful of learnynge, yet peraduenture it wyl not be faileable: Signifying indeede, that slim flames and gue gawes be they neuer so sleight and slender, are soner rapte vp thenne are those which be lettered and Clarkly makings. And no doubt the cause that bookes of learnynge seme so hard is, because such and so greate a scull of amarouse [amorous] Pamphlets haue so preoccupied the eyes and eares of men, that a multytude belieue ther is none other style or phraze ells worthe gramercy.³ No bookes so ryfe or so

"Ierusalem is iustlie plagude,
And leste disconsolate,
The dame of towns the prince of realms
Deuessed from her state."

[According to Ritson, Christopher Fetherstone published, in 1587,] *Lamentations of Jeremye in prose and, meter in English, with Tremellius's Annotations to the prose.* See Donne's *Poems*, p. 306, seq. 1633.

¹ No such inscription occurs in a copy before me, apparently quite complete.]

² With a Greek motto. In the front of the dedication he styles himself "Maister of Arte, and Student in Diuinitye."

³ We have this passage in a poem [by Breton] called *Pasquils Mad[cappe]*, 1600, fol. 36:

"And tell prose writers, stories are so stale,
That pennie ballads make a better sale."

And in Burton's *Melancholy*, fol. 122, edit. 1624. "If they read a booke at any time, 'tis an English Chronicle, *Sir Huon of Bordeaux*, or *Amadis de Gaule*, a playe booke, or some pamphlett of newes." Holinshed's and Stowe's *Chronicles* became at length the only fashionable reading. In the *Guls Hornebook*, 1609, p. 21, it is said, "The top [the leads] of saint Paules contains more names than Stowes *Chronicle*." That the ladies now began to read novels we find from this passage, "Let them learne plaine workes of all kinde, so they take heed of too open seaming. Insteade of songes and musicke, let them learne cookerie and laundrie. And instead of reading sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*, let them reade the *Groundes of good Huswifery*. I like not a female poetesse at any hand. There is a pretty way of breeding young maides in an Exchange-shop, or Saint Martines le Grand. But many of them gett such a foolish trick with carrying their band-box to gentlemen's chambers," &c.—Powell's *Tom of all Trades*, 1631, pp. 47-8.

Female writers of poetry seem to have now been growing common: for, in his *Arte of English Poesie*, Puttenham says, "Darke worde, or doubtfull speech, are not so narrowly to be looked vpon in a large poeme, nor specially in the pretie Poesies and deuises of Ladies and Gentlewomen-makers, whom we would not haue too precise Poets, lest with their shrewd wits, when they were married, they might become a little too phantasticall wiuers."—*Lib.* III. ch. xxi. p. 209. Decker, in the

frindly red, as be these bokes. But if the setting out of the wanton tricks of a payre of louers (as for example let theym be cawled Sir Chaunticleare and Dame Partilote), to tell how their firste combination of loue began, how their eyes floted, and howe they anchored, their beames mingled one w̄ the others bewtye: then, of their perplexed thoughtes, their throwes, their fancies, their dryrye driftes, now interrupted, now vnperfyted: their loue dayes, their gaude dayes, their sugred words, and their sugred ioyes. Afterward howe enuyous fortune through this chop or that chaunce, turned their blefs to baile, feurynges too such bewtiful faces & dewtiful harts. Last at partyng to ad to an oration or twane, interchangeably had betwixt the two wobegone persons, the one thicke powdered wyth manly passionat pangs, the other watered with womanish teares. Then to shryne them vp to God Cupid, and make Martires of them both, and therwyth an ende of the matter." Afterwards, reverting to the peculiar difficulty of his own attempt, he adds, "Neyther any man which can iudge, can iudge it one and the like labour to translate Horace, and to make and translate a loue booke, a shrill tragedye, or a smoth and platleuyld poesye. Thys can I trulye say of myne owne experyence, that I can soner translate twelve verses out of the Greeke Homer than sixe out of Horace." Horace's satirical writings, and even his Odes, are undoubtedly more difficult to translate than the narrations of epic poetry, which depend more on things than words: nor is it to be expected, that his satires and epistles should be happily rendered into English at this infancy of style and taste, when his delicate turns could not be expressed, his humour and his urbanity justly relished, and his good sense and observations on life understood. Drant seems to have succeeded best in the exquisite *Epistle to Tibullus*, which I will therefore give entire.

Guls Horne-book, 1609, in the chapter "How a gallant should behave himself in a play-house," mentions the necessity of hoarding up a quantity of play-scrapes to be ready for the attacks of the "Arcadian and Euphuised gentlewomen."—Ch. vi. p. 27 *seq.* Edward Hake, in *A Touchstone for this time present* [1574], speaking of the education of young ladies, says, that the girl is "eyther altogether kept from exercises of good learning, and knowledge of good letters, or else she is so noufeled in amorous bookes, vaine stories, and fonde trifeling fancies," &c.—Sign. c 4. He adds, after many severe censures on the impiety of dancing, that "the substance which is consumed in twoo yeares space vpon the apparail of one meane gentlemans daughter, or vpon the daughter or wife of one citizen, woulde bee sufficient to finde a poore student in the vniuersity by the space of foure or five yeares at the least."—*Ibid.* sign. d 2. But if girls are bred to learning, he says, "It is for no other ende, but to make them companions of carpet knights, and giglots for amorous louers."—*Ibid.* sign. c 4. Gabriel Harvey, in his elegy *De Aulica*, or character of the Maid of Honour, says, among many other requisite accomplishments,

"Saltet item, pingatque eadem, doctumque poema
Pangat, nec Musas nesciat illa meas."

See his *Gratulationes Valdinenfes*, 1578, lib. iv. p. 21. He adds, that she should have in her library, Chaucer, Lord Surrey, and Gascoigne, together with some medical books.—*Ibid.* p. 22.

To *Albius Tibullus*, a deuifor.¹

Tybullus, frend and gentle iudge
Of all that I do clatter,²
What doft thou all this while abroad,
How might I learne the matter?
Doft thou inuent fuch worthy workes
As Caffus poemes paffe?
Or dofte thou cloſelie creeping lurcke
Amid the wholfome graſſe?
Addiſted to Philoſophie,
Contemning not a whitte
Thats³ ſcemelie for an honeſt man,
And for a man of witte:⁴
Not thou a bodie withoute breaft!
The Goddes made the t⁵ excell
In ſhape, the goddes haue lent the goodes,
And arte to uſe them well.
What better thinge vnto her childe
Can wiſhe the mother kinde
Then wiſedome, and in fyled frame⁶
To vtter owte his minde:
To haue fayre fauoure, fame enoughe,
And perfect ſtaye and health;
Things trim at will, and not to feele
The emptie ebb of wealth:
Twixte hope to haue, and care to kepe,
Twixte feare and wrathe, awaye
Conſumes the time: eche daye that cummes,
Thinke it the latter daye.
The hower that cummes unloked for
Shall cum more welcum ay.
Thou ſhalt fynde me fat and wel fed,
As pubble⁶ as may be;
And, when thou wilt, a merrie mate,
To laughe and chat with the.⁷

Drant undertook this verſion in the character of a grave diuine, and as a teacher of morality. He was educated at St. John's College in Cambridge; where he was graduated in theology in the year 1569.⁸ The ſame year he was appointed Prebendary of Chicheſter and of Saint Paul's. The following year he was inſtalled Archdeacon of Lewes in the cathedral of Chicheſter. Theſe preferments he probably procured by the intereſt of Grindall, Archbiſhop of York, of whom he was a domeſtic chaplain.⁹ He was a tolerable Latin poet. He tranſlated the *Eccleſiaſtes* into Latin hexameters, which he dedicated to Sir Thomas Heneage, a common and a liberal patron of theſe times, and printed in 1572. At the beginning and end of this work are ſix ſmaller pieces in Latin verſe. Among theſe are the firſt ſixteen lines of a paraphraſe on the Book

¹ An inventor, a poet.

² He means to expreſs the looſe and rough verification of the *Sermones*.

³ That which is.

⁴ Knowledge, wiſdom. *Sapientia*.

⁵ Having a comely perſon. Or, to ſpeak with elegance.

⁶ [Plump.—*Ritſon*.]

⁷ Signat. C. iiij. [edit. 1567.]

⁸ [Cooper's *Athene Cantabr.* 1858, i. 384.]

MS. Tan.

of *Job*. He has two miscellanies of Latin poetry extant, the one entitled *Sylva*, dedicated to Queen Elizabeth, and the other *Poemata varia et externa*. The last was printed at Paris, from which circumstance we may conclude that he travelled.¹ In the *Sylva*, he mentions his new version of David's Psalms, I suppose in English verse.² In the same collection he says he had begun to translate the *Iliad*, but had gone no further than the fourth book.³ He mentions also his version of the Greek *Epigrams* of Gregory Nazianzen,⁴ [of which all that is known at present is, that they were licensed to T. Marsh in 1567-8, and that they were printed probably in 1568, in 8vo. A fragment of four leaves, commencing with a head-line: "Here begynneth the Epigrames," is in the Bodleian, among Douce's books.] But we are at a loss to discover whether the former was an English or Latin version. The indefatigably inquisitive Bishop Tanner has collected our translator's sermons, fix in number, which are more to be valued for their type than their doctrine, and at present are of little more use than to fill the catalogue of the typographical antiquary.⁵ Two of them were preached at Saint

¹ Drant has two Latin poems [in] Nevill's *Kettus*, 1575. Another to John Seton's *Logic*, with Peter Carter's annotations, 1574. And to the other editions. Seton was of Saint John's in Cambridge, chaplain to Bishop Gardiner for seven years, and highly esteemed by him. Made D.D. in 1544. Installed Prebendary of Winchester, Mar. 19, 1553. Rector of Henton in Hampshire, being then forty-two years old, and B.D. See A. Wood, MS. C. 237. He is extolled by Leland for his distinguished excellence both in the classics and philosophy. He published much Latin poetry. See Strype's *Eliz.* p. 242. Carter was also of St. John's, in Cambridge. Another, with one in English, to John Sadler's English version of Vegetius's *Tactics*, done at the request of Sir Edmund Brudenell, and addressed to the Earl of Bedford, 1572. He has a Latin epitaph or elegy on the death of Doctor Cuthbert Scot, designed Bishop of Chester, but deposed by Queen Elizabeth for Popery: who died a fugitive at Louvaine, 1565. He probably wrote this piece abroad. A Latin copy of verses, *De seipso*, is prefixed to his *Horace*. [For a further notice of Drant and his productions, the reader may be referred to Brydges' *Reposita*, i. 19-22; Cooper's *Athenæ*, ut *supr.*; and *Handb. of E. E. Lit.* 1867, in v.]

[Drant's reply to Shaklock's *Epigram*, or rather Shaklock's *Epitaph upon the death of Cuthbert Skotte*, occurs in the British Museum. Two short poems are added by Drant: 1. To the unknown translator of Shaklockes verses: 2. To Shaklockes *Portugale*. A copy of Drant's *Præful et Sylva*, in the same library, has some English dedicatory lines prefixed in manuscript, and addressed to Queen Elizabeth, whose ears or attention, he says, he never could attain, though his—

"Sences all, and fowl and every spritt,
Fain of her fame her prayments wold inditt."—*Park*.]

² Fol. 56.

³ Fol. 75.

⁴ Fol. 50.

⁵ Codd. Tanner Oxon. Two are assigned to Thomas Heneage. Three to Sir Francis Knollys. Date of the earliest, 1569. Of the latest, 1572. In that preached at court, 1569, he tells the ladies he can give them a better clothing than any to be found in the queen's wardrobe: and mentions the speedy downfall of their "high plummy heads." Signat. K v. I find the following note by Bishop Tanner: "Thomæ Drantæ Angli Andvordingamii Præful. Dedicat. to Archbishop Grindal, Pr. Ded.—*Illuxit ad extremum dies ille*." [By *Andvordinghamii*, we are of course to understand the writer's native place, Hagworthingham, co. Lincoln.] His father's name was Thomas.

Mary's hospital.¹ Drant's latest publication is dated in 1572. [He is supposed to have died young in 1578.]

I am informed from some manuscript authorities, that in the year 1571, Drant printed an English translation from Tully, which he called, *The chosen eloquent oration of Marcus Tullius Cicero for the poet Archias, selected from his orations, and now first published in English.*² I have never seen this version,³ but I am of opinion that the translator might have made a more happy choice. For in this favourite piece of superficial declamation, the specious orator, when he is led to a formal defence of the value and dignity of poetry, instead of illustrating his subject by insisting on the higher utilities of poetry, its political nature, and its importance to society, enlarges on the immortality which the art confers, on the poetic faculty being communicated by divine inspiration, on the public honours paid to Homer and Ennius, on the esteem with which poets were regarded by Alexander and Themistocles, on the wonderful phenomenon of an extemporaneous effusion of a great number of verses, and even recurs to the trite and obvious topics of a school-boy in saying, that poems are a pleasant relief after fatigue of the mind, and that hard rocks and savage beasts have been moved by the power of song. A modern philosopher would have considered such a subject with more penetration, comprehension, and force of reflection. His excuse must be, that he was uttering a popular harangue.

Historical ballads occur about this period with the initials T. D. These stand for Thomas Deloney, a famous ballad writer of these times, mentioned by Kemp, one of the original actors in Shakespeare's plays, in his *Nine Daies Wonder*, 1600. Kemp's miraculous morris-dance, performed in nine days from London to Norwich, had been misrepresented in the popular ballads, and he thus remonstrates against some of their authors: "I haue made a priuie search what priuate jig-monger of your jolly number had been the author of these abhominable ballets written of me. I was told it was the great ballet-maker T. D. or Tho. Deloney, chronicler of the memorable liues of the 6. yeomen of the west, Jack of Newbery, the Gentle-craft,⁴ and such like honest mē, omitted by Stow, Hollinhead, Graftō, Hal, froysart, and the rest of those wel deseruing writers."⁵

¹ At Saint *Maries Spittle*. In the statutes of many of the ancient colleges at Oxford and Cambridge, it is ordered, that the candidates in divinity shall preach a sermon, not only at Paul's Cross, but at Saint Mary's Hospital in Bishopsgate Street, "ad Hospitale beatæ Mariæ."

[See Stowe, an. 1476. The Mayor of London and his brethren used to hear the sermon at Easter there. This was one of the places to which the Lady Margaret left xxx. for a dirge and mass. See *Royal Wills*, p. 360. The annual Spittle Sermon is still preached, and was made to attract much public attention by Dr. Parr on a late occasion.—*Park*.] ² MSS. Coxeter.

³ [Nor, to my knowledge, has any one else been so fortunate.]

⁴ "A booke called the *Gentle Crafte* intreating of Shoemakers," is entered to Ralph Blore, Oct. 19, 1597.—*Registr. Station*. C. fol. 25, a. See also *ibid.* fol. 63, a, [and *Handb. of E. E. Lit.* 1867, art. DELONEY.]

⁵ [This passage occurs at the end of the tract, in a sort of postscript. See Mr. Dyce's ed. 1840, p. 20. Warton's transcript was strangely incorrect.]

SECTION LIX.

THE earliest translator of any portion of Martial into English was probably Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey who, in *Tottel's Miscellany*, not printed till many years after the Earl's death, has a version of *Martialis ad Seipsum*. The next was William Baldwin, the first collector of the materials for the *Mirror for Magistrates*, and the principal author of the portion published in 1559, and often afterwards. Baldwin annexed some specimens of the Latin poet to his *Treatise of Moral Philosophy*, 1547. He was followed in 1571 by some person whose name has not transpired, and who executed in Latin, English, and Welsh another translation of *Martial to Himself*, taken from the tenth Book of the Epigrams.]

The Epigrams of Martial were [next] translated [also] in part by Timothy Kendall, born at North Aston in Oxfordshire, successively educated at Eton and at Oxford, and afterwards a student of the law at Staples Inn. This performance, which cannot properly or strictly be called a translation of Martial, is dedicated to Robert, Earl of Leicester. The epigrams translated are from Martial, Pictorius, Borbonius, Politian, Bruno, Textor, Ausonius, the Greek anthology, Beza, Sir Thomas More, Henry Stephens, Haddon,¹ Parkhurst,² and others. But by much the greater part is from Martial.³ It is charitable to hope that our translator Timothy Kendall wasted no more of his time at Staples Inn in culling these fugitive blossoms. Yet he has annexed to these versions his *Trifles*, or juvenile epigrams, which are dated the same year,⁴ [and which are of considerable in-

¹ Walter Haddon's *Poemata*, containing a great number of metrical Latin epitaphs, were collected [in 1567, and were re-]published with his *Life*, and verses at his death, by Giles Fletcher and others, in 1576. See T. Baker's Letters to Bishop Tanner, MS. Bibl. Bod.

[Kendall translated his *Precepts of Wedlocke* from the Latin poems of Haddon: they may be seen in Mr. Ellis's *Specimens*, vol. ii.—Park.]

² John Parkhurst, Bishop of Norwich, a great reformer, published *Ludicra sive Epigrammata juvenilia*, 1572. Also, *Epigrammata Seria*, Lond. 1560, 8vo. [No such book is now known.] He died in 1574. See Wilson's *Epitaphia on Charles and Henry Brandon*, 1551.

³ Kendall is mentioned among the English Epigrammatists by Meres, *ubi supr.* fol. 274.

⁴ The first line is:

"Borbon in France bears bell awaic."

That is, Nicholas Borbonius, whose *Nugæ* or Latin Epigrams, then celebrated, have great elegance. But Joachim du Bellay made this Epigram on the title:

"Paule, tuum inscribis Nugarum nomine librum,
In toto libro nil melius titulo."

terest and value from a biographical point of view, as they throw much light on the poet's family. Sheppard, the printer of his book, was his brother-in-law.

Meres, in his *Palladis Tamia*, 1598, mentions that Christopher Johnson, head-master of Winchester school, and afterwards a physician, translated Homer's *Batrachomyomachia*, in Latin hexameters, and this was licensed to T. Purfort, January 4, 1579-80,] but no copy is at present known. Thomas Watson, author of *The passionate century of Love*, published a Latin *Antigone* in 1581, [dedicated to Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel.¹] The latter, however, shows at this time an attention to the Greek tragedies.

Christopher Marlowe, educated in elegant letters at Cambridge, Shakespeare's cotemporary on the stage, often applauded by Queen Elizabeth as a judicious player, esteemed for his poetry by Jonson and Drayton, and one of the most distinguished tragic poets of his age, translated Coluthus's *Rape of Helen* [by Paris] into English rhyme, in the year 1587.² I have never seen it; and I owe this information to the manuscript papers of a diligent collector of these fugacious anecdotes.³ But there is entered, in 1595, *A booke entituled Raptus Helenæ, Helens Rape by the Athenian duke Theseus*, [and it was printed the same year. This was the production, assuredly not of Marlowe, but of John Trussell, and is written in 6-line stanzas.] Coluthus's poem was probably brought into vogue, and suggested to Marlowe's notice, by being paraphrased in Latin verse the preceding year by Thomas Watson, the writer of sonnets just mentioned.⁴ [In] the year 1598 appeared [no fewer than three editions or issues of] Marlowe's [paraphrase] of *Hero and Leander*, the elegant proflusion of an unknown sophist of Alexandria. It was left unfinished by Marlowe's death;⁵ but [was licensed in the same year to John Wolfe, the printer. One of the editions of 1598, the earliest now known to exist, contains merely the first and second Sestiyads, the work of Marlowe himself (who, according to Malone, however, executed a portion of the third):

Our countryman Owen, who had no notion of Borbonius's elegant simplicity, was still more witty:

"Quas tu dixisti Nugas, non esse putasti,
Non dico Nugas esse, sed esse puto."

¹ In quarto. Licensed to R. Jones, Jul. 31, 1581. *Ibid.* fol. 182, b, [but it was printed by John Wolfe, perhaps for Jones.]

² ["Surely Warton could not mean, that the book entered to Jones in 1595, was perhaps Marlowe's version of Coluthus; for Coluthus relates the rape of Helen by Paris, not by Theseus."—Dyce.]

³ MSS. Coxeter.

⁴ [I have never seen Watson's *Coluthus*, and am unacquainted with any repository which possesses a copy.]

⁵ [Nashe in his *Leuten Stuffe*, 1599, asks whether any body in Yarmouth hath heard of Leander and Hero, of whom divine Musæus sung, and a diviner Muse than him Kit Marlow? p. 42. It is the suggestion of Mr. Malone, that if Marlow had lived to finish his *Hero and Leander*, he might perhaps have contested the palm with Shakespeare in his *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece*. Shaksp. vol. x. p. 72, edit. 1791. Marlow's translation of Ovid's *Elegies* is noticed, *supr.*—Park.]

the other edition contains the entire poem, completed by another writer, George Chapman,¹ and dedicated by him to Lady Walsingham. Warton proceeds:] At length George Chapman, the translator of Homer, completed, but with a striking inequality,² Marlowe's unfinished version, and printed it in [1598].³ It probably suggested to Shakespeare the allusion to *Hero and Leander* in the *Midsummer Night's Dream*, under the player's blunder of *Limander and Helen*, where the interlude of Thisbe is presented.⁴ It has many nervous and polished verses.⁵ His tragedies manifest traces of a just dramatic conception, but they abound with tedious and uninteresting scenes, or with such extravagances as proceeded from a want of judgment and those barbarous ideas of the times, over which it was the peculiar gift of Shakespeare's genius alone to triumph and to predominate.⁶ His *Tragedy of Dido Queen of*

¹ [In 1598 appeared also *The Second Part of Hero and Leander*, as it is called, by H. Petowe, the author of three other known poetical volumes. But, as Warton himself has pointed out, this "is a mere continuation from the Italian." Mr. Dyce has furnished some specimens of Petowe's style and versification in his edition of Marlowe, 1850.] See Petowe's *Preface*, which has a high panegyric on Marlowe. He says he begun where Marlowe left off. The translation, as the entire work of Marlowe, is mentioned twice in Nashe's *Leamen Stuff*, 1599. It occurs again in the registers of the Stationers, in 1597, 1598, and 1600. *Registr.* C, fol. 31, a, 34, a. I learn from Mr. Malone that Marlowe finished only the two first Sestiads, and about one hundred lines of the third. Chapman did the remainder.

² [Chettle, in his *Englands Mourning Garment*, does not admit of this inequality, when he describes Chapman as

"Coryn, full of worth and wit,
That finish'd dead Musæus' gracious song,
With grace as great, and words and verse as fit."

To the joint version of Marlow and Chapman, Cokain thus alludes in his *Remedy for Love*:

"Musæus Englished by two poets shun;
It may undo you though it be well done."

Dr. Anderson, however, is of opinion, that the work is worthy of republication. *British Poets.—Park*. Of an earlier version of *Hero and Leander* mention has been made already.]

³ [It was reprinted in 1600, 1606, 1609, 1613, 1629, and 1637.]

⁴ A& v. sc. ult.

⁵ The "Ballad of Hero and Leander" [by W. Meash, is entered to J. White, Jul. 2, 1614, *Registr.* Station. C, fol. 252, a. Burton, an excellent Grecian, having occasion to quote *Musæus*, cites Marlow's version—*Melancholy*, p. 372, seq. fol. edit. 1624.

⁶ Nash, in his Elegy prefixed to Marlowe's *Dido*, mentions five of his plays. [As the Elegy by Nash is not in any of the few copies of *Dido* at present known, it would seem to be lost irretrievably; but that it once existed is unquestionable. Malone, who applied to Warton for further particulars on this subject, has left the following MS. note in his copy of the play: "He (Warton) informed me by letter that a copy of this play was in *Osborne's Catalogue* in the year 1754; that he then saw it in his shop (together with several of Mr. Oldys's books that Osborne had purchased), and that the elegy in question 'on Marlowe's untimely death,' was inserted immediately after the title-page."—Dyce.] I have before mentioned the Latin tragedy of *Dido and Eneas*, performed at Oxford, in 1583, before the Prince Alasco. See what Hamlet says to the first Player on this favorite story. In 1564, was entered a *Ballet of a lover blamyng his fortune by Dido and Eneas for*

Carthage was completed and published by his friend Thomas Nash, in 1594.¹

Although Jonson mentions Marlowe's *Mighty [Line]*, yet the highest testimony Marlowe has received, is from his cotemporary Drayton, who from his own feelings was well qualified to decide on the merits of a poet. It is in Drayton's Elegy, *To my most dearly-loved friend Henry Reynolds, Esquire, of Poets and Poesie*:

"Next Marlow, bathed in the Thespian springs
Had in him those brave transunary things,
That the first poets had : his raptures were
All ayre, and fire, which made his verses clere :
For that fine madnes still he did retaine
Which rightly should possesse a Poets braine."

In the *Return from Parnassus*, a sort of critical play, acted at Cambridge in 1606, [but written during the reign of Elizabeth,] Marlowe's buskined *Muse* is celebrated.³ His cotemporary Decker, Jonson's antagonist, having allotted to Chaucer and "graue" Spenser, the highest seat in the Elysian "grove of Bayes," has thus arranged Marlowe. "In another companie sat learned Atchlow⁴ and, (tho he had ben a player molded out of their pennes, yet because he had been their louer and register to the Muse) inimitable Bentley ;⁵ these

thayre vntruthe.—*Registr. Station. A*, fol. 116, a. In the *Tempest*, Gonzalo mentions the "widow Dido," act iii. sc. 1. On old ballads we read the *Tune of Queen Dido* [which is merely another name for that popular production, *The Wandering Prince of Troy*.] Perhaps from some ballad on the subject, Shakespeare took his idea of Dido standing with a willow in her hand on the sea-shore, and beckoning Eneas back to Carthage.—*Merch. Ven.*, act v. sc. 1. Shakespeare has also strangely falsified Dido's story, in the *S. P. of King Henry VI.*, act iii. sc. ii. [*The Dido and Æneas*, performed by the Lord Admiral's servants in 1597-8, Mr. Halliwell (*Dict. of O. P.* 1860) thinks, may have been an alteration of Marlowe's *Dido*.]

¹ It is by no means certain that Marlowe left his play of *Dido* incomplete, or that Nash had any share in its composition. A Latin play of this name, by John Rightwile, was performed before Queen Elizabeth, at Cambridge, in 1564, and Gager's *Dido* was played before Prince Alasco, as Warton mentions, in 1583, at Oxford. It is also in Latin, and was printed at Oxford, 1592, 8vo.]

² Edit. [1627, p. 206]. That Marlowe was a favourite with Jonson, appears from the Preface to Botworth's *Chaste and Lost Lovers*, 1651, which says, that Jonson used to call the mighty lines of Marlowe's *Musæus* fitter for admiration than parallel. Thomas Heywood, who published Marlowe's *Jew of Malta* in 1633, wrote the Prologue spoken at the Cockpit, in which Marlowe is highly commended both as a player and a poet. It was in this play that Allen, the founder of Dulwich College, acted the Jew with so much applause. [*The Jew of Malta* was acted in 1591, and licensed for the press in May, 1594; but no edition but that of 1633 is now known.]

³ [Hawkins's *Old Pl.* iii. p. 215. [There were two editions in 1606, 4to. one of which has important corrections.] See other cotemporary testimonies of this author, in *Old Plays* (in 12 vols.) Lond. 1780, 12mo. vol. ii. 308.

⁴ [The other edition of this tract, without date, introduces at this place "learned Watfon, industrious Kyd, and ingenious Atchlow." Watfon has been mentioned as a sonneteer, and Kyd was a writer of tragedy.—*Park*. Atchlow, as he is here called, was the same Thomas Achelley who translated Bandello's *Didaco and Violanta*, 1576, 8vo. and has commendatory verses before Watfon's *Sonnets*, &c.]

⁵ [Nash thus speaks of Bentley in his *Pierce Penniless*, after noticing Ned Allen and the principal actors: "If I write any thing in Latine (as I hope one day I shall), not a man of any desert here amongst us, but I will have up:—

were likewise carowling out of the holy well, &c. Whilst Marlowe, Greene, and Peele, had gott under the shadow of a large vyne, laughing to see Nashe, that was but newly come to their colledge, still haunted with the same satyricall spirit that followed him here vpon earth."¹

Marlowe's wit and sprightlinefs of conuerfation had often the unhappy effect of tempting him to sport with sacred fubjects; more perhaps from the prepofterous ambition of courting the cafual applaufe of profligate and unprincipled companions, than from any fyftematic difbelief of religion. His fcepticism, whatever it might be, was conftrued by the prejudiced and peeuiſh Puritans into abſolute atheiſm: and they took pains to repreſent the unfortunate catastrophe of his untimely death, as an immediate judgment from heaven vpon his execrable impiety.² He was in love, and had for his rival, to uſe the ſignificant words of Wood, a "bawdy ſervingman, one rather fitter to be a pimp, than an ingenious *amoretto*, as Marlowe conceived himſelf to be."³ The conſequence was, that an affray enſued; in which the antagoniſt having by ſuperior agility gained an opportunity of ſtrongly graſping Marlowe's wriſt, plunged his dagger with his own hand into his own head. Of this wound he died [at Deptford, June 1], 1593.⁴ One of Marlowe's tragedies is, *The Tragicall*

Tarlton, Knell, Bentley, ſhall be made known to Fraunce, Spayne, and Italie," &c. Heywood, in his *Apology*, celebrates "Knell, Bentley, Mills, Wilſon, and Lanam, as players who, by the report of many judicial auditors, performed many parts ſo abſolute, that it were a ſin to drowne their works in Lethe." John Bentley is introduced by Ritſon in *Bibl. Poetica*, as the author of a few ſhort poems in [the Cornwallis MS. of Old Engliſh Poetry]. Robert Mills, a ſchool-maſter of Stamford, has various verſes in one of Rawlinſon's MSS. in the Bodleian Library, entitled *Miſcellanea Poetica*, temp. Eliz.—Park.]

¹ *A Knights Conſpiring*, 1607, ſign. L. To this company Henry Chettle is admitted, and is ſaluted in bumpers of Helicon on his arrival. ["In comes Chettle, ſweating and blowing, by reaſon of his fatnes: to welcome whom, becauſe he was of olde acquaintance, all roſe up and fell preſentlie on their knees, to drink a health to all lovers of Helicon."—Park.]

² See Beard's *Theatre of God's Judgments*, lib. i. ch. xxiii. And "Account of the blaſphemous and damnable opinions of Chriſt. Marley and 3 others, who came to a ſudden and fearfull end of this life."—MSS. *Harl.* 6853, 80, fol. 320. [For the fake of expoſing Mr. Warton's urbane though injudicious apology for the atheiſm of Marlow, this paper was printed in Ritſon's *Observations*, and it too glaringly exhibits the diabolical tenets and debauched morals of unhappy Chriſtopher Marlow.—Park. "It is not eaſy for me to reſiſt the conviction that Marlowe's impiety was more confirmed and daring than Warton and others have been willing to allow."—Dyce. But Mr. Dyce was not aware that in Henry Oxenden of Canterbury's Common-place Book, 1647, the name given only in cypher in the copies of the narrative printed by him are found written at length. It is Aldrich, a gentleman, who ſeems to have remembered the poet, and who was ſtill living at Canterbury, or in the vicinity, in Oxenden's own time.]

³ *Ath. Oxon.* vol. i. p. 338. See Meres, *Wits Tr.* fol. 287.

⁴ [Marlowe's Works, ed. 1850, xxxiii.] Marſton ſeems to allude to this catastrophe, *Certaine Satyres*, 1598, *Sat.* ii.

"Tis looſe-leg'd Lais, that ſame common drab,
For whom good Tubrio tooke the mortall ſtab."

By the way, Marlowe in his *Edward the Second* [Works, edit. 1850, ii. 199]

History of Doctor Faustus, of which the first known edition is dated 1604: it was often reprinted.]¹ A proof of the credulous ignorance which still prevailed, and a specimen of the subjects which then were thought not improper for tragedy. A tale, which at the close of the sixteenth century had the possession of the public theatres of our metropolis, now only frightens children at a puppet-show in a country town. But that the learned John Faustus continued to maintain the character of a conjuror in the sixteenth century even by authority, appears from a *Ballad of the Life and Deathe of doctor Faustus, the great Congerer* which, in 1588[-9], was licensed to be printed by the learned Aylmer, Bishop of London.² [Surely, this is not a whit more extraordinary than the fate of Virgil, as shown in the fabulous romance of *Virgilius*.

Mr. Dyce, in his edition of Marlowe's Works, 1850, a fine, though late tribute to the great writer's memory, has printed the translation or paraphrase (for Marlowe could not translate) of the *First Book of Lucan*, which was printed in 1600, 4to. and is mentioned on the title-page of the reprint of *Hero and Leander* in that year, as if it was intended to form part of the latter. But no copy has been found, in which the *Lucan* was so annexed, although I believe that Malone bound up the two together.]

As Marlowe, being now considered as a translator, and otherwise being generally ranked only as a dramatic poet, will not occur again, I take this opportunity of remarking here, that the delicate sonnet called the *Passionate Shepherd to his Love*, falsely attributed to Shakespeare, and which occurs in the third act of *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, followed by the nymph's *Reply*, was written by Marlowe.³ Isaak Walton, in his *Compleat Angler*, a book perhaps composed about the year 1640, although not published till 1653, has inserted this sonnet with the reply, under the character of "that smooth song which was made by Kit Marlowe, now at least fifty years ago: and an Answer to it which was made by Sir Walter Raleigh, in his younger days: 'old fashioned poetry, but choicely good.'" In *Englands Helicon*, a miscellany of the year 1600, it is printed with Christopher Marlowe's name, and followed by the *Reply*, subscribed

seems to have ridiculed the Puritans under the character of the scholar Spencer, who "says a long grace at a tables end, wears a little band, buttons like pins heads." [Baldock is made to say:]

"which made me curate-like in mine attire,
Though inwardly licentious enough," &c.

[It is at least probable that Marlowe dressed his scholar from what he saw worn in or before the year 1593. Small conical buttons, &c. were then the prevailing fashion. See the pictures of Lord Southampton, Sir Philip Sidney, and Sir Walter Raleigh, who was "curate-like" in his attire.—*A/hby*.]

¹ Entered, I think for the first time, to T. Buisnell, Jan. 7, 1600[-1.] *Registr. Station*. C, fol. 67, b. [Again,] 1610, Sept. 13, to J. Wright.—*Ibid*. fol. 199, b.

² [Notes and Queries, 2nd Series, xii. 242, where, however, there is no reference to any special licence of this piece by Aylmer.]

³ See Steevens's *Shakeff.* vol. i. p. 297, edit. 1778.

Ignoto.¹ That Marlowe was admirably qualified for what Mr. Mason, with a happy and judicious propriety, calls pure poetry, will appear from the following passage of his forgotten tragedy of *Edward the Second*, written in the year 1590,² and first printed in 1598. The highest entertainments then in fashion are contrived for the gratification of the infatuated Edward, by his profligate minion Piers Gaveston.³

I must haue wanton poets, pleasant wits,
Musicians, that with touching of a string
May drawe the plyant king which way I please.
Music and poetry is his delight;
Therefore I'll haue Italian maſques by night,
Sweet speeches, comedies, and pleasing shewes.
And in the day, when he shall walke abroad,
Like sylvan Nymphs my pages shall be clad,
My men like Satyrs, grazing on the lawnes,
Shall with their goat-feet dance the antic hay.
Sometime a Louely Boy, in Dians shape,⁴
With haire that gildes the water as it glides,
Crownets of pearle about his naked armes,
And in his sportfull handes an oliue-tree,
* * * * *
Shall bathe him in a spring: and there hard by,
One, lyke Aſteon, peeping through the groue,
Shall by the angry goddeſſe be transform'd.—
Such thinges as theſe beſt pleaſe his maieſtie.⁵

It must be allowed that these lines are in Marlowe's best manner. His chief fault in description is an indulgence of the florid style, and an accumulation of conceits, yet resulting from a warm and brilliant fancy. As in the following description of a river :

I walkt along a ſtreame for pureneſſe rare,
Brighter then ſun-ſhine : for it did acquaint
The dulleſt fight with all the glorious pray,
That in the pebble-paued chanell lay.

¹ Signat. P 4, edit. 1614. [The publisher of *Englands Helicon* never conceals the names of his writers where he knows them; where he does not, he subscribes the word *Ignoto* (Anonymous).—*Ritſon*. See also Hannah's *Courtly Poets from Raleigh to Montroſe*, 1870, p. 217.

The Nymphs Reply to the Shepherd is in *Englands Helicon*. [Malone's copy of *Englands Helicon*, 1600, had been Pearson's and Steevens's. All the copies seem to differ in some trifling minutiae, and three of the four known have, in several places, slips with new signatures pasted over the old ones, shewing that, after the work had been printed off, the publisher found reason to change his mind as to the authorship of certain pieces. See Collier's *Bibl. Cat.* 1865, i. 71-3.]

² ["Warton incidentally mentions that Marlowe's *Edward the Second* was 'written in the year 1590;' and, for all we know, he may have made the assertion on sufficient grounds, though he has neglected to specify them. Mr. Collier, who regards it (and no doubt, rightly) as one of our author's latest pieces, has not attempted to fix its date. It was entered in the Stationers' Books 6th July, 1593, and first printed in 1598."—*Dyce*.]

³ [It seems somewhat remarkable, that Marlowe, in describing the pleasures which Gaveston contrived to debase the infatuated Edward, should exactly employ those which were exhibited before the sage Elizabeth. But to her they were only occasional and temporary relaxations.—*Ashby*.]

⁴ That is, acting the part of Diana.

⁵ [Works, ed. 1850, ii. 167.]

No molten Chryftall, but a Richer mine,
 Euen natures rareft alchemie ran there,
 Diamonds refolud, and fubftance more diuine,
 Through whose bright gliding current might appeare
 A thoufand naked Nymphes, whose yuorie shine
 Enameling the bankes, made them more deare¹
 Then euer was that gloriovs *Pallas* gate,
 Where the day-fhining funne in triumph fate.²
 Vpon this brim, the Eglantine, and Roſe,
 The Tamarifke, Oliue, and the Almond tree,
 As kind companions in one vnion growes,
 Folding their twindring armes as oft we ſee
 Turtle-taught louers either other cloſe,
 Lending to dulneſſe feeling Sympathie:
 And as a coſtly vallance³ ore a bed,
 So did their garland tops the brooke oreſpred.
 Their leaues that differed both in ſhape and ſhowe,
 (Though all were greene) yet difference ſuch in greene
 Like to the checkered bent of *Iris* bowe,
 Prided the running maine as it had beene, &c.⁴

Philips, Milton's nephew, in a work which I think diſcovers many touches of Milton's hand, calls Marlowe "A kind of a ſecond Shakeſpeare . . . not only becauſe like him he roſe from an Actor to be a Maker of Plays, though inferiour both in fame and merit, but alſo, becauſe in his begun poem of *Hero and Leander*, he ſeems to have a reſemblance of that clean and unſophiſticated wit, which is natural to that incomparable poet."⁵ Criticiſms of this kind were not common, after the national taſte had been juſt corrupted by the falſe and capricious refinements of the court of Charles the Second.⁶

Ten books of Homer's *Iliad* were tranſlated from a metrical French verſion [by M. Hugues Salel, 1555,] into Engliſh by Arthur Hall, eſquire, of Grantham, and a member of parliament,⁷ and printed at London in 1581. This tranſlation has no other merit than that of being the firſt appearance of a part of the *Iliad* in an

¹ Precious.

² The deſcription of the palace of the ſun was a favourite paſſage in Golding's *Ovid*.

³ Canopy. Shakeſpeare means a rich bed-canopy in *Sec. P. Henr. IV.* act iii. ſc. i.

"Under the canopies of coſtly ſtate."

⁴ See *Englands Parnaffus*, 1600, fol. [480. It is ſingular to obſerve the variations between Warton's tranſcript and the original which he employed (now before me).]

⁵ [*Theatrum Poetarum* (1675), edit. 1824, p. (xvii).]

⁶ [The beſt account of Marlowe and his writings is in Mr. Dyce's edition, 1850, 3 vols. 8vo.]

⁷ [In 1580, Henry Bynneman was ſummoned to the bar of the Houſe of Commons for publiſhing an account of Hall's quarrel with one Melchifedeck Mallerie, in a letter from F. A. to L. B. A copy of this tract is in the Grenville collection, and it is reprinted in the *Miscellanea Antiqua Anglicana*.]

[Hall was expelled by the Commons for this libel upon them. A copy of the judgment againſt him may be ſeen in *Harl. Miſcell.* v. 265. In the Lanſdowne MSS. vol. 31, are his complaint of the rigour of the lower houſe of parliament, and

English drefs.¹ He sometimes consulted the Latin interpretation, where his French copy failed. It is done in the Alexandrine of Sternhold. In the Dedication to Sir Thomas Cecil he compliments the distinguished translators of his age, Phaer, Golding, Jasper Heywood, and Googe, together with the worthy works of Lord Buckhurst, "and the pretie pythie Conceits of M. George Gascoygne." He adds, that he began this work about 1563, under the advice and encouragement of "Mr. [Roger] Askame [a very good Grecian,] and a familiar acquaintance of Homer."

But a complete and regular version of Homer was reserved for George Chapman. He began with printing the *Shield of Achilles*, in 159[8].² This was followed by seven books of the *Iliad* the same year. [Twelve] books were printed [about 1610]. At length appeared without date [but 1611]³ an entire translation of the *Iliad*⁴ under the following title, *The Iliads of Homer Prince of Poets. Never before in any language truly translated. With a comment on some of his chiefe places: Donne according to the Greeke by Geo. Chapman.*⁵ It is dedicated [like the previous edition,] in English heroics to Prince Henry [who died at the end of 1612]. Then follows an anagram on the name of his *gracious Mecenaz* Prince Henry, and a sonnet to the *sole empressse of beautie* Queen Anne. In a metrical address to the reader he remarks, but with little truth, that the English language, abounding in consonant monosyllables, is eminently adapted to rhythmical poetry. The doctrine that an allegorical sense was hid under the narratives of epic poetry has not yet ceased; and he here promises a poem on the mysteries he had newly discovered in Homer. In the Preface he declares that the last twelve books were translated in fifteen weeks: yet with the advice of his learned and valued friends, Master Robert Hews⁶ and Master Harriots [Thomas Harriot]. It is certain that the whole performance betrays the

his submission before the lords. The dedication to Homer speaks of the vexations he experienced from his ungoverned youth. He appears to have been a domestic student with Sir Thomas Cecil afterwards Earl of Exeter, and was probably brought in by that family as a member for Grantham.—*Park.*]

¹ [Hall's own copy of Sale's French version is in the Br. Museum.—*Ritfon.*]

² It begins:

"I thee beseech, O goddess milde, the hatefull hate to plaine."

³ It was licensed April 8, 1611.

⁴ He says in his *Commentary* on the first book that he had wholly translated again his first and second books; but that he did not even correct the seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth. And that he believed his version of the twelve last to be the best. Butcher's edit. *ut infr.* fol. 14. [See *Hanb. of E. E. Lit.* 1867, p. 282, for a notice of Warton's copy of Chapman's *Homer.*] Meres, who wrote in 1598, mentions Chapman's "inchoate *Homer*," fol. 285, p. 2. *Ubi supr.*

⁵ It [has] an engraved title-page by William Hole, with figures of Achilles and Hector, &c.

⁶ This Robert Hues, or Hufius, was a scholar, a good geographer and mathematician, and published a tract in Latin on the Globes, Lond. 1593, 8vo. With other pieces in that way. There was also a Robert Hughes who wrote a Dictionary of the English and Persic. See Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* i. 571; *Hist. Antiquit. Univ. Oxon.* lib. ii. p. 288, b.

negligence of haste. He pays his acknowledgments to his "most ancient, learned, and right noble friend, Master Richard Stapilton, the first most desertfull mouer of the frame of our Homer." He endeavours to obviate a popular objection, perhaps not totally groundless, that he consulted the prose Latin version more than the Greek original. He says, sensibly enough, "it is the part of euery knowing and iudicious interpreter, not to follow the number and order of words, but the materiall things themselues, and sentences to weigh diligently; and to clothe and adorne them with words, and such a stile and forme of oration, as are most apt for the language into which they are conuerted." The danger lies in too lavish an application of this sort of clothing, that it may not disguise what it should only adorn. I do not say that this is Chapman's fault: but he has by no means represented the dignity or the simplicity of Homer. He is sometimes paraphrastic and redundant, but more frequently retrenches or impoverishes what he could not feel and express. In the mean time, he labours with the inconvenience of an awkward, inharmonious and unheroic measure, imposed by custom, but disgustful to modern ears. Yet he is not always without strength or spirit. He has enriched our language with many compound epithets, so much in the manner of Homer, such as the *silver-footed* Thetis, the *silver-throned* Juno, the *triple-feathered* helm, the *high-walled* Thebes, the *fair-haired* boy, the *silver-flowing* floods, the *bugely-peopled* towns, the Grecians *navy-bound*, the *strong-winged* lance, and many more which might be collected. Dryden reports that Waller never could read Chapman's Homer without a degree of transport. Pope is of opinion that Chapman covers his defects "by a daring fiery spirit that animates his translation, which is something like what one might imagine Homer himself to have writ before he arrived to years of discretion." But his fire is too frequently darkened by that sort of fustian which now disfigured the diction of our tragedy.

He thus translates the comparison of Diomed to the autumnal star, at the beginning of the fifth book. The lines are in his best manner:

From his bright helme and shield did burne, a most unwearied fire,
Like rich Autumnus' golden lampe, whose brightnesse men admire
Past all the other host of starres, when with his chearefull face
Fresh-washt in loftie ocean waues, he doth the skies enchaife.¹

The sublime imagery of Neptune's procession to assist the Grecians is thus rendered:

The woods, and all the great hills neare, trembled beneath the weight
Of his immortall mouing feet: three steps he only tooke,
Before he far-off Æge reach'd: but, with the fourth, it shooke
With his dread entrie. In the depth of those seas, did he hold
His bright and glorious pallace, built of neuer-rusting gold:
And there arriu'd, he put in coach his brazen-footed steeds
All golden-maned, and paced with wings,² and all in golden weeds

¹ Fol. 63.

² having wings on their feet.

Himselfe he clothed. The golden scourge, most elegantly done,¹
 He tooke, and mounted to his seate, and then the god begun
 To drive his chariot through the waues. From whirlpools every way
 The whales exulted under him, and knewe their king: the sea
 For ioy did open, and his horse² so swift and lightly flew,
 The vnder axeltree of brasie no drop of water drew.³

My copy once belonged to Pope; in which he has noted many of Chapman's absolute interpolations, extending sometimes to the length of a paragraph of twelve lines.⁴ A diligent observer will easily discern that Pope was no careless reader of his rude predecessor. Pope complains that Chapman took advantage of an unmeasurable length of line. But in reality Pope's lines are longer than Chapman's. If Chapman affected the reputation of rendering line for line, the specious expedient of chusing a protracted measure which concatenated two lines together, undoubtedly favoured his usual propensity to periphrasis.

Chapman's commentary is only incidental, contains but a small degree of critical excursion, and is for the most part a pedantic compilation from Spondanus. He has the boldness severely to censure Scaliger's impertinence. It is remarkable that he has taken no illustrations from Eustathius, except through the citations of other commentators. But of Eustathius there was no Latin interpretation.

This volume is closed with [eigh]teen sonnets by the author, addressed to the chief nobility.⁵ It was now a common practice, by these unpoetical and empty panegyrics, to attempt to conciliate the attention, and secure the protection, of the great, without which it was supposed to be impossible for any poem to struggle into celebrity. Habits of submission, and the notions of subordination, now prevailed in a high degree; and men looked up to peers, on whose smiles or frowns they believed all sublunary good and evil to depend, with a reverential awe. Henry Lock subjoined to his metrical paraphrase of Ecclesiastes, and his *Sundrie [Sonnets of Christian Passions]*, printed together 1597, a set of secular sonnets to the nobility, among whom are Lord Buckhurst and Anne the amiable countess of Warwick; and, not to multiply instances, Spenser in compliance with a dis-

¹ wrought, finished.

² for horses.

³ Fol. 169, *seq.*

⁴ [Chapman's own copy of his Translation of Homer, corrected by him throughout for a future edition, was purchased for 5s. from the shop of Edwards by Mr. Steevens, and at the sale of his books in 1800, was transferred to the invaluable library of Mr. Heber.—*Park.*]

⁵ To the Duke of Lenox, the Lord Chancellor, Lord Salisbury Lord Treasurer, Earl of Suffolk, Earl of Northampton, Earl of Arundel, Earl of Pembroke, Earl of Montgomery, Lord Lisle, Countess of Montgomery, Lady Wroth, Countess of Bedford, Earl of Southampton, Earl of Sussex, Lord Walden, [Viscount Cranborne, Viscount Rochester,] and Sir Thomas Howard. Lady Mary Wroth, here mentioned, wife of Sir Robert Wroth, was much courted by the wits of his age. She wrote a romance called *Urania* [printed in 1621], in imitation of Sir Philip Sydney's *Arcadia*. See Jonson's *Epigr.* 103, 105. [Works, edit. 1816, viii. 215, 217. The sonnet to the Lady Arabella Stuart, found in the first folio edition, was suppressed here on political grounds.]

graceful custom, or rather in obedience to the established tyranny of patronage, prefixed to the *Fairy Queene* fifteen of these adulatory pieces, which in every respect are to be numbered among the meanest of his compositions.¹

[About] the year 1614, Chapman printed his version of the *Odyssey*, which he dedicated to King James's favourite, Carr, Earl of Somerset. This was soon followed by the *Batrachomyomachia*, and the *Hymns and Epigrams*.²

He also translated *Hesiod*.³ [Drayton alludes to this version of the *Works and Days*, by Chapman, which was printed in 1618, in the following lines :]—

Others againe here liued in my dayes,
That haue of vs deserued no lesse praise
For their translations, then the daintiest wit
That on Parnassus thinks he highft doth sit,
And for a chaire may mongst the Muses call
As the most curious maker of them all :
As reuerent Chapman, who hath brought to vs
Museus, Homer, and Hesiodus
Out of the Greeke : and by his skill hath reard
Them to that height, and to our tongue endeard,
That were those Poets at this day aliue
To see their bookes thus with vs to suruiue,

¹ This practice is touched by Breton, in *Pasquills Mad Cappe*, 1600, fol. 2. Speaking of every great man :—

“ He shall have Ballads written in his praise,
Bookes dedicate vnto his patronage;
Wittes working for his pleasure many waies :
Petigrees fought to mend his parentage.”

² *Registr. Station*. A. fol. 177, b. [There is a rude dramatic piece in the nature of an interlude on the subject of *Thersytes* in the Devonshire collection, it was printed about 1550, and consists of only 17 leaves. It has been reprinted for the Roxburghe Club.] And the versions of Homer perhaps produced a ballad, in 1586, *The Lamentation of Hecuba and the Ladies of Troye*. Aug. 1, to E. White. *Registr. Station*, B. fol. 209, a. Again to W. Mattes, Feb. 22, 1593[-4], *The Lamentation of Troye for the death of Hector*. Ibid. fol. 305, a. [See as to the latter *Handb. of E. E. Lit.* 1867, under 1. o.] But I find long before Chapman's time, *A Ballett betweene the myce and the frogges*, licensed in 1568; and there is a ballad, *A moste strange weddinge of the frogge and the mouse*, in 1580. [Mr. Dauney, in his *Ancient Scottish Melodies*, 1838, notices that in the “Complaynt of Scotland,” which was printed about 1549, a piece called *The Frog cam to the mil dur* is mentioned. He conjectures this may be the same with the ballad quoted by Warton. Mr. Dauney enumerates several other compositions of the same character, and such indeed are well known. Dr. Rimbault, in his *Book of Songs and Ballads*, 1851, has republished from Ravenscroft's *Melismata*, 1611, a version of *The Marriage of the Frogge and the Mouse*. This is the opening stanza :

“ It was the frogge in the well,
Humble-dum, humble-dum;
And the merrie mouse in the mill,
Tweedle, tweedle, twino.”

But there are several versions. *The Wedding of the Flye*, preserved in *Deuteromelia*, 1609, seems to be a performance written in imitation of what was probably the earlier ballad].

³ See also Bolton's opinion of Chapman, *supr.*

They would think, having neglected them so long,
They had bin written in the English tongue.¹

As an original writer Chapman belongs [chiefly] to the class of dramatic poets, and will not therefore be considered again at the period in which he is placed by the biographers.² His translations, therefore, which were begun before the year 1600, require that we should here acquaint the reader with some particulars of his life. He wrote eighteen plays which, although now forgotten, must have contributed in no inconsiderable degree to enrich and advance the English stage.³ He was born in 1557, perhaps in Kent. He passed about two years at Trinity College in Oxford, with a contempt of

¹ [*Works*, ed. 1627, p. 207. Commendatory verses are prefixed to the *Hesiod* by Drayton and Ben Jonson: with a dedication to Sir Francis Bacon, Lord Chancellor, who had been a student of Gray's Inn, to which the following passage punningly alludes. "All judgements of this season prefer to the wisdom of all other nations the most wise, learned and circularly spoken Grecians: according to that of the poet—

*"Graius ingenium, Graius dedit ore rotundo
Musa loqui."*

"And why may not this Romane eulogie of the *Graians* extend in praisefull intention to *Graies-Inne* wits and orators?" Those who admire Cooke's version of the *Works* and *Days*, may yet be pleased to see the close of Chapman's:

"That man a happy angell waits upon,
Makes rich and blessed, that through all his daies
Is knowingly emplot. In all his waies
Betwixt him and the gods, goes still unblam'd:
All their forewarnings and suggestions fram'd
To their obedience; being directly view'd;
All good endeavour'd, and all ill eschew'd."—*Park.*]

² But this is said not without some degree of restriction. For Chapman wrote *Ovid's Banquet of Sense*, *A Coronet for his mistress Philosophy and his amorous Zodiac*, 1595. To which is added, *The Amorous Contentment of Phillis and Flora*, a translation by Chapman from a Latin poem, written, as he says, by a Friar in the year 1400. [This date is a mere figment. A copy of the original Latin is in Harl. MS., 978, and has been printed in Wright's edition of the *Poems Attributed to Walter Mapes*, 1841, p. 258, *et seqq.* There was another translation by R. S., Esq., in 1598, in which free use has been made of Chapman's version.] There is also his [*Andromeda Liberata*], dedicated in a prolix metrical Epistle to Carr Earl of Somerset and Frances his Countess, 1614. Chapman wrote a vindication of this piece, both in prose and verse, called *A free and offenceless Justification of a late published and misinterpreted poem entitled Andromeda Liberata*, 1614. [A full list of Chapman's writings may be found in the editor's *Handbook of E. E. Lit.*]

³ [In the *Epigrams* of Freeman, 1614, Chapman was thus quaintly complimented for having surpassed his contemporary playwrights, and more nearly approached to the style of the writers of ancient comedy.

"Our comedians thou outstrippest quite,
And all the hearers more than all delightest;
With unaffected stile and sweetest straine
Thy inambitious pen keeps on her pace,
And commeth near't the ancient commicke vaine.
And were Thalia to be sold and bought,
No *Chapman* but thy selfe were to be fought."—*Park.*

The late Mr. Dyce mentioned to the present editor, shortly before his death, that he was contemplating the collection of Chapman's plays; but it is not known whether any progress had been made toward this desirable object.]

philosophy, but in a close attention to the Greek and Roman classics.¹ Leaving the University about 1576, he seems to have been led to London in the character of a poet; where he soon commenced a friendship with Spenser, Shakespeare, Marlowe and Daniel, and attracted the notice of Secretary Walsingham. He probably acquired some appointment in the court of King James I.; where untimely death and unexpected disgrace quickly deprived him of his liberal patrons Prince Henry and Carr. Jonson was commonly too proud either to assist or to be assisted; yet he engaged with Chapman and Marston in writing the comedy of *Eastward Ho*, which was performed by the Children of the Revels in 1605.² But this association gave Jonson an opportunity of throwing out many satirical parodies on Shakespeare with more security. All the three authors, however, were in danger of being pilloried for some reflections on the Scottish nation, which were too seriously understood by James I. When the societies of Lincoln's Inn and the Middle Temple, in 1613, had resolved to exhibit a splendid masque at Whitehall in honour of the nuptials of the Palgrave and the Princess Elizabeth, Chapman was employed for the poetry, and Inigo Jones for the machinery. It is not clear, whether Dryden's resolution to burn annually one copy of Chapman's best tragedy, *Buffy d'Ambois*, to the memory of Jonson was a censure or a compliment.³ He says, however, that this play pleased only in the representation, like a star which glitters only while it shoots. Wood says, that Chapman was "a person of most reverend aspect, religious and temperate, qualities rarely meeting in a poet!"⁴ The truth is, he does not seem to have mingled in the dissipations and indiscretions which then marked his profession.⁵ He died at the age of seventy-seven, in 1634, and was buried on the south side of Saint Giles's Church in the Fields.⁶ His friend Inigo Jones planned and erected

¹ From the information of Mr. Wile, late Radcliffe's librarian, and keeper of the Archives, at Oxford.

² The first of Chapman's plays, I mean with his name, which appears in the Stationers' Registers, is the tragedy of *Charles Duke of Byron*. Entered to T. Thorp, Jun. 5, 1608. Register. C. fol. 168, b. [But he had published the *Blind Beggar of Alexandria* as early as 1598.]

³ Preface to *Spanish Fryer*.

⁴ *Ath. Oxon.* i. 592.

⁵ [Davies of Hereford, in his *Scourge of Folly*, termed Chapman the "father of our English poets," and the "treasurer of their company." And, indeed, said Oldys, his head was a poetical treasury or chronicle of whatsoever was memorable among the poets of his time, which made him latterly much resorted to by the young gentry of good parts and education. But he was choice of his company, shy of loose, shallow and vain associates, and preserved in his own conduct the true dignity of poetry, which he compared to the flower of the sun, that disdains to open its leaves to the eye of a smoking taper.—*MSS. on Langb. in Mus. Brit.—Park.*]

⁶ [From the following complaint in Habington's *Castara*, which was printed in 1634, it would seem that the poet's remains did not obtain sepulture within the church:—

" 'Tis true that Chapman's reverend ashes must
Lye rudely mingled with the vulgar dust,

a monument to his memory, in the style of the new architecture, which was unluckily destroyed with the old church.¹ There was an intimate friendship between our author and this celebrated restorer of Grecian palaces. Chapman's *Musæus*, not that begun by Marlowe, but published in 1616, has a dedication to Jones: in which he is addressed as the most skilful and ingenious architect that England had yet seen.

As a poetical [not metrical] novel of Greece, it will not be improper to mention here the *Clitophon and Leucippe* of Achilles Tatius, [in prose,] under the title of *The most delectable and pleasant Historye of Clitophon and Leucippe from the Greek of Achilles Statius, &c.*, by W[illiam] B[urton?], [1597.]² The President Montesquieu, whose refined taste was equal to his political wisdom, is of opinion that a certain notion of tranquillity in the fields of Greece gave rise to the description of soft and amorous sentiments in the Greek romance of the middle age. But that gallantry sprang from the tales of Gothic chivalry.³ I have mentioned a version of Heliodorus.

As Barnaby Googe's *Zodiac of Palingenius* [Pier Angelo Manzoli] was a favourite performance, and is constantly classed and compared with the poetical translations of this period, by the cotemporary critics, I make no apology for giving it a place at the close of this review.⁴ [Three books were printed in 1560, six in 1561, and in 1565 the complete work appeared in twelve books, with a dedication

'Cause carefull heyers the wealthy onely haue
To build a glorious trouble o're the graue.
Yet doe I not despaire, some one may be
So seriously devout to poesie,
As to translate his reliques, and find roome
In the warme church to build him up a tombe," p. 59.—*Park.*]

¹ Wood has preserved part of the epitaph, "Georgius Chapmannus, poeta Homericus, philosophus verus (etſi christianus poeta) pluſquam celebris," &c.—*Ubi ſupr.*

² [A later translation was made by Anthony Hodges, and printed in 1638.]

³ "Une certaine idée de tranquillité dans les campagnes de la Grece fit deſcrire les ſentimens de l'amour. On peut voir les Romans de Grecs du moyen age. L'idée des Paladins, proteſteurs de la vertu et de la beauté des femmes, conduiſit à celle de la galanterie."—*Eſprit des Loix*, liv. xxvii. ch. 22.

⁴ I know not if translations of Plautus and Terence are to be mentioned here with propriety. I obſerve, however, in the notes, that Plautus's *Menachmi*, copied by Shakeſpeare, appeared in Engliſh by W. W. or William Warner, author of *Albions England*, in 1595. Tanner ſays that he tranſlated but not printed all Plautus.—*MSS. Tann. Oxon.* [But the anonymous interlude of *Jacke Jugeler*, liſenced and probably printed in 1563, ought to have been mentioned here, as the earlieſt adaptation from Plautus in the Engliſh language; for, as Mr. Collier has pointed out, the Comedy of Plautus performed before Henry VIII. in 1520 was probably in Latin.] Raſtall printed *Terens in Engliſh*, that is, the *Andria*. There is alſo *Andria the firſt Comedye of Terence*, by Maurice Kyffin, 1588. By the way, this Kyffin, a Welſhman, publiſhed a poem called *The Bleſſedneſſe of Brytaine, or a celebration of the queenes holyday*, [1587, of which a much enlarged edition appeared in 1588.] The *Eunuchus* was entered at Stationers' Hall, to W. [Leake], in 1597, and the *Andria and Eunuchus*, in 1600.—*Regiſtr.* C. fol. 20, a. Richard Bernard publiſhed *Terence in Engliſh*, 1598. A fourth edition was printed at London, *Opera ac induſtria R. B. in Axholmiensî inſula Lincolneſberii Epwortheatis*, 1614.

to Sir W. Cecil, and his arms on the back of the title. It was reprinted in 1576, with Cecil's arms entirely different. There was a later edition in 1588].¹ In the Epistle Dedicatory [to the edition of 1565] to Secretary Sir William Cecil, he mentions his "simple trauayles lately dedicated vnto your honor."² These are his set of miscellaneous poems printed [twice] in 1563, or, *Eglogs, Epytaphes,*

¹ [To these editions (*i.e.* those of 1560 and 1561), was appended a table, afterwards omitted, "brefelye declaryng the signification and meanyng of all such poetically wordes as are conteyned wythin the booke, for the better understanding thereof." The earliest of these editions has a metrical preface, in which Melpomene is made to say to Googe:

"Stand by, *young man*, dispatch
And take thy pen in hand:
Wryte thou the Civill warres and broyle in auncient Latines land;
Reduce to English sense (the said) the lofty Lucans verse;
The cruell chauce and dolefull end of Cæsars state rehearse."

Urania recommends him to describe "the whirling spheres;" but Calliope interferes, and directs him to the *Zodiacus Vitæ* of Palingenius. Her sisters approve this advice, and Barnaby proceeds to his task. Before the edition of 1561 a new metrical introduction appeared, in which he says that the divine eloquence of Chaucer

"Hath past the poets all that came
Of auncient Brutus lyne."

And if Homer, Virgil, and Ovid had found their way hither in the Augustan age of Googe,

"All these might well be sure
Theyr matches here to fynde,
So muche doth England florish now
With men of muses' kynde."

In [March, 1563-4] Googe produced his own poems and inserted a poetical and pleasing address to his translation of Palingenius.—*Park*. See Ritson's *Bibliographia Poetica*, 1802, and Collier's *Bibl. Cat.* 1865, art. GOOGE. All the extracts from Googe's Palingenius have now been collated with the edition of 1565. The bibliography of the work is, perhaps, given sufficiently at large in the *Handb. of E. E. Lit.* 1867, v. PALINGENIUS.]

² In 12mo. bl. lett. Not paged. The last signature is Y y iiii. The colophon, "Imprinted at London by Henry Denham," &c. On the second leaf after the title, is an armorial coat with six compartments, and at the top the initials B. G. Then follow Latin commendatory verses, by Gilbert Duke, Christopher Carlile, doctor in divinity, James Itzwert, George Chatterton, fellow of Christ College in Cambridge, and David Bell, with some anonymous. Doctor Christopher Carlile was of Cambridge, and a learned orientalist, about 1550. He published many tracts in divinity. He was a writer of Greek and Latin verses. He has some in both languages on the death of Bucer in 1551. See Bucer's *English Works*, Basil, fol. 1577, f. 903. And in the collection on the death of the two Brandons, 1551, 4to. *ut sup.* Others, before his Reply to Richard Smyth, a papistic divine, Lond. 1582, 4to. He prefixed four Latin copies to Drant's *Ecclesiastes* above mentioned, Lond. 1572, 4to. Two, to one of Dr. John Jones's books on *Baths*, Lond. 1572, 4to. A Sapphic ode to Sadler's version of *Vegetius*, Lond. 1572, 4to. A Latin copy to Chaloner's *De Rep. Anglorum*, Lond. 1579, 4to. A Latin hexastic to Batman's *Doom*, Lond. 1581, 4to. Two of his Latin poems *In Papam* are (MS. Bale) in MSS. Cotton, *Tit. D. x. f. 77*. He translated the Psalms into English prose, with learned notes. Finished Jun. 24, 1573. Among MSS. More, 206. Colomesius has published a fragment of a Latin Epistle from him to Castalio, dat. kal. Maii, 1562. *Cl. Viror. Epist. singul.* Lond. 1694, 12mo. [There is a Memoir of Carlile in Cooper's *Athene Cantabrigienses*, ii. 34-5.]

and Sonettes, newly written by Barnabe Googe, 1563, 15 Marche.¹ He apologises for attempting this work, three books of which, as he had understood too late, were "both eloquently and excellently englished by Master Smith, clark vnto the moste honorable of the Queenes Maiesties counsell. Whose doings as in other matters I haue wyth admiration behelde," &c.² Googe was first a retainer to Cecil, and afterwards, in 1563, a gentleman-pensioner to the queen.³ In his address to the "vertuous and frendley reader," he thus, but with the zeal of a Puritan, defends divine poetry: "The deuine and notable Prophecies of Esay, the Lamentation of Jeremie, the Songs & Ballades of Solomon, the Psalter of Dauid, and the Booke of Hiob,⁴ were written by y^e first auctours in perfect and pleasaunt Hexameter verses. So that the deuine and canonicall volumes were garnished and set forth with the sweete according tunes & heauenly foundes of pleasaunt metre. Yet wyll not the gracelesse company of our pernicious Hipocrites allow, that the Psalmes of Dauid (a moste comfortable booke) should be translated into Englishe metre. And why? Marry, (faye they,) bycause they were only receiued to be chaunted in the Church, and not to be song in euery Coblers shop. O monstrous & malicious infidels! doe you so much disclose your cancred Stomacks towards the deuine Maiestie, that you abhorre to heare his glory and prayse founding in y^e mouth of a poore Christian artificer?" &c. He adds, that "since the time of our excellent countreyman sir Geffray Chaucer who liueth in like estimation with vs as did olde Ennius wyth the Latines, there hath flourished in England so fine and filed phrases, and so good & pleasaunt Poets, as may counteruayle the doings of *Virgill, Ouid, Horace, Iuuenal, Martial,*" &c. [In the edition of Pelingenius in 1588.] the former prefatory matters of every kind are omitted. This edition is [also] dedicated to [Cecil, under the title of] Lord [Burghley].⁵

¹ [L. Blundeston, in an address to the reader dated May 27, 1562, takes credit to himself for having conducted these poems to the printer, and desires to be credited for wishing well to desert:

"Give Googe therefore his own deserved fame,
Give Blundeston leave to wyll wel to his name."

The eclogues are eight in number, the epitaphs four, and the sonnets, which are unrestricted to any uniformity of verse, are very numerous. Several of these are addressed to Alexander Nevyl, and one (on sign. C v, *verso*) to Alexander Nowell. —*Park.*]

² It is doubtful whether he means Sir Thomas Smith, the secretary. Nor does it appear whether this translation was in verse or prose. Sir Thomas Smith, however, has left some English poetry. [He had a son of both his names, who may be the person here meant.]

³ Strype's *Parker*, 144. [For an interesting account of Googe, see Brydges' *Refutata*, iii. 307, and iv. 35; also iii. 359 and 365. A memoir of Googe may be found in the *Athene Cantabr.* ii. 39.]

⁴ Job.

⁵ At the end is a short copy of verses by Abraham Fleming. [In this edition [as in that of 1576] appears a translation of the Author's original preface addressed to Hercules II., Duke of Ferrara. The dedication is addressed to his former patron, Lord Burghley; and in this he declares, that although the number

From the title of this work, *Zodiacus Vitæ*, written in Latin hexameters by [Pier Angelo Manzoli,]¹ an Italian, about the year 1531, the reader at least expects some astronomical allusions. But it has not the most distant connection with the stars; except that the poet is once transported to the moon, not to measure her diameter, but for a moral purpose; and that he once takes occasion, in his general survey of the world, and in reference to his title, to introduce a philosophic explanation of the zodiacal system.² The author, meaning to divide his poem into twelve books, chose to distinguish each with a name of the celestial signs: just as Herodotus, but with less affectation and inconsistency, marked the nine books or divisions of his history with the names of the nine Muses. Yet so strange and pedantic a title is not totally without a conceit, as the author was born at Stellada, or Stellata, a province of Ferrara, whence he calls himself Marcellus Palingenius Stellatus.³

This poem is a general satire on life, yet without peevishness or malevolence, and with more of the solemnity of the censor than the petulance of the satirist.⁴ Much of the morality is couched under allegorical personages and adventures. The Latinity is tolerably pure, but there is a mediocrity in the versification. Palingenius's transitions often discover more quickness of imagination and fertility of reflection than solidity of judgment. Having started a topic, he pursues it through all its possible affinities, and deviates into the most distant and unnecessary digressions. Yet there is a facility in his manner which is not always unpleasing; nor is the general conduct of the work void of art and method. He moralises with a boldness and a liberality of sentiment, which were then unusual; and his maxims and strictures are sometimes tinged with a spirit of liberalism which, without exposing the opinions, must have offended the gravity, of the more orthodox ecclesiastics. He fancies that a confident philosopher, who rashly presumes to scrutinise the remote mysteries of nature, is shown in heaven like an ape, for the public diversion of the gods. A thought evidently borrowed by Pope.⁵

of faults in his rude translation made it impossible for him to amend it in all points, yet in overpassing many jarring discords he had set the whole in as good tune as he could. He expresses an intention hereafter to attempt some matter worthy of the noble personage to whom he inscribes this.—*Park.*]

¹ [But see Brunet (*Manuel*, 1863, iv. 318).]

² B. xi. *Aquarius*.

³ It should have been *Stellatenfis*.

⁴ [Gosse says in his dedication to Cecil, "I have many times much mused wyth my selfe howe (liuing in so dangerous a place), he (Palingenius) durst take vpon him so boldly to controll the corrupte and vnchristian liues of the whole Colledge of contemptuous Cardinales, the vngracious ouerseeings of bloudthyrsty Bishops, the Panchplying practises of pelting Priours, the manifold madnesse of mischeuous Monkes, wyth the filthy fraternitie of flattering Friars." From such a specimen it might be expected that alliteration had been studiously pursued in Gosse's version; but this does not appear.—*Park.*]

⁵ See *Essay on Pope*, p. 94. [The turn of the sentiment differs. Palingenius laughed at Man: Pope intended at least to praise Newton: but perhaps the imitation of the thought occasioned ambiguity.—*Ashby.*]

Although he submits his performance to the sentence of the church, he treats the authority of the Popes, and the voluptuous lives of the monks, with the severest acrimony. It was the last circumstance that chiefly contributed to give this poem almost the rank of a classic in the reformed countries, and probably produced an early English translation. After his death he was pronounced an heretic; and his body was taken up and committed to the flames. A measure which only contributed to spread his book, and disseminate his doctrines.

Googe seems chiefly to have excelled in rendering the descriptive and flowery passages of this moral *Zodiac*. He thus describes the Spring:

The earth againe doth florish greene,
The trees repaire their spring;
With pleasaunt notes the nitingale
Beginneth new to sing.
With flowers fresh their heads bedeckt,
The Fairies daunce in fieldes:
And wanton songes in mossye dennes
The Drids and Satirs yelde.
The wynged Cupide fast doth cast
His dartes of golde yframed, &c.¹

There is some poetic imagination in *Sagittarius*, or the ninth book, where a divine mystagogue opens to the poet's eyes an unknown region of infernal kings and inhabitants. But this is an imitation of Dante. As a specimen of the translation, and of the author's fancy, I will transcribe some of this imagery:

Now open wyde your springs, & playne²
Your caues abrode displaye,
You Systers of *Parnassus* hyll
Beset about wyth baye:
And vnto me (for neede it is)
A hundred tongues in verse
Sende out, that I these ayrie kings
And people may rehearse.
Here fyrst whereas in chariot red
Aurora fayre doth ryse,
And bright from out the Ocean seas
Appeares to mortal eyes,
And chafeth hence the Hellish night
Wyth blushing beauty fayre,
A mighty King I might discerne,
Placde hie in lofty chayre;
Hys haire wyth fyry garland deckt
Pufft vp in fiendish wife,
Wyth browes full broade & threatning loke,
And fyry flaming eyes.
Two monstrous hornes & large he had,
And nostrils wide in sight;
Al black himself, for bodies black
To euery euyll spright
And uggly shap hath nature dealt,
Yet white his teeth did showe,

¹ [Edit. 1565, lib. ii. sign. B iii. verso.]

² [*Ibid.* sign. H h 4.]

And white his grenning tuskes stode,
 Large wings on him did growe,
 Framde like the wings of Flindermice ;
 His feete of largest sife,
 In fashon as the wilde Duck beares,
 Or Goofe that creaking cries :
 His tayle such one as Lions haue :
 Al naked fate he there,
 But bodies couered round about
 Wyth lothsome shagged haire,
 A number great about him stodee, &c.

After viewing the wonders of heaven, his guide, Timalphes, the son of Jupiter and Arete, shews him the moon, whose gates are half of gold, and half of silver. They enter a city of the moon :

The lofty walles of Diamonde strong
 Were rayed hye and framde ;
 The bulwarks built of Carbuncle
 That all as fyer yflamde.
 I wondred at the number great
 That through the city so
 Al clad in whyte, by thousands thick
 Amyd the streates to go.
 Their heads beset wyth garlands fayre :
 In hand the Lillies white
 They ioyful beare.¹

Then follows a mixture of classcal and Christian history and mythology. This poem has many symptoms of the wildness and wanderings of Italian fiction.

It must be confessed, that there is a perspicuity and a freedom in Googe's versification. But this metre of Sternhold and Hopkins impoverished three parts of the poetry of Queen Elizabeth's reign. A hermit is thus described, who afterwards proves to be *Sir Epicure*, in a part of the poem which has been copied by Sir David Lindefay.

His hoary beard with syluer heares
 His middle fully rought :²
 His skin was white, and ioyfull face :
 Of diuers colours wrought,
 A flowry garland gay he ware
 About his semely heare, &c.³

The seventh book, in which the poet looks down upon the world, with its various occupations, follies, and vices, is opened with these nervous and elegant itanzas :

My muse a loft raise vp thy self,
 And vse a better flite :
 Mouit vp a hie, & think it scorn
 Of base affayres to write.
 More great renoune, and glory more,
 In hautye matter lyes :
 View thou y^e Gods, and take thy course
 Thorowout the starrye Skyes :
 Where springtime lastes for evermore,
 Where peace doth neuer quayle,

¹ B. ix. signat. G G iijj.

² reached.

³ Lib. iii. E j.

Where Sunne doth shine continuallye,
 Where Light doth neuer fayle.
 Clowd caufer Southwinde none there is,
 No boyftrous Boreas blowes;
 But mylder breaths y^e Western windes
 Where sweete *Ambrosia* growes.
 Take thou thys way, and yet fittimes
 Downe falling fast from hyc,
 Now vp, now downe, wyth sundry fort
 Of Gates¹ aloft go flye.
 And as some hawty place he seekes
 That couets farre to see,
 So vp to Joue, past starres to clyme,
 Is nedefull nowe for thee.
 There shalt thou, from the towry top
 Of Cryftall coloured fkye,
 The plot of all the world beholde
 With viewe of perfit eye.²

One cannot but remark, that the conduct and machinery of the old visionary poems are commonly the same. A rural scene, generally a wilderness, is supposed. An imaginary being of consummate wisdom, a hermit, a goddess, or an angel, appears; and, having purged the poet's eye with a few drops of some celestial elixir, conducts him to the top of an inaccessible mountain, which commands an unbounded plain filled with all nations. A cavern opens, and displays the torments of the damned: he next is introduced into heaven, by way of the moon, the only planet which was thought big enough for a poetical visit. Although suddenly deserted by his mystic intelligencer, he finds himself weary and desolate, on the sea-shore, in an impassable forest, or a flowery meadow.

The following is the passage which Pope has copied from Palingenius; and, as Pope was a great reader of the old English poets, it is most probable that he took it immediately from our translator, or found it by his direction.³

An Ape (quoth she) and iesting stock
 Is man to God in fkye,
 As oft as he doth trust his wit
 To much, presuming hie,
 Dare fearch the thinges of nature hid,
 His secretes for to fpeake;
 When as in very deede his minde
 Is dull and all to weake.⁴

¹ going.

[² Lib. iii. sign. U i.]

³ Pope's lines are almost too well known to be transcribed:

"Superiour beings, when of late they saw
 A mortal man unfold all nature's law,
 Admir'd such wisdom in an earthly shape,
 And shew'd a Newton as we shew an Ape."

⁴ B. vi. signat. Q iij. These are the lines of the original:

"Simia cælicolum risusque jocisque deorum est,
 Tunc Homo, cum temere ingenio confidit, et audet
 Abdita naturæ scrutari, arcanaque rerum;
 Cum revera ejus crassa imbecillaque sit mens."—Lib. vi. 186.

Googe, supposed to have been a native of Alvingham in Lincolnshire, was a scholar, and was educated both at Christ's College in Cambridge, and New College in Oxford. [He was on terms of intimate friendship with George Turberville the writer, and frequently occurs in Turberville's poems as a recipient of compliments].¹ He published other translations in English. I have already cited his version of Naogeorgus [or Kirchmaier's] hexametrical poem on *Antichrist* or the *Papal Dominion*,² printed [or at least issued, twice] in 1570, and dedicated to his chief patron Sir William Cecil.³ The dedication is dated from Staple Inn, where he was a student. At the end of the book is his version of the same author's *Spiritual [Husbandry]*, dedicated to Queen Elizabeth. Thomas Naogeorgus, a German, whose real name is Kirchmaier, was one of the many moral or rather theological Latin poets produced by the reformation.⁴ Googe also translated and enlarged Conrad Heresbach's *Treatise on Agriculture, Gardening, Orchards, Cattle, and Domestic Fowls*.⁵ This version was printed in 1577, and dedicated from Kingston to Sir William Fitzwilliam.⁶ Among Crynes's curious books in the Bodleian at Oxford, is Googe's translation from the Spanish of Lopez de Mendoza's *Proverbs*, 1579, dedicated to Cecil, which I have never seen elsewhere.⁷ In this book the old Spanish paraphrast mentions Boccaccio's *Theſeid*.

But it was not only to these later and degenerate classics, and to modern tracts, that Googe's industry was confined. He also translated into English what he called Aristotle's *Table of the Ten Categories*,⁸ that capital example of ingenious but useless subtlety, of

¹ See fol. 8, b. 11, a. 124, a. edit. 1571. [And again at fol. 115. Jasper Heywood also in his metrical preface to *Thyestes*, speaks of the grateful name that Googe had got; and Robinson in his *Reward of Wickednesse*, 1573, benches him by the side of Skelton, Lydgate, Wager and Heywood.—*Park*.]

² [Googe's title runs thus: *The popish kingdome, or reigne of Antichrist, written in Latine verse by Thomas Naogeorgus, and Englyshed by Barnabe Googe*, 1570. But it is not dated from any place, nor is there any dedication or address to Sir William Cecil. The translator professes to have undertaken his work on purpose to dedicate it to "his most gracious and redoubted soveraigne lady, Q. Elizabeth:" and subjoins another book, entitled *The Spiritual Husbandrie*, by the same author, which he long before translated. The original preface is dated Basil, Feb. 20, 1553. Both of these contain much curious matter.—*Park*.]

³ I suspect there is a former edition for W. Pickering, London, 1566, 4to.

⁴ Kirchmaier signifies the same in German as his assumed Greek name *Ναυργγος*, a labourer in the church. He wrote besides five books of Satires, and two tragedies in Latin. He died in 1578. See Thomæ Naogeorgii *Regnum papisticum, cui adjecta sunt quedam alia ejusdem argumenti*. Basil, 1553 and 1559. One of his Latin tragedies called *Hamanus* is printed among Oporinus's *Dramata Sacra*, or plays from the Old Testament, in 1547, many of which are Latin versions from the vernacular German. See Oporin. *Dram. S.* vol. ii. p. 107.

⁵ In the Preface to the first edition, he says, "For my safety in the vniversitye, I craue the aid and appeal to the defence of the famous Christ-college in Cambridge whereof I was ons an vnprofitable member, and [of] the ancient mother of learned men the New-college in Oxford."

⁶ Feb. 1, 1577. There were other editions, 1578, 1594.

⁷ [A copy was sold among Sir Mark Sykes's books in 1824.]

⁸ MSS. Coxeter.

method which cannot be applied to practice, and of that affectation of unnecessary deduction and frivolous investigation, which characterises the philosophy of the Greeks, and which is conspicuous not only in the demonstrations of Euclid, but in the Socratic disputations recorded by Xenophon. The solid simplicity of common sense would have been much less subject to circumlocution, embarrassment, and ambiguity. We do not want to be told by a chain of proofs, that two and two make four. This specific character of the schools of the Greeks is perhaps to be traced backwards to the loquacity, the love of paradox, and the fondness for argumentative discourse, so peculiar to their nation. Even the good sense of Epictetus was not proof against this captious frenzy. What patience can endure the solemn quibbles, which mark the stoical conferences of that philosopher preserved by Arrian? It is to this spirit, not solely from a principle of invidious malignity, that Tully alludes, where he calls the Greeks "*Homines contentionis quam veritatis cupidores.*"¹ And in another part of the same work he says, that it is a principal and even a national fault of this people, "*Quocunque in loco, quoscunque inter homines visum est, de rebus aut difficillimis aut non necessariis argutissime disputare.*"² The natural liveliness of the Athenians, heightened by the free politics of a democracy, seems to have tinged their conversation with this sort of declamatory disputation, which they frequently practised under an earnest pretence of discovering the truth, but in reality to indulge their native disposition to debate, to display their abundance of words, and their address of argument, to amuse, surprise, and perplex. Some of Plato's dialogues, professing a profundity of speculation, have much of this talkative humour.

Beside these versions of the Greek and Roman poets, and of the ancient writers in prose, incidentally mentioned in this review, it will be sufficient to observe here in general, that almost all the Greek and Roman classics appeared in English before the year 1600. The effect and influence of these translations on our poetry will be considered in a future section.

¹ *De Oratore*, lib. i. § xi. [This character might still apply with undiminished force.]

² *Ibid.* lib. ii. § iv.

SECTION LX.



UT the ardour of translation was not now circumscribed within the bounds of the classics, whether poets, historians, orators, or critics, of Greece and Rome.

I have before observed, that with our frequent tours through Italy and our affectation of Italian manners, about the middle of the sixteenth century the Italian poets became fashionable, and that this circumstance, for a time at least, gave a new turn to our poetry. The Italian poets, however, were but in few hands; and a practice of a more popular and general nature, yet still resulting from our communications with Italy, now began to prevail, which produced still greater revolutions. This was the translation of Italian books, chiefly on fictitious and narrative subjects, into English.

The learned Ascham thought this novelty in our literature too important to be passed over without observation, in his reflections on the course of an ingenuous education. It will be much to our purpose to transcribe what he has said on this subject; although I think his arguments are more like the reasonings of a rigid Puritan than of a man of liberal views and true penetration; and that he endeavours to account for the origin, and to state the consequences, of these translations more in the spirit of an early Calvinistic preacher, than as a sensible critic or a polite scholar.¹ "These bee the inchauntmentes of Circes, brought out of Italie to marre mens maners in England: much, by example of ill life, but more by preceptes of fonde bookes, of late translated oute of Italian into Englishe, solde in euery shop in London, commended by honest titles, the sooner to corrupt honest maners, dedicated ouer boldlye to vertuous and honorable personages, the easelier to beguile simple & honest wittes. It is pitie, that those which haue authoritie and charge to allow and disallow bookes to be printed, be no more circumspect herein, than they are. Ten Sermons at Paules Crosse do not so much good for mouyng mē to trewe doctrine, as one of those bookes do harme with inticing men to ill liuing. Yea, I say farder, those bookes tend not so much to corrupt honest liuyng, as they do to subuert trewe Religion. Mo Papistes be made by your merry bookes of Italie than by your earnest bookes of Louain.²—Therefore, when the busie and open Papistes abroad could not, by their contentious bookes, turne men in England fast inough from

¹ [*The Schole-Master*, edit. 1570, fol. 26, 27.]

² Serious books in divinity, written by the papists. The study of controversial theology flourished at the University of Louvain.

troth and right iudgement in doctrine, than the futele and secrete Papistes at home procured bawdie bookes to be translated out of the Italian tonge, whereby ouer many yong willes and wittes allured to wantonnes, do now boldly contemne all seuere bookes that found to honestie and godlines. In our forefathers tyme, whan Papistrie, as a standyng poole, couered and ouerflowed all England, fewe bookes were read in our tong, sauynge certayne bookes of Cheualrie, as they sayd, for pastime and pleasure, which, as some say, were made in Monasteries by idle Monkes or wanton Chanons: as one for example, Morte Arthure, the whole pleasure of which booke standeth in two speciall poyntes, in open mans slaughter and bold bawdrye: In which booke those be counted the noblest knightes that do kill most men without any quarell, and commit fowlest aduouleres by futelest shiftes: as Sir Launcelote with the wife of king Arthure his master: Syr Tristram with the wife of kyng Marke his vncl: Syr Lamerocke with the wife of king Lote that was his own aunte. This is good stufte for wise men to laughe at, or honest men to take pleasure at. Yet I know when Gods Bible was banished the Court, and Morte Arthure receiued into the Princes chamber. What toyes the dayly readyng of such a booke may worke in the will of a yong ientleman, or a yong mayde, that liueth welthely and idelle, wise men can iudge, and honest mē do pitie. And yet ten Morte Arthures do not the tenth part so much harme, as one of these bookes made in Italie, and translated in England. They open, not fond and common wayes to vice, but such futele, cunnyng, new and diuerse shiftes, to cary yong willes to vanitie and yong wittes to mischief, to teach old bawdes new schole poyntes, as the simple head of an English man is not hable to inuent, nor neuer was hard of in England before, yea when Papistrie ouerflowed all. Suffer these bookes to be read, and they shall soone displace all bookes of godly learnyng. For they, caryng the will to vanitie, and marryng good manners, shall easily corrupt the mynde with ill opinions and false iudgement in doctrine: first to thinke ill of all trewe Religion, and at last, to thinke nothyng of God hym selfe, one speciall pointe that is to be learned in Italie and Italian bookes. And that which is most to be lamented, and therefore more nedefull to be looked to, there be moe of these vngracious bookes set out in Printe within these fewe monthes, than haue bene seene in England many score yere before. And bicause our English men made Italians cannot hurt but certayne persons and in certayne places, therefore these Italian bookes are made English, to bryng mischief enough openly and boldly to all states,¹ great and meane, yong and old, euery where . . . Our English men Italianated . . . haue in more reuerence the triumphes of Petrarche² than the *Genesys* of Moses. They make

¹ conditions of life.

² In such universal vogue were the *Triumphs* of Petrarch, or his *Trionfi d' amore*, that they were made into a public pageant at the entrance, I think, of Charles the Fifth into Madrid.

more accounte of Tullies offices, than S. Paules epistles : of a tale in Boccace, than a storie of the Bible," &c.¹

Ascham talks here exactly in the style of Prynne's *Histrionastix*. It must indeed be confessed, that by these books many pernicious obscenities were circulated, and perhaps the doctrine of intrigue more accurately taught and exemplified than before. But every advantage is attended with its inconveniences and abuses. That to procure translations of Italian tales was a plot of the papists, either for the purpose of facilitating the propagation of their opinions, of polluting the minds of our youth, or of diffusing a spirit of scepticism, I am by no means convinced. But I have nothing to do with the moral effects of these versions. I mean only to shew their influence on our literature, more particularly on our poetry, although I reserve the discussion of this point for a future section. At present, my design is to give the reader a full and uniform view of the chief of these translations from the Italian, which appeared in England before the year 1600.

I will begin with Boccaccio. The reader recollects Boccaccio's *Theseid* and *Troilus*, many of his tales, and large passages from *Petrarch* and *Dante*, translated by Chaucer. But the golden mine of Italian fiction, opened by Chaucer, was soon closed and forgotten. I must, however, premise that the Italian, [French, and even Spanish languages] now began to grow so fashionable, that [they were] explained in lexicons and grammars written in English. So early as 1550 were published, *Principal Rules of the Italian Grammer, with a Dictionary for the better understanding of Boccace, Petrarcha and Dante: gathered into this tongue by William Thomas*.² It is dedicated ["To my verie good friende maister Tamwoorth, at Venice."] The third edition of this book is dated in 1567; [there was an intermediate one in 1552.] Scipio Lentulo's *Italian Grammar* was translated into English in 157[5]. In 1578, the celebrated John Florio, the [supposed] Holofernes of *Love's Labour's Lost*,³ produced: *Florio, His firste Fruites: which yeelde familiar speeches, merie Prouerbes, wittie Sentences, and golden Sayings. Also a perfect Introduction to the Italian and English tongues, &c.* It was not till 1591 that the same author printed his *Second Frutes to be gathered of twelue Trees of diuers but delightfome tastes to the tongues of Italians and Englishmen. To which is annexed a Garden of Recreation, yeelding six thousand Italian Prouerbs*. Meanwhile, in 1583, was issued a work with the following title: *Campo di Fior, or else, The flourie field of four languages of M. Claudius Desainliens alias Holiband; for the furtherance of the learners of the Latin, French, English, but chieflie of the Italian tongue.*

¹ Ascham's *Scholemaster*, edit. [ut supra]. This book was begun soon after the year 1563, [at the request or suggestion of Sir Richard Sackville.] Preface, p. 1.

² It was written at Padua in 1548. Thomas, a bachelor in civil law at Oxford, and a clergyman, is said to have been rewarded by Edward VI. with several preferments. See Strype's *Grindal*, p. 5.

³ See act iv. sc. ii.

It should be mentioned, that Holiband had, as early as 1566, published the *French Littelton* for the use of law-students, and this, which was, perhaps, his earliest literary effort, and of which there were several re-impressions, was followed by the *French Schoole-maister*, in 1573; *The Pretie and Wittie Historie of Arnalt and Lucenda: with Certen Rules and Dialogues set foorth for the learner of the Italian tong*, in 1575; *A Dictionarie, French and English* (the earliest of its kind), in 1593; and the *Italian Schoole-maister*, in 1597. This gentleman gave his lessons over Thomas Purfoot the stationer's shop, at the sign of the Lucrece, in St. Paul's Church-Yard: at least he announced himself as doing so in 1566 and 1575.

In 1576, a M. de la Pichonnaye set forth *A Playne Treatise to learne in a shorte space of the Frenche tongue*, and he was followed by M. Du Ploiche who, in 1578, issued *A Treatise in Englishe and Frenche, right necessarie and profitable for all young children, &c.*

The present is perhaps a suitable opportunity to mention that John Palsgrave, tutor to the Princess Mary, was one of the earliest promoters in this country of a knowledge of foreign languages. His *L'Esclaircissement de la langue Françoisse* was printed by Pynfon in 1530. But already (about 1498, or at least before 1502) Wynkyn de Worde printed *A lytell treatise for to lerne Englyshe and Frenshe*, another edition of which came from Pynfon's press a little later. At or about the same time, Gerard Du Wes, or Dewes, compiled his celebrated *Introductory for to lerne to rede, to pronounce, and to speke French trewly*, of which three editions are known, all without date, but none later, probably, than 1560. The author was French master to the same princess.

In 1595, M. Delamothe produced his *French Alphabet*, inscribed to Sir Henry Wallop and to Madamoiselle Tasburgh. In 1591, Richard Percival gave to the world, with the assistance of Dr. Doyley, the first Spanish Grammar and Dictionary published in England. A new and improved edition by Minshew appeared in 1599. But in 1590 John Thorins had printed his English translation of the *Spanish Grammar* of Anthonio de Corro, with a Dictionary annexed (the earliest publication of the kind in our language). If Perceval be correct, the language which he thus introduced to the knowledge of a wider circle of his countrymen, has, since his time, undergone many changes in its pronunciation. All the publications which have been enumerated, belong, as we see, to the reign of Elizabeth, and seem to discover an increasing desire for the acquisition of the two more fashionable languages of the day, French and Italian, as well as of Spanish. If our poetical literature began to form itself on Italian models now more than ever, our translators, on the contrary, drew their materials chiefly from the French.]

Before the year 1570, William Paynter, clerk of the Office of Arms within the Tower of London, and who seems to have been master of the school of Sevenoaks, in Kent, printed a very considerable part of Boccaccio's novels. His first collection is entitled: *The Palace of Pleasure Beautified, adorned and well-furnished with*

Pleaſaunt Hiſtories and excellent Nouelles, &c.] 1566. It is dedicated to [Ambroſe, Earl of Warwick, whoſe arms are on the title. It was followed in 1567 by *The ſecond Tome of the Palace of Pleaſure, conteyning manifold ſtore of goodley Hiſtories, &c.*]¹ This is dedicated to Sir George Howard, and dated from his houſe near the Tower, as is the former volume. It would be ſuperfluous to point out here the uſes which Shakeſpeare made of theſe volumes, after the full inveſtigation which his ancient alluſions and his plots have [now] received. Painter tranſlated William Fulk's *Antiprognoſticon*,² a treatiſe written to expoſe the aſtologers of thoſe times [adding a good deal of original matter; it was printed in 1560, 8vo. He is alſo the reputed author of an *Elegy on the Earl of Arundel*, and of a tract publiſhed by Robert Waldegrave in 8vo. about 1590, under the title of *Four great Lyers, ſtriving who ſhall win the ſilver wheſtſtone*. This is another attack on the almanac-makers.] He alſo prefixed a Latin tetraſtic to Fulk's original.³

With Painter's *Palace of Pleaſure* we muſt not confound *A Petite Pallace of Pettie his pleaſure*, although properly claiming a place here, a book of ſtories from Italian and other writers, tranſlated and collected by [George] Pettie, a ſtudent of Chriſt Church, in Oxford, about the year 1576. It is ſaid to contain "manie prettie hiſtories by him ſet foorth in comely colors and moſt delightfully diſcourſed." [No fewer than three editions were publiſhed in or about 1576. Of theſe two differ from each other very unimportantly; but the third is remarkable as containing an addreſs "To the gentle Gentlewomen readers," by R. B., perhaps the reverſed initials of Barnaby Rich, and "The Letter of G. P. to R. B. concerning this woorke," which matter, for ſome unknown reaſon, was ſuppreſſed in the later editions, as it had been wanting in what appear to be the two earlier ones.]⁴ The firſt edition I have ſeen was printed in 1598, the year before our author's death. The firſt tale is *Sinorix and Cania*, two lovers of Sienna in Italy, the laſt *Alexius*.

¹ [See *Handbook of Early Engliſh Lit.*, art. PAINTER. *The Palace of Pleaſure* was reprinted by Mr. Haſlewood in 1813, 3 vols. 4to.—Price.]

² At the end is an Engliſh tract againſt the aſtologers, very probably written by Painter. Edward Dering, a fellow of Chriſt's College, Cambridge, in a copy of recommendatory verſes prefixed to the ſecond edition of Gooſe's *Palingenius*, attacks Painter, Lucas, and others, the abettors of Fulk's *Antiprognoſticon*, and the cenſurers of aſtrology. In the ancient regiſters of the Stationers' Company, an almanac is uſually joined with a prognotiſication. See *Regiſtr. A.* fol. 59, b. 61, a.

³ In 1563, is a receipt for a licence to William [Jones] for printing *The Citye of Cyvelite, tranſlated into engliſhhe by William Paynter*.—*Regiſtr. A.* ut ſupr. fol. 86, b. [Collier's *Extraſts*, i. 66.] In 1565[-6] there is a receipt for licence to W. [Jones] to print *Serten hiſtories collected ouſe of Dyvers Ryghte good and profitable authours by William Paynter*. Ibid. fol. 134, b. [Collier's *Extraſts*, i. 121. There is little or no doubt that this is the regiſtration of the *Palace of Pleaſure*, printed in 1566-7, as juſt mentioned above.]

⁴ In 1569[-70], there is an entry with Richard [Jones] for printing *A ballet intituled [Sinorex, Cania and Sinatus]*.—*Regiſtr. Station. A.* fol. 191, b. [Collier, i. 224.] In Pettie's tale, [Cania] is wife to Sinatus.

Among Antony Wood's books in the Ashmolean Museum, is a [fifth] edition, dated 1608. But Wood, who purchased and carefully preserved this performance, solely because it was written by his great-uncle, is of opinion, that "it is now so far from being excellent or fine, that it is more fit to be read by a school-boy or rustical amoretto, than by a gentleman of mode and language."¹ Most of the stories are classical, perhaps supplied by the English Ovid, yet with a variety of innovations, and a mixture of modern manners.

Painter, at the end of his second volume, has left us this curious notice. "Because sodainly (contrary to expectation) this volume is risen to greter heape of leaues, I do omit for this present time sundry Nouels of merie deuise, referuing the same to be ioyned with the rest of an other part, wherein shall succede the remnant of Bandello, specially suche (suffrable) as the learned Frenche man François de Belleforrest hath selected, and the choicest done in the Italian. Some also out of Erizzo, Ser Giouanni Florentino, Parabosco, Cynthio, Straparole, Sanfouino, and the best liked oute of the Queene of Nauarre, and other Authors. Take these in so good parte, with those that haue and shall come forth."² But there is the greatest reason to believe, that no third volume ever appeared; and it is probable that Painter, by the interest of his bookfellers, in compliance with the prevailing mode of publication, and for the accommodation of universal readers, was afterwards persuaded to print his sundry novels in the perishable form of separate pamphlets, which cannot now be recovered.

[The *Philocopo* of Boccaccio was translated into English by H. G., probably Henry Grantham or Humphrey Gifford, and printed in 1567. It became popular, and went through at least four editions, of which the latest bears date in 1587. The translator dedicated it to Mr. William Rice.]

Boccaccio's *Fiametta* was translated by [Bartholomew Young, of the Middle Temple], who seems to have borne some office about the court, in 1587.

Several tales of Boccaccio's *Decameron* were now translated into English rhymes. The celebrated story of the friendship of *Titus and Gessippus* was rendered by Edward Lewick, [but in this case more immediately from Sir T. Elyot's *Governor*, 1531,³] in 1562. [It is a mere piece of doggerel, and was entitled:] *The most wonderfull and pleasaunt History of Titus and Gissippus, whereby is fully declared the figure of perfect frendshyp drawen into English metre. By Edward Lewicke.*

Those affecting stories, the *Cymon and Iphigenia* and the *Theodore*

¹ *Ath. Oxon.* i. 240. Pettie, in conjunction with Bartholomew Young, translated the *Civile Conversation* of Stephen Guazzo, [1581.]

² *Pal. of Pleas.* vol. ii. edit. 1567, *ad finem.*

³ "Even for some of his very words and phrases Lewicke was indebted, not to Boccaccio (we cannot allow him that credit) but merely to Sir T. Elliot's *Governor*." — *Collier.*

and Honoria, of Boccaccio, so beautifully paraphrased by Dryden, appeared in English verse early in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

Theodore and Honoria was translated in 1569.¹ The names of the lovers are disguised in the following title: *A notable Historye of Naf-tagio and Trauerfari, no lesse pitiefull then pleasaunt, translated out of Italian into Englishe verse by C. T.* [C. T.] has unluckily applied to this tale, the same stanzas which Tye used in translating the *Acts of the Apostles*. The knight of hell pursuing the lady, is thus described:

He sawe approche with swiftie foote
The place where he did staye,
A dame, with scattred heares vntrusside,
Bereft of her aray.—
Besides all this, two mastiffes great
Both fierce and full he sawe,
That fiercely pinchde het by the flanke
With greedie rauening rawe.
And eke a Knight, of colour swarthe,
He sawe behinde her backe,
Came pricking after, flinging forthe
Vpon a courser blacke:
With gastlye thretning countenaunce,
With armyng sworde in hande;
His looke wold make one feare, his eyes
Were like a fiery brande, &c.

About the same time appeared the tale of *Cymon and Iphigenia*, *A pleasant and delightfull History of Galefus, Cymon, and Iphigenia: describing the ficklenesse of Fortune in loue. Translated out of Italian into Englishe verse by T. C. Gent.* It is in stanzas.² I know not with what poet of that time the initials T. C. can correspond, except with Thomas Churchyard or Thomas Campion, [and of the two the former is decidedly the only one to whom it can be reasonably ascribed, since Campion was hardly born when it was published. It has been observed³ that the translator of *Cymon and Iphigenia* and that of *Nastagio* are not to be confounded, their styles essentially differing.] Campion is among the poets in *Englands Parnassus*

¹ [Warton says, by Christopher Tye, doctor of music. Scarcely anything is more improbable. See Mr. Collier's *Bibl. Cat.* ii. 20.]

² [And commences thus:

“An ilande standes in Tritons reigne,
That Cyprus hath to name:
A seate somtime of kingdomes nyne
Renownde with lastyng fame,
And for the great amenitie
And fertillnes of soyle
Not subject or of value lesse
Than any ocean ile, &c.”—*Park*.

For a list of Campion's works, which do not belong, besides, to this section, see *H. of E. E. Lit.* in voce. It is odd enough that Warton, in enumerating them, should have omitted the only one printed before 1600—his poems, 1595, 8vo., which do not seem to have been known to him or others, except in the reprint of 1619. Both Warton and Park absurdly ascribe a work by John Coprario or Cooper to Campion, and the latter furnished an extract from it as a specimen of that writer's poetical talents!]

³ [Collier's *Bibl. Cat.* 1865, ii. 19.]

printed in 1600, [and] is named by Camden with Spenser, Sidney and Drayton.¹

It is not at all improbable that these old translations, now entirely forgotten and obsolete, suggested these stories to Dryden's notice. To Dryden they were not more ancient than pieces are to us written soon after the restoration of Charles the Second: and they were then of sufficient antiquity not to be too commonly known, and of such mediocrity as not to preclude a new translation. I think we may trace Dryden in some of the rhymes and expressions.²

It must not be forgotten that Sacchetti [wrote] tales [a little after] Boccaccio;³ [but these were never, it seems, printed in the author's lifetime, and did not appear in type till 1724.] But the publication of Boccaccio's *Decameron* gave a stability to this mode of composition, which had existed in a rude state before the revival of letters in Italy. Boccaccio collected the common tales of his country, and procured others of Grecian origin from his friends and preceptors the Constantinopolitan exiles, which he decorated with new circumstances, and delivered in the purest style. Some few perhaps are of his own invention. He was soon imitated, yet often unsuccessfully, by many of his countrymen, Poggio, Bandello, the anonymous author[s] of *Le Ciento Novelle Antike*,⁴ Cinthio, Firenzuola, Malepini, and others. Even Machiavelli, who united the liveliest wit with the profoundest reflection, and who composed two comedies while he was compiling a political history of his country, condescended to adorn this fashionable species of writing with his *Novella di Belfegor*, or the tale of Belphegor.

In Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, there is a curious account of the diversions in which our ancestors passed their winter evenings. They were not totally inelegant or irrational. One of them was to read Boccaccio's novels aloud. "The ordinary recreations which we have in winter, are cards, tables and dice, shouel-board, cheffe-play,

¹ Camden, in his *Remains*, classes Campion with Spenser, Daniel, Jonson, Drayton, and Shakespeare; but neither Spenser nor Shakespeare had then attained to that eminence above their fellows which they now undisputedly hold.—*Park*.]

² In 1569[70], Thomas Colwell has licence to print *A ballett intituled ij saythfull Gyndes beyng bothe in love with one Lady*. Registr. Station. A. fol. 193, a. This seems to be *Palamon and Arcite*. [Mr. Collier erroneously states (Extracts, i. 227), that this entry relates to John Drout's poem (see *Hand. E. E. Lit.* in v.), which had been licensed to its publisher in 1570.] I know not whether I should mention here, Robert Wilmot's tragedy of *Tancred and Gismund*, acted before Queen Elizabeth at the Inner Temple, in 1568, and printed in 1591, as the story, originally from Boccaccio, is in Paynter's Collection, and in an old English poem [by W. Walter.] There is also an old French poem called *Guichard et Sigismonde*, translated from Boccaccio into Latin by Leo Aretino, and thence into French verse by Jean Fleury. Paris (circa 1500). See [Brunet, last edit. i. 399-400, and] *Decameron*, Giorn, iv. Nov. i.

³ [Sacchetti was only eighteen years of age when the first part of the *Decameron* appeared.—*Price*. See Brunet, v. 11-12.]

⁴ [The *Ciento Novelle Antike* are of much higher antiquity than the tales of Boccaccio.—*Risbon*. See Brunet, *Manuel du Libraire*, dernière edit. i. 1736-7. It is supposed that Francesco Barberino wrote some of these tales. The first edition appeared at Bologna in 1525.]

the philosopher's game, small trunckes, balliardes, musicke, maskes, singing, dancing, vle-games,¹ catches, purposes, questions: merry tales, of errant knights, kings, queenes, louers, lords, ladies, giants dwarfes, thieves, fayries, Boccaces *Nouvelles*, and the rest."²

[In 1562, Arthur Broke, of whom very little is known, except that he perished by shipwreck on his passage to Newhaven, probably in 1563, published a loose but well-written paraphrase in verse of the French version by Pierre Boaistuau, of Bandello's *History of Romeus and Julietta*, included in the collection of such narratives, better known under the name of Belleforest, Boaistuau's coadjutor or continuator. It seems probable that Bandello himself, at least partly drew his material from Luigi da Porto.] It is evident from a coincidence of absurdities and an identity of phraseology, that this was Shakespeare's original, and not the meagre outline which appears in Painter. Among the copies delivered by Tottel the printer to the stationers of London in 1582, is a *booke* called *Romeo and Julietta*.³ But [no such edition is now known. There is one of 1587, with an amplified and altered title. The subject was very popular, especially after the performance of Shakespeare's drama on the stage in or about 1591, and one or more ballads were issued, containing, it is to be presumed, a metrical epitome of the romantic incidents related at large in novel, poem, and play.] It must be remembered here, that the original writer of this story was Luigi da Porto, a gentleman of Verona, who died in 1529. His narrative appeared at Venice in 1535, under the title of *La Giuletta*, and was soon afterwards adopted by Bandello. Shakespeare, misled by the English poem, missed the opportunity of introducing a most affecting scene by the natural and obvious conclusion of the story. In Luigi's novel, Juliet awakes from her trance in the tomb before the death of Romeo. From Turbervile's poems, printed in 1567, we learn that Arthur Broke was drowned in his passage to Newhaven, and that he was the author of this translation, which was the distinguished proof of his excellent poetical abilities:

Apollo lent him Lute for solace sake,
To sound his Verse by touch of stately string,
And of the neuer fading Bayde did make
A Lawrell Crowne, about his browes to cling,
In prooffe that he for Myter did excell,
As may be iudge by *Iuliet and hir Mate*:
For there he shewde his cunning passing well
When he the Tale to Englishe did translate.—
Aye mee, that time (thou crooked Delphin) where
Wait thou, Aryons help and onely stay,
That safely him from Sea to shore didst beare,
When Brooke was drown'd, why was *ſ* thē away? &c.⁴

The enthusiasts to Shakespeare must wish to see more of Arthur Broke's poetry, and will be gratified with the dullest anecdotes of

¹ Christmas games.

² P. ii. § 2, pag. 230, edit. fol. 1624.

³ [Collier's Extracts, ii. 177.]

⁴ *Epitaph on the death of Maister Arthur Brooke*, [edit. 1570, fol. 144.]

an author to whom perhaps we owe the existence of a tragedy at which we have all wept. I can discover nothing more of Arthur Broke, than that he translated from French into English, *The Agreement of sundrie places of Scripture seeming to iarre*, which was printed at London in 1563. At the end is a copy of verses written by the editor Thomas Broke the younger, I suppose his brother; by which it appears that the author, Arthur Broke, was shipwrecked before the year 1563.¹ Juliet soon furnished a female name to a new novel; for in 1577 [was] printed *The renowned Historie of Cleomenes and Juliet*, [by John Philip]—unless this be Broke's story disguised and altered: [after all, not a very likely circumstance].

Bishop Tanner, I think, in his correspondence with the learned and accurate Thomas Baker of Cambridge, mentions a prose English version of the *Novelle* of Bandello, wh[ich] endeavoured to avoid the obscenities of Boccaccio and the improbabilities of Cinthio: in 1580, by W. W. [It is to be presumed that Tanner and Baker refer to the *Heptameron of Civill Discourses*, by George Whetstone, 1582, to which Shakespeare is supposed to have owed a hint or two for his *Measure for Measure*. William Warner, to whom the book has been too confidently assigned, published nothing before 1585. Whetstone's work did not assist Shakespeare, as it has been conjectured that W. W.'s *Bandello* might have done, in the composition of *Romeo and Juliet*. He went only to Broke and Painter.

By the way, William Warner was esteemed by his cotemporaries as one of the refiners of our language, and is said, in Meres's *Wits Treasury*, to be one of those by whom "the English Tongue is mightily enriched, and gorgeously invested in rare ornaments and refulgent habiliments." [Meres's applause of such characteristics is itself some indication of the false and depraved taste which prevailed in his age, and of the commencing partiality for euphuism.] Warner was also a translator of Plautus, and wrote a novel, or rather a suite of stories, much in the style of the adventures of Heliodorus's Ethiopic romance, dedicated to Lord Hunsdon [under the title of *Pan his Syrinx, or Pipe, Compaet of Seven Reedes, Including in one Seven Tragical or Comickall Arguments*, printed in 1585.] Warner, in his *Albions England*, printed in 15[86], says, "Written haue I already in Prose, allowed of some, and now offer I Verse, attending indifferent censvres." [The *Syrinx* was reprinted in 1597, with corrections, but it did not become very popular.]²

Among George Gascoigne's [Poems is inserted a translation (as it is called) in prose and verse, out of the riding tales of Bartello (an

¹ In octavo. *Princ.* "Some men heretofore haue attempted."

² "To the Reader," he says [in the ed. of 1597], "One in penning pregnanter, and a schollar better than my selfe, on whose graue the grasse now groweth green, whom otherwise, though otherwise to me guiltie, I name not, hath borrowed out of euerie Calamus [of the *Syrinx*.] of the Storie herein handled, argument and inuention to seuerall bookes by him published. Another of late, hauing (fayning the same a Translation) set forth an historie of a Duke of Lancaster neuer before authored, hath vouchsafed to incerte therein whole pages verbatim as they are herein extant," &c.

author not otherwise known), of *A discourse of the adventures passed by Master Ferdinando I[eronimi.]* So the title ran in the first edition printed in 1573, when the poems were published in the author's absence through the instrumentality of two literary acquaintances. But a very curious literary history, on a small scale, is involved herein, and has been explained, so far as it can ever be explained, elsewhere.¹ Much poetry is interwoven into the narrative. Nor, on the mention of Gascoigne, will it be foreign to the present purpose to add here, that in the year 1566 he translated Ariosto's comed[y] called [*Gli Suppositi*], which was acted the same year at Gray's-inn. The title is *Supposes: a Comedie written in the Italian tongue by Ariosto, Englished by George Gascoigne of Grayes Inne Esquire, and there presented, 1566.*² This comedy was first written in prose by Ariosto, and afterwards reduced into rhyme. Gascoigne's translation [which is extremely free and loose, and seems rather to come within the category of an adaptation to an English audience,] is in prose. The dialogue is supported with much spirit and ease, and has often the air of a modern conversation. As Gascoigne was the first who exhibited on our stage a story from Euripides [or an attempt at dramatic dialogue in blank verse], so in this play he is the first that produced an English comedy in prose. By the way, the quaint name of Petruchio, and the incident of the master and servant changing habits and characters, and persuading the Sieneſe to personate the father, by frightening him with the hazard of his travelling from Sienna to Ferrara against the commands of government, was transferred into the *Taming of the Shrew*. I doubt not, however, that there was an Italian novel on the subject. From this play also the ridiculous name and character of Doctor Dodipoll seems to have got into our old drama.³ But to return.

In Shakespeare's *Much ado about Nothing*, Beatrice [says: "That I was disdainful, and that I had my good wit out of the *Hundred Merry Tales*. Well, this was Signior Benedik that said so." The lady refers to an admirable story-book so called, printed twice by J. Raftell, once in 1526, and once without date, and of which later editions, no longer known, may once have existed, as it was licensed in Elizabeth's time more than once. Some of our earlier writers supposed the *Hundred Merry Tales* to be a very different kind of performance. Fletcher alludes in his *Nice Valour* not to this book, but to the *Decameron*.] It is mentioned as popular in the *London Chaunticlere* so late as 1659, and is cried for sale by a ballad-vender, with the *Wife Men of Gotham* and *Scogin's Jests*.

In 1587, George Turbervile the poet, already mentioned as the translator of Ovid's *Epistles*, published a set of tragical tales⁴ in verse, selected from various Italian novelists. He was a skilful master of

[¹ Roxburghe Library edit. of Gascoigne's Poems, 1869-70, *Introd.* See also the memoir of Gascoigne in the *Athene Cantabrig.* i. 374.]

² [It was not printed till 1573.]

³ [*The Wisdome of Doctor Dodypoll*, 1600.]

⁴ [Mr. Malone suspects, that he also published some *Comic Tales*, from Sir John

the modern languages, and went into Ruffia in the quality of secretary to Thomas Randolph esquire, envoy to the Emperor of Ruffia.¹ This collection, which is dedicated to his brother Nicholas, is entitled *Tragical Tales, translated by Turberuile in time of his troubles, out of fundry Italians, with the Argument and [enuoye] to eche Tale* [it was printed more than once, as appears from an extant fragment of some impression (probably that of 1576, which seems to have been in the Harleian Library)].²

Among Mr. Oldys's books, [but now no longer known,] was the *Life of Sir Meliado a Brittish knight*,³ translated from the Italian, in 1572. By the way, we are not here to suppose that Brittish means English. A Brittish knight means a knight of Bretagne or Brittany, in France. This is a common mistake, arising from an equivocation which has converted many a French knight into an Englishman. The learned Nicholas Antonio, in his *Spanish Library*, affords a remarkable example of this confusion, and a proof of its frequency, where he is speaking of the Spanish translation of the romance of *Tirante the White*, in 1480.⁴

Harington's mention of the tale of Geneura, "a pretty comical matter," written in English verse by Mr. George Turbervil. See his *Orl. Fur.* p. 39.—*Park.*

¹ [From Whetstone's *Remembraunce of the life of Gascoigne*, it appears that he was the author of the treatise on *Hunting*, commonly ascribed to Turberville.—*Park.*]

² [See Collier's *Bibl. Cat.* 1865, ii. 450. The edition of 1587 was reprinted in 1837.]

³ Meliadus del Espinoy, and Meliadus le noir Oeil, are the thirty-seventh and thirty-eighth knights of the *Round Table*, in R. Robinson's *Avuncient Order*, &c. [1582.] Bl. lett. Chiefly a French translation.

[“If there be any such book,” said Ritson, “as the *Life of Sir Meliado*, it is without doubt the romance of *Meliadus de Leonnois*, a petty king in Great Britain, and one of the knights of the *Round Table*, whose story was translated out of French into Italian, and printed at Venice in 1559-60, in two volumes, 8vo.”—*Park.* The original French was first printed in 1528. But it should be noted that there were two distinct romances under this name. For an account of the History of Meliadus *Chevalier de la Croix*, see Brunet, art. *Meliadus*, and Madden's *Sir Gawayne*, 1839, xxviii.-xxix.]

⁴ “Ad fabularum artificem stilum convertimus, Ioannem Martorell* Valentini regni civem, cuius est liber aliorum hujus commatis germanus; *Tirant lo blanch* incriptus, atque anno 1480, ut aiunt, Valentiz in folio editus. *More hic aliorum talium otioforum consuetudo*, fingit se hunc librum ex *Anglica* in Lusitanam, deinde à Lusitana in Valentiniam linguam anno 1460, transfuisse,” &c.—*Bibl. Hispan. [vetus.]* L. x. c. ix. p. [280,] num. 490.

* [Concerning this writer and his production, Ritson entered into the following elaborate discussion. “John or Joanot Martorell, the author of the romance of *Tirant le Blanch*, in his dedication thereof to Don Ferdinand, Prince of Portugal and Duke of Viseo, brother of Alphonsus V., and then (in 1460) presumptive heir to the crown, to which his son Emanuel afterwards succeeded, positively declares that the history and acts of the said *Tirant* were written in the English tongue (*en lengua Anglesa*;) that he had translated them out of that language into the Portuguese, at the direct instance of the above prince, who thought that as Martorell had been some time in England (*en la illa de Anglaterra*) he would know the tongue better than others: that he had since translated the book out of Portuguese into his native dialect, the Valencian: and apologises for the defects of his version, as being in some measure occasioned by the peculiar difficulties of the

"I now turn to a writer of fabulous adventures, John Martorell of the kingdom of Valencia, who wrote a book of this cast, entitled *Tirante the White*, printed in folio at Valencia [in 1490 and at Barcelona in 1497].¹ This writer, according to a practice common to such idle historians, pretends he translated this book from English into Portuguese, and from thence into the Valencian language." The hero is a gentleman of Bretagne,² and the book was first written in the language of that country.

I know not from what Italian fabler the little romance called the *Banishment of Cupid* was taken. It is said to have been translated out of Italian into English by Thomas Hedley, in 1587.³ [In 1568, one W. Barker translated from the Italian Giambattista Gelli's work entitled in the original edition simply *I Dialogi del Gello*, but

¹ "Early in the sixteenth century it was translated into Castilian; from thence into Italian, and at a later period into French. The two latter translators were entire strangers to the original, of which there is not perhaps more than one single copy known to be extant."—Ritson's *Obs.* p. 46.—*Park.* The work appears to have been composed between 1390 and 1490. Dunlop, *ut infr.* "The finest of the three copies known of the impression of Valencia, 1490, is in the Grenville Collection, British Museum. This copy formerly belonged to Heber, who gave 300 guineas for it. See a long and interesting account of the work in the *Bibl. Grenvill.*"—*Rye.*]

² ["Armorica," says Ritson, "was by the French called *La petite Bretagne*; by us, Little Britain; merely to distinguish it from the island of Great Britain, by them styled *La grande Bretagne*. The word British," he subjoins, "may, for aught I know, be common to both countries, but I firmly believe the inhabitants of Britany were never so called by any writer, English or foreign, before Mr. Warton." *Obs.* p. 44.—*Park.*]

The work here alluded to was a reprint of a romance translated by Lord Berners from the French, and noticed above. The Comte de Treslan conceived the original to have been written in the reign of Charles the Sixth, and its resemblance in style and language to Froissart, has been conjectured to have secured for it the noble translator's attention. See *British Bibliographer*, iv. 231.—*Price.*]

³ It is among Sampson Awdeley's copies, as a former grant, 1581. *Registr. Station.* B. fol. 186, a.

English language, which he had in many places found it impracticable to translate. It is strange enough that an author, more especially of Martorell's consequence, should have the confidence to impose upon his patron, not only a feigned original, but a feigned command to translate it, and an imaginary translation too. It is not impossible, however, that Martorell might actually pick up some part of his subject during his residence in England. What makes the conjecture the less improbable, is the use he has made of the story of Guy Earl of Warwick (*Comte Gillem de Varoych*) which we know to have been then extant in English. The origin of the Garter, the magnificent celebration of the nuptials of the king of England (alluding most likely to those of Richard II.) with the king of France's daughter, and some few other particulars, he may undoubtedly have got here: though one might be led to think, that he has derived his principal information on these heads from old Froissart, a favourite historian during the continuance of chivalry. But, independent of his own assertions, the venial deceits of a romantic age, there is the strongest and most conclusive evidence, as well intrinsic as extrinsic, that Martorell, whether he wrote first in Portuguese or Valencian, was the original author. As to the work itself, it is a most ingenious and admirable performance, well deserving the praises bestowed on it by Cervantes in *Don Quixote*, and much beyond anything of the kind ever produced in England." *Obs. on Warton's Hist.* p. 48.—*Park.* See Dunlop's *History of Fiction*, edit. 1845, pp. 166-71.]

reprinted in 1548 under the name of *I Capricci del Bottaiò*. Barker christened his version, *The fearfull fantyes of the Florentyne Cowper*.¹

Nor do I know with what propriety the romance of *Aurelio and Isabella*, the scene of which is laid in Scotland, may be mentioned here. But it was printed in 1556, in one volume in Italian, French, and English,² and again, in Italian, Spanish, French, and English, in 1588. I was informed by the late Mr. Collins of Chichester, that Shakespeare's *Tempest*, for which no origin is yet assigned, was formed on this favourite romance. But although this information has not proved true on examination, an useful conclusion may be drawn from it, that Shakespeare's story is somewhere to be found in an Italian novel, at least that the story preceded Shakespeare. Mr. Collins had searched this subject with no less fidelity, than judgment and industry: but his memory failing in his last calamitous indisposition, he probably gave me the name of one novel for another. I remember he added a circumstance, which may lead to a discovery, that the principal character of the romance, answering to Shakespeare's Prospero, was a chemical necromancer, who had bound a spirit like Ariel to obey his call and perform his services. It was a common pretence of the dealers in the occult sciences to have a demon at command.³ At least Aurelio, or Orelìo, was probably one of the names of this romance, the production and multiplication of gold being the grand object of alchemy. Taken at large, the magical part of the *Tempest* is founded in that sort of philosophy which was practised by John Dee and his associates, and has been called the Rosicrucian. The name Ariel came from the Talmudistic mysteries with which the learned Jews had infected this science.

To this head must also be referred the Collections which appeared before 1600, of tales drawn indiscriminately from French and Spanish, as well as Italian authors, all perhaps originally of Italian growth, and recommended by the general love of fable and fiction which now prevailed. I will mention a few.

In point of selection and size, perhaps the most capital miscellany of this kind is Fenton's book of tragical novels. The title is, *Certaine Tragicall Discourses written oute of Frenche and Latin, by Geoffraie Fenton, no less profitable then pleasaunt, and of like necessitye to al degrees that take pleasure in antiquities or forreine reaportes. Mon heur viendra. 1567*.⁴ The dedication is dated from his chamber at Paris, in 1567, to the Lady Mary Sydney, and contains many

¹ Licensed in 1567. *Registr. Station. A.* fol. 164, b. There is an edition in 1599.

² I have *L'Histoire d'Aurelio et Isabella en Italien et Françoisse*, printed at Lyons by G. Rouille, in 1555. 16mo. Annexed is *La Deiphire*, by the author of the romance, as I apprehend, Leon-Baptista Alberti, in Italian and French.

³ [It is a just remark of Mr. Boswell's that a person in the state of mind to which Collins was reduced "was much more likely to have confounded in his memory two books which he had met with nearly at the same time than to have fancied that he had read what existed only in his own imagination." The same commentator adds, that he had been told by a friend that he had some years ago actually perused an Italian novel which answered to Collins's description.—*Hunter's New Illustr. of Shakesp.* 1845, i. 167.]

⁴ [There is] another edition, 1579, 4to.

sensible reflections on this kind of reading. He says, "Neyther do I thynke that our Englishe recordes are hable to yelde at this daye a *Romant* more delicat and chaste, treatynge of the veraye theame and effectes of loue, than theis *Hystories*, of no lesse credit than sufficient authoritie, by reason the moste of theyme were within the compasse of memorye," &c.¹ Among the recommendatory poems prefixed,² there is one by George Turbervile, who lavishes much praise on Fenton's "curious fyle," which could "frame this passing-pleasant booke." He adds,

The learned stories erste, and sugred tales that laye
Remoude from simple common sence, this writer doth displaye: . . .
Nowe men of meanest skill, what Bandel wrought maye vew,
And tell the tale in Englishe well, that erst they neuer knewe:
Discourse of sundrye strange and Tragicall affaires,
Of lounge Ladyes haples haps, theyr deathes, ad deadly cares, &c.

Most of the stories are on Italian subjects, and many from Bandello, who was soon translated into French. The last tale, the Penance of Don Diego on the Pyrenean mountains for the love of *Genivera la blonde*, containing some metrical inscriptions, is in Don Quixote, and was verified in the octave stanza apparently from Fenton's publication, by R[ichard] L[inch?] in 1596, at the end of a set of sonnets called *Diella*.³

Fenton was a translator of other books from the modern languages. He translated into English the twenty books of Guicciardini's *History of Italy*, which he dedicated to Queen Elizabeth from his apartment near the Tower, the 7th day of January, 1578. [It was printed in 1579.] The predominating love of narrative, more especially when the exploits of a favorite nation were the subject, rendered this book very popular; and it came recommended to the public by a title-page which promised almost the entertainment of a romance, *The Historie of Guiccardin, containing the warres of Italie, and other partes, continued for many yeares vnder sundry Kings and Princes, together with the variation and accidents of the same, deuided into twenty Bookes, &c. Reduced into English by Geffray Fenton. Mon heur viendra*.⁴ It is probably to this book that Gabriel Harvey, Spenser's Hobbinal, alludes, where he says, "Even Guiccardines filuer history, and Ariostos golden cantoes, grow out of request, and the Countesse of Pembrookes *Arcadia* is not greene enough for queasie stomackes, but they must haue Greenes *Arcadia*," &c.⁴ Among his versions are also, *The Golden Epistles* of Antonio de Guevara, the secretary of Charles the Fifth, and now a favorite author, addressed to

¹ He commends his illustrious patroness, for "your worthie participation with the excellent gifts of temperance and wonderfull modestie in the ii. moste famous erles of Leicester and Warwike your bretherne, and most vertuous and renowned ladye the countesse of Huntington your syster," &c.

² Sir John Conway, M.H., who writes in Latin, and Peter Beverley [the poet]. His *History of Ariodanto and Jenevra* will be noticed presently.

³ The sonnets are twenty-eight in number.

⁴ *Four Letters*, &c. 1592. Lett. 3. [This is a curious instance of Harvey's ignorance or malice, or both, for Greene's *Arcadia* was printed before Lady Pembroke's work.]

Anne countess of Oxford, from his chamber at the Dominican, or black friars, the fourth of February, 1575.¹ I apprehend him to be the same Sir Jeffrey Fenton, who is called "a privie counsellor in Ireland to the queen," in the *Blazon of Jealousie*, [translated from Benedetto Varchi] in 1615, by R[obert] T[oftes]. He died in 1608.²

With Fenton's *Discourses* may be mentioned also, *Straunge, lamentable, and tragicall histories translated out of French into Englishe by R[obert] S[myth]*, and published in 1577. [It seems to have been a posthumous publication, or at any rate it was edited by Thomas Newton, of Cheshire, who dedicated it to Master Harry Vernon, of Stoke, Salop, and to Master John Vernon, of Sudbury, Derbyshire.]

A work of a similar nature, by Thomas Fortescue, appeared in 1571. It is divided into four books, and called *The Foreste or Colledion of Histories, no lesse profitable then pleasant and necessarie, doone out of Frenche into Englishe, by Thomas Fortescue*.³ It is dedicated to John Fortescue, Esquire, keeper of the wardrobe. The genius of these tales may be discerned from their history. The book is said to have been written in Spanish by Petro de Messia, then translated into Italian, thence into French by Claude Cruget, a citizen of Paris, and lastly from French into English by Fortescue. But many of the stories seem to have originally migrated⁴ from Italy into Spain.

Among many others that might be mentioned, I think, is the romance or novel entitled, *A Margarite of America*. By T. Lodge. 1596. In the dedication to Lady Russell, and preface to the gentlemen readers, he says, that being at sea four years before with M. Cavendish, he found this history in the Spanish tongue in the library of the Jesuits of Sanctum; and that he translated it in the ship, in passing through the Straits of Magellan. Many sonnets and metrical inscriptions are intermixed. One of the sonnets is said to be in imitation of Dolce the Italian.⁵ About the walls⁶ of the chamber of Prince Protomachus, "in curious imagerie were the

¹ Lond. 1577. His *Familiar Epistles* were translated by Edward Hellowes, groom of the Leash, 1574. Fenton also translated into English a Latin *Disputation* held at the Sorbonne, 1571. And, an Epistle about obedience to the pastors of the Flemish church at Antwerp, from Antonio de Carro, Lond. 1570. 8vo. His discourses on the civil wars in France, under Charles IX. in 1569, are entered with Harrison and Bishop.—*Registr. Station*. A. fol. 191, a. There was an Edward Fenton, who translated from various authors *Certaine secretes and wonders of nature*, &c. Dedicated to Lord Lumley, 1569. 4to.

² Ware, 137.

³ A second edition was printed in 1576. It is licensed with W. Jones, in 1570, and with the authority of the Bishop of London.—*Registr. Station*. A. fol. 205, b. Again, Nov. 8, 1596. *Registr. C*. fol. 15, a. Similar to this is the *Paragon of pleasaunt Histories, or this Nutt was neuer cracked, containinge a discourse of a noble kynge and his three sonnes*, [licensed] Jan. 20, 1595[-6]—*Ibid*. fol. 7, a.

⁴ ["This, though said of a particular collection," observes Dr. Ashby, "is nearly true in general. The romantic turn of the Spaniards," he adds, "seems so congenial to tales of chivalry, that they put in to be the authors of them with much apparent probability; but the fact is said to be otherwise. No ancient romance has its scene or heroes in Spain."—*Park*.]

⁵ Signat. c.

⁶ Signat. κ 3.

Seuen Sages of Greece, set forth with their feuerall vertues eloquently discouered in Arabicke verses." The arch of the bed is of ebony set with precious stones, and depicted with the stages of man's life from infancy to old age.¹ The chamber of Margarite, in the same castle, is much more sumptuous. Over the portico were carved in the whitest marble, Diana blushing at the sudden intrusion of Asteon, and her "naked Nymphes, who with one hand couering their owne secret pleasures, with blushes with the other cast a beautifull vaile ouer their mistresse daintie nakedness. The two pillars of the doore were beautified with the two Cupides of Anacreon, which well-shaped Modestie often seemed to whip, lest they should growe ouer-wanton." Within, "All the chaste Ladies of the world inched out of siluer, looking through faire mirrours of chrisolites, carbuncles, sapphires, and greene emeraulds, fixed their eyes on the picture of Eternitie," &c. In the tapestry was the story of Orpheus, &c.² A sonnet of "that excellent poet of Italie Lodouico Pascale," is introduced.³ Another, "in imitation of Martelli, hauing the right nature of an Italian melancholie."⁴ He mentions "the sweet conceites of Philip du Portes, whose poetical writings being alreadie for the most part Englished, and ordinarilie in euerie mans hands," are not here translated.⁵

I think I have also seen in Italian *The straunge and wonderfull aduentures of Don Simonides a gentilman Spaniarde. Conteyning verie pleasaunte discourse. Gathered as well for the recreation of our noble yong gentilmen as our honourable courtly ladies. By Barnabe Riche gentilman.* 1581. 4to. Much poetry is intermixed. A recommendatory poem in the octave stanza is prefixed by Lodge, who says he corrected the work, and has now laid his muse aside. There is another in the same stanza by R. W. But it would be endless to pursue publications of this sort.

The learned Dr. Farmer has restored to the public notice a compilation of this class, entitled, *The Orator Handling a hundred seuerall Discourses in forme of Declamations: Some of the Arguments being drawne from Titus Liuius, and other ancient Writers, the rest of the authors owne inuention. Part of which are of matters happened in our age. Written in French by Alexander Silvayn, and Englished by Lazarus P[ot, i.e. Anthony Munday.]* 1596.⁶ The subject of the ninety-fifth Declamation is *Of a Jew who would for his debt haue a pound of the flesh of a Christian.*⁷ We have here the incident of the bond, in Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice*, which yet may be traced to a much higher source.⁸ Perhaps the following passage in Burton's

¹ Signat. B. 3.

² *Ibid.*

³ Signat. L.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Signat. L 2.

⁶ [It must appear that there had been a design, not known to have been carried out, to print at least a selection from the original work some years before, for we find licensed, Aug. 25,] 1590: *Certen Tragical cases conteyninge Lx Hystories with their seuerall Declamations both accusative and defensive, written in Frenshe by Alexander Vandenbush alias Silvayn, translated into English by E. A.*—Registr. Station. B. fol. 263, b. [See Collier's *Bibliogr. Catal.* 1865, ii. 171.]

⁷ See fol. 401.

⁸ See the *Dissertation on the Gesta Romanorum*.

Anatomy of Melancholy may throw light on these Declamations: "In the Low Countries, before these warres, they had many folemne feastes, playes, challenges, artillery [archery] gardens, colledges of rimers, rhetoricians, poets, and to this day, such places are curiously maintained in Amsterdā. In Italy, they have folemne Declamations of certaine select yonge gentlemen in Florence, like these reciters in old Rome," &c.¹

In 1582, a suite of tales was published by George Whetstone,² one of the most "passionate among us to be waile the perplexities of love,"³ under the title of *Heptameron*, and containing some novels from Cinthio. Shakespeare, in *Measure for Measure*, has fallen into great improprieties by founding his plot on a history in the *Heptameron*, imperfectly copied or translated from Cinthio's original.⁴ Many faults in the conduct of incidents for which Shakespeare's judgment is arraigned, often flowed from the casual book of the day, whose mistakes he implicitly followed without looking for a better model, and from a too hasty acquiescence in the present accommodation. But without a book of this sort Shakespeare would often have been at a loss for a subject. Yet at the same time, we look with wonder at the structures which he forms, and even without labour or deliberation, of the basest materials.⁵ [It has been already more than hinted, that this was the book to which ought to have been referred the allusion to a set of tales published in 1580, (as then alleged) by W. W.]

In 1589, was [licensed for publication] the *Chaos of Historyes*, and in 1563, *A booke called Certaine noble storyes contaynyng rare and worthy matter*. These pieces are perhaps to be catalogued in the same class.

In the year 159[1],⁶ Sir John Harington, who will occur again in

¹ P. ii. § 2, p. 229, edit. 1624.

² [Whetstone was less a writer of sonnets than of long and dull prosaic poems, some specimens of which have been inserted in *Censura Literaria*.—Park. The most complete list of Whetstone's works is in the *Handb. of E. E. Lit.* 1867, in v.]

³ Meres, *ubi supr.* fol. 284. W. Webbe, a cotemporary, calls him "A man singularly well skilled in this faculty of poetry."

⁴ See Whetstone's *Historye of Promos and Cassandra*, 1578. [Whetstone afterwards inserted a prose version of this tale in his *Heptameron*, 1582.]

⁵ In the Prologue to *Cupid's Whirligig*, by E. S. [harpham], 1616, [Warton thought ridiculously enough that] an oblique stroke seemed intended at some of Shakespeare's plots:

"Our authors pen loues not to swimme in blood,
He dips no inke from oute blacke Acheron:
Nor crosses seas to get a forraine plot.—
Nor doth he touch the falls of mighty kings,
No ancient hytorie, no shepherd's love,
No statesman's life," &c.

He blames some other dramatic writers for their plots of heathen gods. So [Breton] who surely had forgot Shakespeare, in *Pasquills Madcappe*, 1600, p. 11:]

✱ "Go, bid the poets studdie better matter,
Than Mars and Venus in a tragedie."

⁶ In that year, Feb. 26, was entered to Richard Field, under the hands of the

his place as an original writer, exhibited an English version of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* which, although executed without spirit or accuracy, unanimated and incorrect, enriched our poetry by a communication of new stores of fiction and imagination, both of the romantic and comic species, of Gothic machinery and familiar manners.

[The first English writer who is known to have drawn attention to him, was Peter Beverley of Staple Inn who, about 1565, composed a paraphrase in verse of *Ariodanto and Genevra*. It was licensed for the press in 1565: but the only edition at present traceable is one without date, but printed about 1570, by Thomas East for Francis Caldock. Mr. Park has afforded a specimen of the commencement, which will probably not excite a desire for more:

Amongst the vanquish't regions,
That worthy Brute did winne,
There is a soyle, in these our dayes
With ocean seas cloas'de in,
That fertile is, and peopled well,
And stor'd with pleasant fieldes;
And hath for tillage lucky land,
That yearly profit yielde—

In 1597, Robert Tofte translated and published *Two Tales out of Ariosto. The one in Dispraise of men, the other in Disgrace of women. With certaine other Italian Stanzas and Proverbs*, and in 1608,¹ the same gentleman executed a version of Ariosto's Satires which, it appears, was improperly appropriated by Gervis Markham.

I may add, that in 1598 was licensed the story of *Rogero and Rbodomont*, translated from Italian into French by Philip de Portes, and from French into English by Tofte. No edition of so early a date has been seen, but two or three copies have occurred of one published in 1607, 8vo.]

Fairfax is commonly supposed to be the first translator of Tasso. But in 1594, [Richard Carew of Antony], produced five cantoes of Tasso, with the English and Italian on opposite pages. If Carew translated more, it did not appear in print. Perhaps this is not greatly to be regretted, as Carew can claim no rank as a poet, and this version does very scanty justice to the original.² [On June 19,

Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, *A booke entituled John Harrington's Orlando Furioso*, &c. *Regist. Station. B.* fol. 271, b. [Though entered on the Stationers' books in 1590, the first edition of Harrington's *Ariosto* bears date 1591.—*Park*.]

¹ [There was a second edition in 1611, under a new title. Warton himself incidentally remarks elsewhere, "I believe these satires are but little known or esteemed by the Italians."]

"I sing the goodly armes, and that chieftaine
Who great sepulchre of our Lord did free,
Much with his hande, much wrought he with his braine;
Much in that glorious conquest suffred hee:
And hell in vaine hittelse opposde, in vaine
The mixed troopes Arian and Libick flee
To armes, for Heaven him favour'd, and he drew
To sacred ensignes his straid mates anew."

1594,¹ was licensed to John Danter *Godfrey of Bulloigne, with the Conquest of Jerusalem*, an interlude. As a second part of this was acted in the same year, it is presumable, as Mr. Halliwell points out, that the first part also appeared on the stage. But no printed copy has come down. This subject appears to have been dramatised in France as early as 1378.

We must not overlook the other versions of Tasso extant in English, including his *Aminta*, translated by Fraunce, which has been already noticed. But several translations were made from Tasso between 1594 and 1660, including the *Treatise Of Marriage and Wiving*, which was turned into English by the prolific Tofte in 1599, and the doubtless spurious book ascribed to Tasso, and entitled *The Householders Philosophie*. This latter was executed by T. K., initials which it is hard to identify.] Hall, in his *Satires* published in 1597, enumerates among the favorite stories of his time, such as Saint George, Brutus, King Arthur, and Charlemagne,

What were his knights did Salems siege maintayne,

To which he immediately adds Ariosto's Orlando.²

By means of the same vehicle, translation from Italian books, a precise and systematical knowledge of the antient heathen theology seems to have been more effectually circulated among the people in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Among others, in 1599 was published, *The Fountaine of antient Fiction*, wherein is lively depicted the images and statues of the gods of the antients with their proper and particular expositions. Done into Englishe by Richard Linche gentleman, *Tempo è figliuola di verità*.³ This book, or one of the same sort, is censured in a puritanical pamphlet, written the same year, by one H. G. *a painfull minister of God's word in Kent*, as the *Spawne of Italian Gallimaufry*, as tending to corrupt the pure and unidolatrous worship of the one God, and as one of the deadly snares of popish deception.⁴ In the history of the puritans, their apprehensions that the reformed faith was yet in danger from paganism, are not sufficiently noted. And it should be remembered that a

[¹ Halliwell's *Dict. of O. P.* in voce.]

² Among Rawlinson's manuscripts are two fair copies in large folio of a translation of *Tasso* in octave stanzas, by Sir G. T.

³ From some other book of the kind, says John Marston in his *Satires*, 1598. *Sat.* ii. :

"Reach me some poets Index that will shew
Imagines deorum. Booke of Epithites,
Natales Comes, thou, I know, recites,
And mak't anatomie of poesie."

⁴ In 1599 was [licensed to] G. Potter "A commendacion of true poetry and a discommendacion of all baudy, pybald, and paganizde [paganised] poets," &c. See *Registr. Station.* C. fol. 55, b. In 1589 appeared *Certaine Obseruations for Latine and English versifying*. By H. B. See, for a collection of treatises of this kind, *Ancient Critical Essays*, edited by Haslewood, 1811-15, 2 vols.

Pantheon had before appeared ; rather indeed with a view of expounding the heathen superstitions, and of showing their conformity to the papistic, than of illustrating the religious fable of antiquity. But the scope and design of the writer will appear from his title, which, from its archness alone, deserves to be inserted. *The golden booke of the leaden Goddess. Wherein is described the wayne imaginations of Heathen Pagans, and counterfaiſt Chriſtians: wyth a deſcription of their ſeuerall tables [Fables], what ech of their Pictures ſignified.*¹ [This is the earliest manual of the claſſical mythology in our language]. The writer, however, Doctor Stephen Batman, had been domeſtic chaplain to Archbiſhop Parker, and is better known by his general chronicle of prodigies called *The Doome warning all men to the Iudgemente*, &c., 1581. He was alſo the laſt tranſlator of the Gothic Pliny, *Bartholomeus de Proprietatibus Rerum*, and collected more than a thouſand manuſcripts for Archbiſhop Parker's library.

This enquiry might be much further enlarged and extended. But let it be ſufficient to obſerve here in general, that the beſt ſtories of the early and original Italian noveliſts, either by immediate tranſlation, or through the mediation of Spaniſh, French, or Latin verſions, by paraphraſe, abridgment, imitation, and often under the diſguiſe of licentious innovations of names, incidents, and characters, appeared in an Engliſh dreſs, before the cloſe of the reign of Elizabeth, and for the moſt part, even before the publication of the firſt volume of Belleforreſt's grand repository of tragical narratives, a compilation from the Italian writers, in 1583. In the mean time, it muſt be remembered, that many tranſlations of tales from the modern languages were liſenſed to be printed, but afterwards ſuppreſſed by the intereſt of the puritans. It appears from the regiſter of the ſtationers that, among others, in the year 1619, "The *Decameron* of Mr. John Boccace Florentine," was revoked by a ſudden inhibition of Abbot, Archbiſhop of Canterbury.² But not only the clamours of the Calviniſts, but caprice and ignorance, perhaps partiality, ſeem to have had ſome ſhare in this buſineſs of licenſing books. The rigid arbiters of the preſs who condemned Boccaccio in the groſs, could not with propriety ſpare all the licentious cantos of Arioſto. That writer's libertine friar, metamorphoſis of Ricciardetto, Alcina and Rogero, Anſelmo, and hoſt's tale of Aſtolfo, are ſhocking to common decency. When the four or five firſt books of *Amadis de Gaul* in French were delivered to Wolfe [the ſtationer] to be tranſlated into Engliſh and to be printed in the year 1592, the ſignature of Biſhop Aylmer was affixed to every book of the original.³ The romance of *Palmerin of England* was liſenſed to be printed in 1580, on condition that if any thing reprehenſible was found in the

¹ Liſenſed Aug. 26, 1577. *Regiſtr. Station. B.* fol. 142, b.

² *Regiſtr. C.* fol. 311, a.

³ *Regiſtr. Station. B.* fol. 286, a. Hence Dekker's familiarity of alluſion, in *The Vntruſſing of the humorous Poet*, "Farewell my ſweete Amadis de Gaule !" 1602, ſignat. D 2.

book after publication, all the copies should be committed to the flames. [*Palmerin D'Olive* appeared in 1588]. Notwithstanding, it is remarkable that, in 1587, a new edition of Boccaccio's *Decameron*, in Italian, should have been permitted by Archbishop Whitgift:¹ and the English *Amorous Fiametta*² of Boccaccio, above mentioned, in the same year by the Bishop of London.³

[Certainly one of the most popular romances of this period was the *Mirror of Princely Deeds and Knighthood*, otherwise (and perhaps better) known as the *Knight of the Sun*, of which mythical individual it purports to narrate the adventures and fortunes. This rather elaborate publication was originally published in Spanish, and was made familiar to the English reader by the instrumentality of more than one pen. It consisted of no fewer than nine parts, comprised in eight volumes, and appeared from several presses between the years 1579 and 1601. One of the renderers into English seems to have been Richard Percival, author of a Spanish dictionary and grammar, but he only gives his initials, too well known possibly among a particular class of readers, at that time, to be misunderstood. The *Knight of the Sun* preserved its position as a popular favourite even into the succeeding reign, for in the curious set of *Characters* annexed to the later editions of Overbury's *Wife*, we are told that the milkmaid would sometimes beguile her leisure moments with this (to modern apprehension) rather irksome narrative.

Even the history of *Amadis of Gaul*, so prominent a part of the romantic literature of Spain and France, extended to six parts in the English translation by Munday and others, and was not completed till 1664. Thirty years later, a "person of quality," as he is somewhat mysteriously called on the title, published the *History of Amadis of Greece*, "Knight of the Burning Sword," a sort of competitor for patronage with the then well-worn *History of Belianis of Greece*, which had been before the world since 1598, and had seen numerous re-impressions. Accompanying the history of *Amadis of Greece* was a series of woodcuts, remarkable for the excellence of their execution. But the earliest book in this class of literature was apparently *The treasure of Amadis of Fraunce*, translated from the French by Thomas Paynel, and printed in 1567. Neither the translator's name nor the date occurs; but both are ascertainable from the Stationers' Registers.

¹ Sept. 13. Together with the *Historie of China*, both in Italian and English.

² [The following allusions to this and to other cotemporary publications occur in an epistle by N. W. prefixed to Daniel's edition of [the Worthy Tract of] Paulus Jovius on Impreses, 1585. "If courtiers are inwardly ravished in viewing the picture of Fiametta, which Boccace limned; if ladies entertaine Bandell[io] or Ariosto in their closets; if lovers embrace their phisition Ovid in extremities of their passion: then will gentlemen of all tribes, much rather honour your Impresa, as a most rare jewell and delicate enchiridion. For there is not published a Florish upon Fancie, or Tarletons toyes or the sillie interlude of Diogenes," &c.—*Park*.]

³ *Ibid.* Sept. 18.

A sequel to *Palmerin of England* does not seem to have been undertaken; the romance itself was completed by the issue of a third part in 1602. But of *Palmerin d'Oliva*, the continuation was translated by the same hand (Anthony Munday), and printed in 1589, under the title of the *History of Palmendos, Son to Palmerin d'Oliva*, &c. It has undoubtedly arisen from the excessive popularity of such books as these, followed by a lengthened epoch of utter neglect, that they have become, in our time, as rare as they were once common. Many are known only in single copies; and those not always complete.

These books of chivalry had, in their turn, superseded to a large extent those which amused or instructed an earlier generation. Caxton, who probably never printed any volume which he had not good reason to believe he should sell, had employed his press long before the Elizabethan era with English versions of such works as *Blanchardine and Eglantine*, the *Four Sons of Aymon*, and the *Knights of the Round Table*. Of these the last alone maintained itself in favour, and met with a continued demand at the hands of the public, and even so late as 1634 an edition in which the language was altered and modernized, was considered a desirable and safe speculation. The romance of *Arthur of Little Britain* was not known so early among us, nor did it live so long. It does not seem to have passed the press more than twice.]

But in the year 1599, the Hall of the Stationers underwent as great a purgation as was carried on in Don Quixote's library. Marston's *Pygmalion*, Marlowe's *Ovid*, the *Satires* of Hall and Marston, the *Epigrams* of Davies and others, and the *Caltha Poetarum*, were ordered for immediate conflagration by the prelates Whitgift and Bancroft.¹ By the same authority all the books of Nash and Gabriel Harvey were anathematized: and, like thieves and outlaws, were ordered "to be taken wheresoever they maye be found." It was decreed that no satires or epigrams should be printed for the future. [But Hall's *Satires* and Cutwode's *Caltha Poetarum*, 1599, were subsequently exempted, and Willobie's *Avisa*, 1594 (or some later edition), was, by an afterthought, rather inconsistently added to the works condemned.²] No plays were to be printed without the inspection and permission of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, nor any *Englishe Historyes*, I suppose novels and romances, without the sanction of the privy-council. Any pieces of this nature, uncensored, or now at large and wandering abroad, were to be diligently sought, recalled, and delivered over to the ecclesiastical arm at London-House.

If any apology should be thought necessary for so prolix and

¹ There are also recited, *The Shadowe of Trueth in Epigrams and Satires*, [by Edward Guilpin, 1598;] *Snarling Satyres*, [or *Microcynicon*, by T.M. 1599.] The booke againste women, [Tofte's *Discourse against Marriage and Wiving*, from Tasso, 1599,] and *The xvi ioyes of marriage*.

² [Notes and Queries, 3rd S. xii. 435.]

intricate an examination of these compositions, I shelter this section under the authority of a polite and judicious Roman writer, "Sit apud te honos antiquitati, sit ingentibus factis, sit Fabulis quoque."¹

SECTION LXI.



ENOUGH has been opened of the reign of Queen Elizabeth to afford us an opportunity of forming some general reflections, tending to establish a full estimate of the genius of the poetry of that reign; and which, by drawing conclusions from what has been said, and directing the reader to what he is to expect, will at once be recapitulatory and preparatory. Such a survey perhaps might have stood with more propriety as an introduction to this reign. But it was first necessary to clear the way by many circumstantial details and the regular narration of those particulars, which lay the foundation of principles, and suggest matter for discursive observation.

The age of Queen Elizabeth is commonly called the golden age of English poetry. It certainly may not improperly be styled the most poetical age of these annals.

Among the great features which strike us in the poetry of this period are the predominancy of fable, of fiction and fancy, and a predilection for interesting adventures and pathetic events. I will endeavour to assign and explain the cause of this characteristic distinction, which may chiefly be referred to the following principles, sometimes blended, and sometimes operating singly: The revival and vernacular versions of the classics, the importation and translation of Italian novels, the visionary reveries or refinements of false philosophy, a degree of superstition sufficient for the purposes of poetry, the adoption of the machineries of romance, and the frequency and improvements of allegoric exhibition in the popular spectacles.

When the corruptions and impostures of popery were abolished, the fashion of cultivating the Greek and Roman learning became universal: and the literary character was no longer appropriated to scholars by profession, but assumed by the nobility and gentry. The ecclesiastics had found it their interest to keep the languages of antiquity to themselves, and men were eager to know what had been so long injuriously concealed. Truth propagates truth, and the mantle of mystery was removed not only from religion but from literature. The laity, who had now been taught to assert their natural privileges, became impatient of the old monopoly of know-

¹ Plin. *Epist.* viii. 24.

ledge, and demanded admittance to the usurpations of the clergy. The general curiosity for new discoveries, heightened either by just or imaginary ideas of the treasures contained in the Greek and Roman writers, excited all persons of leisure and fortune to study the classics. The pedantry of the present age was the politeness of the last. An accurate comprehension of the phraseology and peculiarities of the ancient poets, historians, and orators, which yet seldom went further than a kind of technical erudition, was an indispensable and almost the principal object in the circle of a gentleman's education. Every young lady of fashion was carefully instituted in classical letters: and the daughter of a duchess was taught, not only to distil strong waters, but to construe Greek. Among the learned females of high distinction, Queen Elizabeth herself was the most conspicuous. Roger Ascham, her preceptor, speaks with rapture of her astonishing progress in the Greek nouns; and declares with no small degree of triumph, that during a long residence at Windsor-castle, she was accustomed to read more Greek in a day, than "some prebendary of that church did Latin, in one week."¹ And although perhaps a princess looking out words in a lexicon, and writing down hard phrases from Plutarch's *Lives*, may be thought at present a more incompatible and extraordinary character than a canon of Windsor understanding no Greek and but little Latin, yet Elizabeth's passion for these acquisitions was then natural, and resulted from the genius and habitudes of her age.

The books of antiquity being thus familiarised to the great, every thing was tinged with ancient history and mythology. The heathen gods, although discountenanced by the Calvinists, on a suspicion of their tending to cherish and revive a spirit of idolatry, came into general vogue. When the queen paraded through a country-town, almost every pageant was a pantheon. When she paid a visit at the house of any of her nobility, at entering the hall she was saluted by the Penates, and conducted to her privy-chamber by Mercury. Even the pastry-cooks were expert mythologists. At dinner, select transformations from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* were exhibited in confectionery: and the splendid icing of an immense historic plum-cake was embossed with a delicious basso-relievo of the destruction of Troy. In the afternoon, when she condescended to walk in the garden, the lake was covered with Tritons and Nereids; the pages of the family were converted into Wood-nymphs who peeped from every bower: and the footmen gambled over the lawns in the figure of Satyrs. I speak it without designing to insinuate any unfavourable suspicions, but it seems difficult to say, why Elizabeth's virginity should have been made the theme of perpetual and excessive panegyric: nor does it immediately appear, that there is less merit or glory in a married than a maiden queen. Yet, the next morning, after sleeping in a room hung with the tapestry

¹ *Schoolemaster*, p. 19, b. edit. 1589.

of the voyage of Eneas, when her majesty hunted in the Park, she was met by Diana, who pronouncing our royal prude to be the brightest paragon of unspotted chastity, invited her to groves free from the intrusions of Acteon. The truth is, she was so profusely flattered for this virtue because it was esteemed the characteristic ornament of the heroines, as fantastic honour was the chief pride of the champions, of the old barbarous romance. It was in conformity to the sentiments of chivalry, which still continued in vogue, that she was celebrated for chastity: the compliment, however, was paid in a classical allusion.

Queens must be ridiculous when they would appear as women. The softer attractions of sex vanish on the throne. Elizabeth sought all occasions of being extolled for her beauty, of which indeed in the prime of her youth she possessed but a small share, whatever might have been her pretensions to absolute virginity. Notwithstanding her exaggerated habits of dignity and ceremony, and a certain affectation of imperial severity, she did not perceive this ambition of being complimented for beauty to be an idle and unpardonable levity, totally inconsistent with her high station and character. As she conquered all nations with her arms, it matters not what were the triumphs of her eyes. Of what consequence was the complexion of the mistress of the world? Not less vain of her person than her politics, this stately coquette, the guardian of the protestant faith, the terror of the sea, the mediatrix of the factions of France, and the scourge of Spain, was infinitely mortified, if an ambassador, at the first audience, did not tell her she was the finest woman in Europe. No negotiation succeeded unless she was addressed as a goddess. Encomiastic harangues drawn from this topic, even on the supposition of youth and beauty, were surely superfluous, unsuitable and unworthy, and were offered and received with an equal impropriety. Yet, when she rode through the streets of the city of Norwich, Cupid, at the command of the mayor and aldermen, advancing from a group of gods who had left Olympus to grace the procession, gave her a golden arrow, the most effective weapon of his well-furnished quiver, which under the influence of such irresistible charms, was sure to wound the most obdurate heart. [Holinshed observes: "Hir maiestie receiued these gifts (that of Cupid and the other deities) verie thankfullie."]¹ In one of the fulsome interludes at court, where she was present, the singing-boys of her chapel presented the story of the three rival goddesses on Mount Ida, to which her majesty was ingeniously added as a fourth: and Paris was arraigned in form for adjudging the golden apple to Venus, which was due to the queen alone.

This inundation of classical pedantry soon infected our poetry. Our writers, already trained in the school of fancy, were suddenly dazzled with these novel imaginations, and the divinities and heroes of pagan antiquity decorated every composition. The perpetual

¹ [*Chronicles*, anno 1579, edit. 1808, iv. 400.]

allusions to ancient fable were often introduced without the least regard to propriety. Shakespeare's Mrs. Page, who is not intended in any degree to be a learned or an affected lady,¹ laughing at the cumbersome courtship of her corpulent lover Falstaff, says, "I had rather be a giantess, and lie under Mount Pelion."² This familiarity with the Pagan story was not, however, so much owing to the prevailing study of the original authors, as to the numerous English versions of them, which were consequently made. The translations of the classics, which now employed every pen, gave a currency and a celebrity to these fancies, and had the effect of diffusing them among the people. No sooner were they delivered from the pale of the scholastic languages, than they acquired a general notoriety. Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, just translated by Golding, to instance no further, disclosed a new world of fiction even to the illiterate. As we had now all the ancient fables in English, learned allusions, whether in a poem or a pageant, were no longer obscure and unintelligible to common readers and common spectators. And here we are led to observe, that at this restoration of the classics we were first struck only with their fabulous inventions. We did not attend to their regularity of design and justness of sentiment. A rude age, beginning to read these writers, imitated their extravagances, not their natural beauties; and these, like other novelties, were pursued to a blameable excess.

I have before given a sketch of the introduction of classical stories, in the splendid show exhibited at the coronation of Queen Anne Boleyn. But that is a rare and a premature instance: and the Pagan fictions are there complicated with the barbarisms of the Catholic worship and the doctrines of scholastic theology. Classical learning was not then so widely spread, either by study or translation, as to bring these learned spectacles into fashion, to frame them with sufficient skill, and to present them with propriety.

Another capital source of the poetry peculiar to this period consisted in the numerous translations of Italian tales into English. These narratives, not dealing altogether in romantic inventions, but in real life and manners, and in artful arrangements of fictitious yet probable events, afforded a new gratification to a people which yet retained their ancient relish for tale-telling, and became the fashionable amusement of all who professed to read for pleasure. They gave rise to innumerable plays and poems, which would not otherwise have existed; and turned the thoughts of our writers to new inventions of the same kind. Before these books became common, affecting situations, the combination of incident, and the pathos of catastrophe, were almost unknown. Distress, especially that arising

¹ Was it not the peculiar felicity and unrivalled merit of Shakespeare, to make his characters utter no more than nature herself set down for them? Hence Pope's just eulogium on the individuality of excellence in all his dramatis personæ, and hence his own directions to the players in *Hamlet*.—*Park.*

² *Merry W.* act ii. sc. i. [Dyce's and edit. 1868, i. 361.]

from the conflicts of the tender passion, had not yet been shown in its most interesting forms. It was hence our poets, particularly the dramatic, borrowed ideas of a legitimate plot, and the complication of facts necessary to constitute a story either of the comic or tragic species. In proportion as knowledge increased, genius had wanted subjects and materials. These pieces usurped the places of legends and chronicles. And although the old historical songs of the minstrels contained much bold adventure, heroic enterprise, and strong touches of rude delineation, yet they failed in that multiplication and disposition of circumstances, and in that description of characters and events approaching nearer to truth and reality, which were demanded by a more discerning and curious age. Even the rugged features of the original Gothic romance were softened by this sort of reading: and the Italian pastoral, yet with some mixture of the kind of incidents described in Heliodorus's *Ethiopian history* now newly translated, was engrafted on the feudal manners in Sydney's *Arcadia*.

But the Reformation had not yet destroyed every delusion, nor disenchanting all the strongholds of superstition. A few dim characters were yet legible in the mouldering creed of tradition. Every goblin of ignorance did not vanish at the first glimmerings of the morning of science. Reason suffered a few demons still to linger, which she chose to retain in her service under the guidance of poetry. Men believed, or were willing to believe, that spirits were yet hovering around, who brought with them "airs from heaven, or blasts from hell," that the ghost was duly released from his prison of torment at the sound of the curfew, and that fairies imprinted mysterious circles on the turf by moonlight. Much of this credulity was even consecrated by the name of science and profound speculation. Prospero had not yet "broken and buried his staff, nor drowned his book deeper than did ever plummet sound."¹ It was now that the alchymist and the judicial astrologer conducted his occult operations by the potent intercourse of some preternatural being, who came obsequious to his call, and was bound to accomplish his severest services under certain conditions, and for a limited duration of time. It was actually one of the pretended feats of these fantastic philosophers to evoke the Queen of the Fairies in the solitude of a gloomy grove, who, preceded by a sudden rustling of the leaves, appeared in robes of transcendent lustre.² The Shakespeare of a more instructed and polished age would not have given us a magician darkening the sun at noon, the sabbath of the witches, and the cauldron of incantation.

Undoubtedly, most of these notions were credited and entertained in a much higher degree in the preceding periods. But the arts of composition had not then made a sufficient progress, nor would the poets of those periods have managed them with so much address and judgment. We were now arrived at that point, when the national credulity, chastened by reason, had produced a sort of civilized super-

¹ [*Tempest*, v. i. (Dyce's 2nd edit. 1868, i. 227.)]

² Lilly's *Life*, p. 151.

fiction, and left a set of traditions, fanciful enough for poetic decoration, and yet not too violent and chimerical for common sense. Hobbes, although no friend to this doctrine, observes happily, "In a good poem both judgement and fancy are required; but the fancy must be more eminent, because they please for the *extravagancy*, but ought not to displease by *indiscretion*."¹

In the meantime the Gothic romance, although somewhat shaken by the classical fictions and by the tales of Boccaccio and Bandello, still maintained its ground: and the daring machineries of giants, dragons and enchanted castles, borrowed from the magic storehouse of Boiardo, Ariosto and Tasso, began to be employed by the epic muse. These ornaments have been censured by the bigotry of precise and servile critics, as abounding in whimsical absurdities, and as unwarrantable deviations from the practice of Homer and Virgil. [Mr. Blackwell] is willing to allow a fertility of genius and a felicity of expression to Tasso and Ariosto, but at the same time complains, that "quitting life, they betook themselves to aerial beings and Utopian characters, and filled their works with Charms and Visions, the modern Supplements of the Marvellous and Sublime. The best poets copy nature, and give it such as they find it. When once they lose sight of this, they write false, be their talents ever so great."² But what shall we say of those Utopians, the Cyclopes and the Lestrigons in the *Odyssey*? The hippogrif of Ariosto may be opposed to the harpies of Virgil. If leaves are turned into ships in the *Orlando*, nymphs are transformed into ships in the *Eneid*. Cacus is a more unnatural savage than Caliban. Nor am I convinced, that the imagery of Ismeno's necromantic forest in the *Gierusalemme Liberata*, guarded by walls and battlements of fire, is less marvellous and sublime than the leap of Juno's horses in the *Iliad*, celebrated by Longinus for its singular magnificence and dignity.³ On the principles of this critic, Voltaire's *Henriade* may be placed at the head of the modern epic.⁴ But I forbear to anticipate my opinion of a system, which will more properly be considered when I come to speak of Spenser. I must, however, observe here, that the Gothic and Pagan fictions were now frequently blended and incorporated. The Lady of the Lake floated in the suite of Neptune before Queen Elizabeth at Kenilworth.⁵ Ariel assumes the semblance of a sea-

¹ *Leviath.* Part i. ch. viii.

² [*Inquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer*, 1735,] Sect. v. p. 69. [The ludicrously extravagant vein in which the writers of the old romances indulged were burlesqued in an anonymous book called *The Heroicall Adventures of the Knight of the Sea*, 1600, 4to. (before Cervantes had published his great work), by Rowlands in his ballad of *Sir Eglamore*, inserted in *The Melancholie Knight*, 1615, 4to; and again, by Samuel Holland in his *Don Zara Del Fogo*, 1656. But Chaucer's *Rime of Sir Thopas* is the first thing of this kind.]

³ *Iliad*, V. 770. Longin. § ix.

⁴ [So thought Lord Chesterfield, at whom Martin Sherlock laughed, properly enough.—*Abby*.]

⁵ [Galscoigne's *Poems*, Roxburghe Library edit. ii. 103.]

nymph ; and Hecate, by an easy association, conducts the rites of the weird sisters in Macbeth.

Allegory had been derived from the religious dramas into our civil spectacles. The masques and pageantries of the age of Elizabeth were not only furnished by the heathen divinities, but often by the virtues and vices impersonated, significantly decorated, accurately distinguished by their proper types, and represented by living actors. The antient symbolical shews of this sort began now to lose their old barbarism and a mixture of religion, and to assume a degree of poetical elegance and precision. Nor was it only in the conformation of particular figures that much fancy was shown, but in the contexture of some of the fables or devices presented by groups of ideal personages. These exhibitions quickened creative invention, and reflected back on poetry what poetry had given. From their familiarity and public nature, they formed a national taste for allegory ; and the allegorical poets were now writing to the people. Even romance was turned into this channel. In the *Fairy Queen*, allegory is wrought upon chivalry, and the feats and figments of Arthur's Round Table are moralized. The virtues of magnificence and chastity are here personified : but they are imaged with the forms, and under the agency, of romantic knights and damsels. What was an afterthought in Tasso, appears to have been Spenser's premeditated and primary design. In the mean time, we must not confound these moral combatants of the *Fairy Queen* with some of its other embodied abstractions, which are purely and professedly allegorical.

It may here be added that only a few critical treatises, and but one *Art of Poetry*, were now written. Sentiments and images were not absolutely determined by the canons of composition : nor was genius awed by the consciousness of a future and final arraignment at the tribunal of taste. A certain dignity of inattention to niceties is now visible in our writers. Without too closely consulting a criterion of correctness, every man indulged his own capriciousness of invention. The poet's appeal was chiefly to his own voluntary feelings, his own immediate and peculiar mode of conception ; and this freedom of thought was often expressed in an undisguised frankness of diction : a circumstance, by the way, that greatly contributed to give the flowing modulation¹ which now marked the

¹ [This modulation, Mr. Ellis thinks, is likely to have resulted from the musical studies which now formed a part of general education. "The lyrical compositions of this time are so far," he adds, "from being marked by a faulty negligence, that excess of ornament and laboured affectation are their characteristic blemishes. Such as are free from conceit and antithesis are in general exquisitely polished, and may safely be compared with the most elegant and finished specimens of modern poetry." — *Specimen of Early English Poets*. Mr. Athby also thought, that the modulation of the poetry was a good deal owing to a general attention to Church Music, which would form the public ear more universally than all our present spectacles, because all may attend church gratis. And this is really the case in Italy. Daines Barrington remarks, that many a girl in the country has a good voice, but all sing

measures of our poets, and which soon degenerated into the opposite extreme of dissonance and asperity. Selection and discrimination were often overlooked. Shakespeare wandered in pursuit of universal nature. The glancings of his eye are from heaven to earth, from earth to heaven. We behold him breaking the barriers of imaginary method. In the same scene, he descends from his meridian of the noblest tragic sublimity to puns and quibbles, to the meanest merri-ments of a plebeian farce. In the midst of his dignity, he resembles his own Richard the Second, the skipping king, who sometimes dis- carding the state of a monarch,

Mingled his royalty with capering fools.¹

He seems not to have seen any impropriety in the most abrupt transitions from dukes to buffoons, from senators to sailors, from counsellors to constables, and from kings to clowns. Like Virgil's majestic oak,

Quantum vertice ad auras
Aetherias, tantum radice in Tartara tendit.²

No Satires, properly so called, were written till towards the latter end of the queen's reign, and then but a few. Pictures drawn at large of the vices of the times did not suit readers who loved to wander in the regions of artificial manners. The Muse, like the people, was too solemn and reserved, too ceremonious and pedantic, to stoop to common life. Satire is the poetry of a nation highly polished.³

The importance of the female character was not yet acknowledged, nor were women admitted into the general commerce of society.⁴ The effect of that intercourse had not imparted a comic air to poetry, nor softened the severer tone of our versification with the levities of gallantry, and the familiarities of compliment, sometimes perhaps operating on serious subjects, and imperceptibly spreading themselves in the general habits of style and thought. I do not mean to insinuate, that our poetry has suffered from the great change of manners, which this assumption of the gentler sex, or rather the improved state of female education has produced, by giving elegance and variety to life, by enlarging the sphere of conversation, and by multiplying the

false, because they never hear good singing: in London it is just the contrary.—*Park.*]

¹ *First P. Henry IV.* Act iii. sc. ii. [Dyce's edit. 1868, iv. 255.]

² *Georg.* ii. line 291 [edit. Keightley.]

³ [Yet the French would think higher of Boileau, had he wrote as well in any other way. I own I cannot help thinking Juvenal a very improvident but cowardly fellow, that could laugh at Hannibal's one eye 300 years after. Paul Whitehead displayed greater audacity in laughing at the late Duke of Marlborough; but did any thing in the subsequent part of the duke's life justify the Satirist?—*Ashby.*]

⁴ [It is much that women should not prevail so as to give the *ton* at Queen Elizabeth's court. They did it at King Arthur's, which seems to have been esteemed the standard then. James was a woman hater. If the prose of Elizabeth's time was poetical, the poetry of his was prosaic. This reverses the position of Mr. Warton on the next page, and appears not to be quite admissible.—*Ashby.*]

topics and enriching the stores of wit and humour. But I am marking the peculiarities of composition : and my meaning was to suggest, that the absence of so important a circumstance from the modes and constitution of antient life must have influenced the cotemporary poetry. Of the state of manners among our ancestors respecting this point many traces remain. Their style of courtship may be collected from the love-dialogues of Hamlet, young Percy, Henry the Fifth, and Master Fenton. Their tragic heroines, their Desdemonas and Ophelias, although of so much consequence in the piece, are degraded to the back-ground. In comedy, their ladies are nothing more than *merry wives*, plain and cheerful matrons, who stand upon the chariness of their honesty. In the smaller poems, if a lover praises his mistress, she is complimented in strains neither polite nor pathetic, without elegance and without affection : she is described, not in the address of intelligible yet artful panegyric, not in the real colours, and with the genuine accomplishments of nature, but as an eccentric ideal being of another system, and as inspiring sentiments equally unmeaning, hyperbolical, and unnatural.

All or most of these circumstances contributed to give a descriptive, a picturesque, and a figurative cast to the poetical language. This effect appears even in the prose compositions of the reign of Elizabeth. In the subsequent age, prose became the language of poetry.

In the mean time, general knowledge was increasing with a wide diffusion and a hasty rapidity. Books began to be multiplied, and a variety of the most useful and rational topics had been discussed in our own language. But science had not made too great advances. On the whole, we were now arrived at that period, propitious to the operations of original and true poetry, when the coyness of fancy was not always proof against the approaches of reason, when genius was rather directed than governed by judgment, and when taste and learning had so far only disciplined imagination, as to suffer its excesses to pass without censure or control, for the sake of the beauties to which they were allied.

SECTION LXII.



MORE poetry was written in the single reign of Elizabeth than in the two preceding centuries. The same causes, among others already enumerated and explained, which called forth genius and imagination, such as the new sources of fiction opened by a study of the classics, a familiarity with the French, Italian, and Spanish writers, the growing elegances of the English language, the diffusion of polished manners, the felicities of long peace and public prosperity, and a certain freedom and activity of mind which immediately followed the national emancipation from superstition, contributed also to pro-

duce innumerable compositions in poetry. In prosecuting my further examination of the poetical annals of this reign, it therefore becomes necessary to reduce such a latitude of materials to some sort of methodical arrangement. On which account, I shall class and consider the poets of this reign under the general heads or divisions of Satire, Sonnet, Pastoral, and Miscellaneous poetry. Spenser will stand alone, without a class and without a rival.

Satire, specifically so called, did not commence in England till the latter end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. We have seen, indeed, that eclogues and allegories were made the vehicle of satire, and that many poems of a satirical tendency had been published long ago. And here the censure was rather confined to the corruptions of the clergy, than extended to popular follies and vices. But the first professed English satirist, to speak technically, is [Sir Thomas Wyatt the elder who, according to the author of the *Essay on Pope*, was "the first writer of satires worth notice." To him succeeded George Gascoigne, who in 1576 produced two pieces, one in stanzas, and the other in blank verse, both of a satirical character, though the second to be mentioned was professedly a series of moral Elegies. One was called *The Steele Glas, A Satyre*, and was printed in the year of its composition or completion (1576); the other, the *Griefe of Joye*, did not appear in type during the writer's life-time.¹ *The Steele Glas* is a shrewd animadversion on the vices and follies of humanity, and exhibits, moreover, a curious and valuable picture of the manners of the age, and an insight into Elizabethan life and commercial morality. The satirical vein may, perhaps, be considered as that in which Gascoigne was most felicitous and successful.] Donne's *Satires* were written [late] in the reign of [Elizabeth],² though they were not published till after his death. [The first known edition of them was in the collected impression of his poems in 1633, yet] Jonson sends one of his epigrams to Lucy, Countess of Bedford [in 1614], "with [Master] Donne's *Satires*."³ 4

¹ [Both are, of course, included in the Roxburghe Library edit. of the Poems, 1869-70, vol. ii.]

² [Harl. MS. 5110. The title is: *Ihon Dunne, his Satires. Anno Domini 1593.*]

³ [Works, edit. 1816, viii. 205.]

⁴ Though Jonson's *Epigrams* were printed in 1616, many were written long before. Among Freeman's *Epigrams, Run and a great Cast*, 1614, we have the following. *Epigr.* 84:

"To John Donne.

"The Storme described hath set thy name afloat,
Thy Calme a gale of famous winde hath got:
Thy Satyrs short too soone we them o'erlook,
I prithee, Perſius, write another booke!"

[It has been conjectured that Jonson and Freeman refer to a MS. similar to that in the Harleian Collection, or Donne's performances in this way may have perished, like so much of the literature of the same period. See *Handb. of E. E. Lit.* 1867, art. DONNE. Many of the MSS. miscellanies of the seventeenth century contain poems by Donne, in some cases inedited.]

[Donne was followed by Thomas Lodge who, in 1595, published his *Fig for Momus*, "included in *Satyres, Eclogues,*" &c. Our fifth satirist, in order of time, was] Bishop Joseph Hall, successively Bishop of Exeter and Norwich, born at Bristow Park, within the parish of Ashby-de-la-Zouch, in Leicestershire, in the year 1574, and at the age of fifteen, in the year 1588, admitted into Emanuel College, at Cambridge, where he remained about eight years. He soon became eminent in the theology of those times, preached against predestination before Prince Henry with unrivalled applause, and discussed the doctrines of Arminianism in voluminous dissertations. But so variable are our studies, and so fickle is opinion, that the poet is better known to posterity than the prelate or the polemic. His satires have outlived his sermons at court¹ and his laborious confutations of the Brownists. One of his later controversial tracts is, however, remembered on account of the celebrity of its antagonist. When Milton descended from his dignity to plead the cause of fanaticism and ideal liberty, Bishop Hall was the defender of our hierarchical establishment. Bayle, who knew Hall only as a theologist, seems to have written his life merely because he was one of the English divines at the Synod of Dort, in 1618. From his inflexible and conscientious attachment to the royal and episcopal cause under King Charles I., he suffered in his old age the severities of imprisonment and sequestration, and lived to see his cathedral converted into a barrack and his palace into an ale-house. His uncommon learning was meliorated with great penetration and knowledge of the world, and his mildness of manners and his humility were characteristic. He died, and was obscurely buried without a memorial on his grave, in 1656, and in his eighty-second year, at Heigham, a small village near Norwich, where he had sought shelter from the storms of usurpation and the intolerance of Presbyterianism.²

¹ [Since the decease of our poetical historian, this just reproach has been removed by a republication of the entire works of Bishop Hall.—*Park.*]

² [The following lines may serve in the way of epitaph. They occur in a poem, printed at the end of Whitefoote's funeral sermon upon the much lamented death of the reverend father Joseph, late Lord Bishop of Norwich:

"Maugre the peevish World's complaint,
Here lies a Bishop and a Saint :
Whom Ashby bred and Granta nurs'd,
Whom Halsted and old Waltham first
(To rouse the stupid World from sloth)
Heard thund'ring with a Golden Mouth :
Whom Worcester next did dignify,
And honoured with her Deanery :
Whom Exon lent a Mitred wreath,
And Norwich—where he ceased to breathe.

"These all with one joint voice do cry,
Death's vain attempt, what doth it mean ?
My Son, my Pupil, Pastor, Dean,
My reverend Father cannot die !"

The rectory of Halstead, in Suffolk, had been presented to him by Sir Robert

I have had the good fortune to see Bishop Hall's funeral-sermon, preached some days after his interment, on the 30th day of September, 1656, at St. Peter's Church, in Norwich, by one John Whitefoote, Master of Arts, and Rector of Heigham. The preacher, no contemptible orator, before he proceeds to draw a parallel between our prelate and the patriarch Israel, thus illustrates that part of his character with which we are chiefly concerned, and which I am now hastening to consider. "Two years together he was chosen Rhetorick Professor in the University of Cambridge, and performed the Office with extraordinary applause. He was noted for a singular Wit from his Youth: a most acute Rhetorician, and an Elegant Poet. He understood many Tongues; and in the Rhetorick of his owne, he was second to none that lived in his time."¹ It is much to our present purpose to observe, that the style of his prose is strongly tinged with the manner of Seneca. The writer of the satires is perceptible in some of his gravest polemical or scriptural treatises, which are perpetually interpersed with excursive illustrations, familiar allusions and observations on life. Many of them were early translated into French; and their character is well drawn by himself, in a dedication to James I., who perhaps would have much better relished a more sedate and profound theology. "Seldome any man hath offered to your royall hands a greater bundle of his owne thoughts, nor perhaps more varietie of discourse. For here shall your maiestie find Morallitie, like a good handmaid, waiting on Divinitie: and Divinitie, like some great lady, euery day in severall dressees. Speculation interchanged with experience, Positiue theology with polemical, textuall with discursive, popular with scholasticall."²

At the age of twenty-three, while a student at Emanuel College, and in the year 1597, he published in London [six] Books of anonymous Satires, which he called [*Virgidemiarum: Sixe Bookes. First Three Bookes of*] *Tooth-lesse Satyrs*. 1. *Poeticall*. 2. *Academicall*. 3. *Morall*. The last three books are dated 1598, although the whole six were intended perhaps to sell together. Of Books I.—III. there were two issues in 1597; the entire work was republished in 1598, "corrected and amended." There was a third edition in 1599—1602, that is, the first portion carries on the title the latter, and the concluding portion, or Books IV.—VI. the former date. This impression purported to contain some additions.³ But the seventh of

Denny, and the donative of Waltham, in Essex, by Lord Denny. He was made Dean of Worcester in 1616, Bishop of Exeter in 1627, and of Norwich in 1641. —*Park*.]

¹ Fol. i. 61.

² *Works*, 1628, vol. i. p. 3.

³ [The following lines in Bastard's *Chrestoleros*, 1598, may possibly have an allusion to this term in the title to Hall's *Satires*, which might be handed about in MS. before publication:—

"Ad Lectorem.

"Reader, there is no biting in my verse,
No gall, no wormewood, no cause of offence;

the fourth Book is here made a second satire to the sixth or last Book. Annexed are, *Certaine worthye manuscript poems of great antiquitie reserved long since in the studie of a Northfolke gentleman, And now first published by J. S.* I. *The stately tragedy of Guistard and Sifmond.* II. *The Northren mothers blessing.* III. *The way of Thrifte*, 1597. Dedicated, "to the worthiest poet Maister Ed. Spenser." [The *Northren Mothers blessing* is merely the old story of *How the Goode Wif thought hir Doughter* with certaine changes and corruptions by J. S. or some one else.] By Virgidemia, an uncouth and uncommon word, we are to understand a Gathering or Harvest of rods, in reference to the nature of the subject.

These satires are marked with a classical precision, to which English poetry had yet rarely attained. They are replete with animation of style and sentiment. The indignation of the satirist is always the result of good sense. Nor are the thorns of severe invective unmixed with the flowers of pure poetry. The characters are delineated in strong and lively colouring, and their discriminations are touched with the masterly traces of genuine humour. The versification is equally energetic and elegant, and the fabric of the couplets approaches to the modern standard. It is no inconsiderable proof of a genius predominating over the general taste of an age when every preacher was a punster, to have written verses, where laughter was to be raised, and the reader to be entertained with sallies of pleasantry, without quibbles and conceits. His chief fault is obscurity, arising from a remote phraseology, constrained combinations, unfamiliar allusions, elliptical apostrophes, and abruptness of expression. Perhaps some will think, that his manner betrays too much of the laborious exactness and pedantic anxiety of the scholar and the student. Ariosto in Italian, and Regnier in French, were now almost the only modern writers of satire: [there had been at present no] English translation of Ariosto's Satires.¹ These Satires, in long verse, contain many anecdotes of his (Ariosto's) life and circumstances, and some humorous tales. They are marked with a strange vein of free reprehension, but with much less obscenity than might be expected from Satires written by the author of *Orlando Furioso*. I believe these Satires are but little known or esteemed by the Italians. But Hall's acknowledged patterns are Juvenal and Persius, not without some touches of the urbanity of Horace. His parodies of these poets, or rather his adaptations of ancient to modern manners, a mode of imitation not unhappily practised by Oldham, Ro-

And yet there is a biting, I confesse,
And sharpnesse tempered to a wholesome sense:
Such are my Epigrams, well understood,
As salt which bites the wound, but doth it good."—*Park*.

A new edition of Hall's *Satires* is almost a *desideratum*; that by Mr. Singer in 1824, 12mo, is not accurate, and the spelling has been modernized. There is a second reprint in 1824, without editor's name, in 8vo.]

¹ [They were not translated till the following reign, when a version by Robert Tofte was printed in 1608. A second impression appeared in 1611.]

chefter and Pope, discover great facility and dexterity of invention. The moral gravity and the cenforial declamation of Juvenal he frequently enlivens with a train of more refined reflection, or adorns with a novelty and variety of images.

In the opening of his general *Prologue*, he expresses a decent consciousness of the difficulty and danger of his new undertaking. The laurel which he sought had been unworn, and it was not to be won without hazard.

I first adventure,¹ with foole-hardie might,
To treade the steps of perilous despoight :
I first adventure, follow me who list,
And be the second English fatyrift.

His first book, containing nine satires, is aimed at the numerous impotent yet fashionable scribblers with which his age was infested. It must be esteemed a curious and valuable picture, drawn from real life, of the abuses of poetical composition which then prevailed; and which our author has at once exposed with the wit of a spirited satirist and the good taste of a judicious critic. Of Spenser, who could not have been his cotemporary at Cambridge, as some have thought, but perhaps was his friend, he constantly speaks with respect and applause.

I avail myself of a more minute analysis of this Book, not only as displaying the critical talents of our satirist, but as historical of the poetry of the present period, and illustrative of my general subject. And if, in general, I should be thought too copious and prolix in my examination of these satires, my apology must be, my wish to revive a neglected writer of real genius, and my opinion that the first legitimate author in our language of a species of poetry of the most important and popular utility, which our countrymen have so successfully cultivated, and from which Pope derives his chief celebrity, deserved to be distinguished with a particular degree of attention.

From the first satire, which I shall exhibit at length, we learn what kinds of pieces were then most in fashion, and in what manner they were written. They seem to have been, tales of love and chivalry, amatorial sonnets, tragedies, comedies, and pastorals.

Nor Ladies wanton loue, nor wandring knight,
Legend I out in rimes all richly dight :
Nor fright the Reader with the Pagan vaunt
Of mightie Mahound, and greate Termagaunt.²
Nor list I Sonnet of my Mistrisse face,
To paint some Blowesse³ with a borrowed grace.
Nor can I bide⁴ to pen some hungrie *Scene*
For thick-skin eares, and vnderstanding eyne :
Nor euer could my scornfull Muse abide
With Tragick shooes⁵ her ankles for to hide.

¹ [It may be observed, once for all, that the extracts from Hall's *Satires* which follow have been now carefully collated with the original edition of 1602—1599.]

² Saracen divinities.

³ In modern ballads, Bloufilda, or Bloufibella. Dr. Johnson interprets Blowze, a ruddy fat-faced wench. *Di&*. in v.

⁴ Abide, bear, endure.

⁵ Buskins.

Nor can I crouch, and writhe my fauning taylor,
 To some greate Patron, for my best auayle.
 Such hunger-staruen Trencher Poetrie,¹
 Or let it neuer liue, or timely die:
 Nor vnder euerie bank, and euerie Tree,
 Speake rymes vnto my oten Minstrallie:
 Nor caroll out so pleasing liuely laies,
 As mought the Graces moue my mirth to praise.²
 Trumpet, and reeds, and socks, and buskins fine,
 I them bequeath,³ whose statues wandring Twine
 Of yuy, mixt with Bayes, circlen around
 Their liuing Temples likewise Laurel-bound.
 Rather had I, albee in carelesse rymes,
 Check the mis-ordered world, and lawlesse times.
 Nor need I craue the Muses mid-wifry,
 To bring to light so worth-lesse Poetry.
 Or, if we list,⁴ what baser Muse can bide
 To sit and sing by Grantaes naked side?
 They h[a]unt the tyded Thames and salt Medway,
 Ere since the fame of their late Bridall day.
 Nought haue we here but willow-shaded shore,
 To tell our Grant his bankes are left for lore.⁵

The compliment in the close to Spenser is introduced and turned with singular address and elegance. The allusion is to Spenser's beautiful episode of the marriage of Thames and Medway, published in 1596, in the fourth book of the second part of the *Fairy Queen*.⁶ But had I, says the poet, been inclined to invoke the assistance of a Muse, what Muse, even of a lower order, is there now to be found, who would condescend to sit and sing on the desolated margin of the Cam? The Muses frequent other rivers, ever since Spenser celebrated the nuptials of Thames and Medway. Cam has now nothing on his banks but willows, the types of desertion.

I observe here in general, that Thomas Hudson and Henry Lock were the Bavius and Mevius of this age. In the *Return from Parnassus*, 1606, they are thus consigned to oblivion by Judicio. "Locke and Hudson, sleep you quiet shavers among the shavings of the press, and let your books lie in some old nook amongst old boots and shoes, so you may avoid my censure."⁷ [Yet Lock's work seems to have long retained a certain share of favour, if not of popularity. It forms part of the stock-in-trade of John Foster of York, stationer, according to the inventory taken in 1616; and Foster apparently dealt in works of a readily saleable character.] Hudson now [1584] translated into English Du Bartas's poem of *Judith and Holofernes*, in which is this couplet,

¹ Poetry written by hirelings for bread.

² Perhaps this couplet means Comedy.

³ Heroic poetry, pastorals, comedy and tragedy, I leave to the celebrated established masters in those different kinds of composition, such as Spenser and Shakespeare. Unless the classic poets are intended. The imitation from Persius's *Prologue* is obvious.

⁴ Or, even if I was willing to invoke a muse, &c.

⁵ B. i. 1, f. 1, edit. 1599.

⁶ B. iv. c. xi.

⁷ A. i. S. iii.

And at her eare a pearle of greater valew
There hung, than that th' Egyptian queene did swallow.

Yet he is commended by Harington for making this translation in a "verie good and sweet English verse,"¹ and is largely cited in *Englands Parnassus*, 1600. Lock applied the sonnet to a spiritual purpose, and substituting Christian love in the place of amorous passion, made it the vehicle of humiliation, holy comfort, and thanksgiving. This book he dedicated, under the title of the *Passionate present*, to Queen Elizabeth, who perhaps from the title expected to be entertained with a subject of very different nature.²

In the second satire, our author poetically laments that the nine Muses are no longer vestal virgins.

Whilome the sisters nine were Vestall maides,
And held their Temple in the secret shades
Of faire Parnassus, that two-headed hill
Whose auncient fame the Southern world did fill:
And in the stead of their eternal fame
Was the coole streame, that tooke his endles name
From out the fertile hoofe of winged steed:
There did they sit, and do their holy deed,
That pleas'd both heauen and earth.

He complains, that the "rabblements of rymesters new" have engrafted the myrtle on the bay; and that poetry, departing from its ancient moral tendency, has been unnaturally perverted to the purposes of corruption and impurity. The Muses have changed, in defiance of chastity,

Their modest stole to garish looser weed,
Deck't with loue-fauours, their late whoredoms meed.

While the pellucid spring of Pyrene is converted into a poisonous and muddy puddle,

whose infectious staine
Corrupteth all the lowly fruitfull plaine.³

Marlow's *Ovid's Elegies*, and some of the dissolute sallies of Greene and Nash, seem to be here pointed out. I know not of any edition of Marston's *Pygmalion's Image* before the year 1598, and the *Caltha poetarum*, or *Bumble-Bee*, one of the most exceptionable books of this kind, written by T. Cutwode, appeared in 1599.⁴ Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis*, published in 1593, had given great offence to the graver readers of English verse.⁵

¹ Transl. *Orl. Fur.* Notes, B. xxxv. p. 296, 1633. Hence, or from an old play, the name Holofernes got into Shakespeare.

² Lock, or Lok's book was allowed in 1597 to R. Field, under the hands of the Bishop of London, under the title of *The first parte of Christian passions conteynynge a Hundred Sonnets of Meditation, humiliation, and prayer.* To his *Ecclesiastes* there is a commendatory poem by Lilly.]

³ B. i. 2, f. 4.

⁴ To R. Olave, April 17, 1599. *Registr. Station.* C. f. 50, b.

⁵ This we learn from a poem entitled, *A Scourge for Paper-persecutors*, by J[ohn] D[avies of Hereford] *with an Inquisition against Paper-persecutors*, by A[braham] H[olland], Lond. [1624]. Signat. A 4.

"Making lewd Venus with eternall lines
To tye Adonis to her loues defignes:

In the subsequent satire, our author more particularly censures the intemperance of his brethren; and illustrates their absolute inability to write, till their imaginations were animated by wine, in the following apt and witty comparison, which is worthy of Young.

As frozen Dung-hills in a winters morne,
That voyd of Vapours seemed all beforne,
Soone as the Sun sends out his piercing beames,
Exhale out filthie smoke, and stinking steames;
So doth the bafe and the fore-barren braine,
Soone as the raging wine begins to raigne.

In the succeeding lines, he confines his attack to Marlow, eminent for his drunken frolics, who was both a player and a poet, and whose tragedy of *Tamburlaine the great*, represented before the year 158[7], published in 1590, and confessedly one of the worst of his plays, abounds in bombast. [Yet, in his address *To the Gentlemen-readers*, the printer of the edition of 1590 expressly says: "I have purposely omitted and left out some fond and frivolous gestures, digressing and, in my poor opinion, far unmeet for the matter, which I thought might seem more tedious unto the wise than any way else to be regarded, though haply they have been of some mis-conceited fondlings greatly gaped at, what time they were showed upon the stage in their graced deformities." So it seems, that the drama, as it has come down to us in print, contains an expurgated and modified text.]¹ Its false splendour was also burlesqued by Beaumont and Fletcher in the *Coxcomb*; and it has these two lines, which are ridiculed by Pistol in Shakespeare's *King Henry the Fourth*,² addressed to the captive princes who drew Tamerlane's chariot:

Holla, ye pamper'd jades of Asia,
What, can ye draw but twenty miles a day?

We should, in the mean time, remember that by many of the most skilful of our dramatic writers tragedy was now thought almost essentially and solely to consist in the pomp of declamation, in founding expressions, and unnatural amplifications of style. But to proceed:

One, higher pitch'd, doth set his soaring thought
On crowned kings that Fortune low hath brought;
Or some vpreared, high-aspiring swaine,
As it might be the Turkish Tamberlaine:³

Fine wit is shewn therein, but finer 'twere
If not attired in such bawdy Geare:
But be it as it will, the coyest Dames
In priuate reade it for their closet-games."

See also Freeman's *Epigrams*, the Second Part, entitled, *Runne and a great cast*, 1614. *Epigr.* 92:

TO MASTER WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE.

"Shakespeare, that nimble Mercury thy braine, &c.
Who list reade lust, there's Venus and Adonis,
True model of a most lasciuious lecher."

¹ [Dyce's edit. of Marlowe, 1850, i. 5-6.]

² [*Hen. IV.* part 2, ii. 4, Dyce's edit. 1868, iv. 345.]

³ [How could Warton suppose that probably the story of Tamerlane was in-

Then weeneth he his bafe drink-drowned fpright
 Rapt to the threefold loft of heauen hight :
 When he conceiues vpon his fained ftage
 The ftalking fteps of his greate perfonage
 Graced with hut-cap termes and thundring threats,
 That his poore hearers hayre quite vpright fets,
 Such foone as fome braue minded hungrie youth
 Sees fitly frame to his wide-ftained mouth,
 He vaunts his voyce vpon an hyred ftage,
 With high-fet fteps, and princely carriage.—
 There if he can with termes Italianate,
 Big-founding fentences, and words of ftate,
 Faire patch me vp his pure Iambick verfe,
 He rauifhes the gazing Scaffolders.¹

But, adds the critical fatirift, that the minds of the aftonifhed audience may not be too powerfully impreffed with the terrours of tragic folemnity, a vice or buffoon is fuddenly and moft feafonably introduced.

Now leaft fuch frightfull ftowes of Fortunes fall,
 And bloody Tyrants rage, fhould chance appall
 The dead-ftroke audience, midft the filent rout
 Comes leaping in a felfe-misformed lout,
 And laughes, and grins, and frames his mimik face,
 And iuftles ftraight into the princes place.
 A goodly hoch-poch, when vile Ruffettings
 Are match with monarchs, and with mightie kings :
 A goodly grace to fober Tragick Mufe,
 When each bafe clowne his clumbeie fit doth bruiſe !²

To complete thefe genuine and humorous anecdotes of the ftate of our ftage in the reign of Elizabeth, I make no apology for adding the paragraph immediately following, which records the infancy of theatric criticism :

Meane while our Poets, in high Parliament,
 Sit watching euerie word and gefturement,
 Like curious Cenfors of fome doughtie geare,
 Whifpering their verdict in their fellowes eare.
 Wo to the word, whoſe margent in their ſcrole³
 Is noted with a blacke condemning cole.
 But if each periode might the Synode pleaſe,
 Ho, bring the Iuy boughs, and bands of Bayes.⁴

In the beginning of the next satire, he refumes this topic. He ſeems to have conceived a contempt for blank verſe ; obſerving

roduced into our early drama from the following publication ? *The Hiftorie of the great emperour Tamerlan drawne from the auncient Monuments of the Arabians.* By Meſſire Jean du Bec, Abbot of Mortimer. Tranſlated into Engliſh by H. M. 1597. There does not ſeem to have been any earlier edit.]

¹ Thoſe who ſate on the ſcaffold, a part of the play-houſe which answered to our upper-gallery. So again, B. iv. 2, f. 13 :

“ When a craz’d ſcaffold, and a rotten ſtage,
 Was all rich Nenius his heritage.”

See the conformation of our old Engliſh theatre accurately inveſtigated in the [*Hiſt. of Engl. Dram. Poetry, &c.*, by J. P. Collier, 1831, vol. iii. p. 263 *et ſeqq.*]

² In ſtriking the benches to expreſs applauſe.

³ Copy.

⁴ B. i. 3, f. 8.

that the English iambic is written with little trouble, and seems rather a spontaneous effusion, than an artificial construction :

Too popular is Tragicke poesie,
Straying his tip-toes for a farthing fee :
And doth besides on Rimelesse numbers tread :
Vnbid Iambicks flow from carelesse head.

He next inveighs against the poet, who

in high Heroick rimes
Compileth worm-eate stories of olde times.

To these antique tales he condemns the application of the extravagant enchantments of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*, particularly of such licentious fictions as the removal of Merlin's tomb from Wales into France or Tuscany, by the magic operations of the forceress Melissa.¹ The *Orlando* had been just now translated by Harrington :

And maketh vp his hard-betaken tale
With strange enchantments, fetcht from darke some vale
Of some Melissa, that by Magicke doome
To Tuscans soyle transporteth Merlins toombe.

But he suddenly checks his career, and retracts his thoughtless temerity in presuming to blame such themes as had been immortalized by the fairy muse of Spenser :

But let no rebell Satyre dare traduce
Th' eternall Legends of thy Faerie Muse,
Renowned Spencer : whom no earthly wight
Dares once to emulate, much lesse dares despight.
Salust² of France, and Tuscan Ariost,
Yeeld vp the Lawrell garland ye haue lost : —³

In the fifth, he ridicules the whining ghosts of the *Mirror for Magistrates*, which the ungenerous and un pitying poet sends back to hell, without a penny to pay Charon for their return over the river Styx.⁴

In the sixth, he laughs at the hexametrical versification of the Roman prosody, so contrary to the genius of our language, lately introduced into English poetry by Stanihurst the translator of Virgil, and patronised by Gabriel Harvey and Sir Philip Sidney :

Another scorns the home-spun thred of rimes,
Match'd with the loftie feete of elder times :
Giue me the numbred verse that Virgill sung,
And Virgill selfe shall speake the English tongue. —
The nimble DaStils striving to out-go
The drawling Spondees pacing it below :
The lingring Spondees labouring to delay
The breath-lesse DaStils with a sodaine stay⁵

¹ See *Orl. Fur.* iii. 10, xxvi. 39.

² Du Bartas.

³ B. i. 4, f. 11. In the Stanzas called a *Defiance to Envy*, prefixed to the Satires, he declares his reluctance and inability to write pastorals after Spenser :

"At Colins feete I throw my yeelding reede."

But in some of those stanzas in which he means to ridicule the pastoral, he proves himself admirably qualified for this species of poetry.

⁴ B. i. 5, f. 12.

⁵ B. i. 6, f. 13, 14.

His own lines on the subject are a proof that English verse wanted to borrow no graces from the Roman.

The false and foolish compliments of the sonnet-writer are the object of the seventh satire :

Be shee all sootie-blacke, or berie brown,
Shee's white as morrows milk, or flakes new blown.

He judges it absurd, that the world should be troubled with the history of the smiles or frowns of a lady ; as if all mankind were deeply interested in the privacies of a lover's heart, and the momentary revolutions of his hope and despair.¹

In the eighth, our author insinuates his disapprobation of sacred poetry, and the metrical versions of Scripture, which were encouraged and circulated by the puritans. He glances at Robert Southwell's *Saint Peters Complaint*, in which the faint weeps pure Helicon, published [in 1595,] and the same writer's *Marie Magdalens Funerall Teares*. He then, but without mentioning his name, ridicules Markham's *Sions Muse*, a translation of Solomon's Song. Here, says our satirical critic, Solomon assumes the character of a modern sonneteer, and celebrates the sacred spouse of Christ with the levities and in the language of a lover singing the praises of his mistress.²

The hero of the next satire I suspect to be Robert Greene, who practised the vices which he so freely displayed in his poems. Greene, however, died three or four years before the publication of these satires. Nor is it very likely that he should have been, as Oldys has suggested in some manuscript papers, Hall's cotemporary at Cambridge, for he was incorporated into the University of Oxford, as a Master of Arts from Cambridge, in July, under the year 1588.³ But why should we be solicitous to recover a name which indecency, most probably joined with dulness, has long ago deservedly delivered to oblivion ? Whoever he was, he is surely unworthy of these elegant lines :

Enuie, ye Muses, at your thriving mate,
Cupid hath crowned a new Laureat :
I saw his statue gayly tyr'd in greene,
As if he had some second Phœbus beene :
His Statue trimd with the Venerean tree,
And shrined faire within your Sanctuarie,
What, he, that earst to gaine the riming Goale, &c.

He then proceeds with a liberal disdain, and with an eye on the stately buildings of his university, to reprobate the Muses for this unworthy profanation of their dignity.

Take this, ye Muses, this so high despight,
And let all hatefull lucklesse birds of night,
Let Screeching Owles nest in your razed roofes ;
And let your floore with horned satyres hoofes

¹ B. i. 7, f. 15.

² B. i. 8, f. 1, 7.

³ Registr. Univ. Oxon. *sub ann.* [Dyce's edit. of Greene and Peele, 1861, p. 2.]

Be dinted and defiled euerie morne :
And let your walles be an eternall scorne.

His execration of the infamy of adding to the mischiefs of obscenity, by making it the subject of a book, is strongly expressed.

What if some Shordich¹ furie should incite
Some lust-stung lecher, must he needes indite
The beaſtly rites of hyred Venerie,
The whole worlds vniuerſall bawd to be ?
Did neuer yet no damned Libertine,
Nor elder Heathen, nor new Florentine,² &c.

Our poets, too frequently the children of idleness, too naturally the lovers of pleasure, began now to be men of the world, and affected to mingle in the dissipations and debaucheries of the metropolis. To support a popularity of character, not so easily attainable in the obscurities of retirement and study, they frequented taverns, became libertines and buffoons, and exhilarated the circles of the polite and the profligate. Their way of life gave the colour to their writings; and what had been the favourite topic of conversation, was sure to please, when recommended by the graces of poetry. Add to this, that poets now began to write for hire, and a rapid sale was to be obtained at the expense of the purity of the reader's mind.³ The author of the *Return from Parnassus*, acted [before] 1606, says of Drayton a true genius, "However, he wants one true note of a poet of our times, and that is this: he cannot swagger it well in a tavern."⁴

The first satire of the second Book properly belongs to the last. In it, our author continues his just and pointed animadversions on immodest poetry, and hints at some pernicious versions from the *Facetiæ* of Poggius Florentinus and from Rabelais. The last couplet of the passage I am going to transcribe, is most elegantly expressive.

But who coniu'r'd this bawdie Poggies ghost
From out the stewes of his lewde home-bred coast :
Or wicked Rablais dronken reuellings,⁵
To grace the mis-rule of our Tauernings ?
Or who put Bayes into blind Cupids fist,
That he should crowne what Laureats him list ?⁶

By *tauernings*, he means the increasing fashion of frequenting taverns, which seem to have multiplied with the play-houses. As new modes of entertainment sprung up, and new places of public

¹ A part of the town notorious for brothels.

² Peter Aretine.

³ Harington has an Epigram on this subject. *Epigr.* B. i. 40.

"Poets hereaft for pensions need not care,
Who call you beggars, you may call them lyars ;
Verſes are grown ſuch merchantable ware,
That now for Sonnets, ſellers are and buyers."

And again, he ſays a poet was paid "two crownes a ſonnet," *Epigr.* B. i. 39.

⁴ A. i. f. ii.

⁵ Harvey, in his *Four Letters*, 1592, mentions "the fantaſticall mould of Aretine or Rabelays." p. 48. Aretine is mentioned in the laſt ſatire.

⁶ B. ii. 1, f. 25.

refort became common, the people were more often called together, and the scale of convivial life in London was enlarged. 'From the play-house they went to the tavern. In one of Decker's pamphlets, printed in 1609, there is a curious chapter, "How a yong Gallant should behave himself in an Ordinarie."¹ One of the most expensive and elegant meetings of this kind in London is here described. It appears that the company dined so very late, as at half an hour after eleven in the morning; and that it was the fashion to ride to this polite symposium on a Spanish jennet, a servant running before with his master's cloak. After dinner they went on horseback to the newest play. The same author in his [*Lanthorne and Candlelight, or the Belmans Second Night Walke*, 1612,]² a lively description of London, almost two centuries ago, gives the following instructions. "Haunt tavernes, there shalt thou find prodigalls: pay thy two pence to a player in his gallerie, there shalt thou sit by an harlot. At Ordinaries thou maist dine with filken fooles."³

In the second satire, he celebrates the wisdom and liberality of our ancestors, in erecting magnificent mansions for the accommodation of scholars, which yet at present have little more use than that of reproaching the rich with their comparative neglect of learning. The verses have much dignity, and are equal to the subject.

To what end did our lauish auncestours
Erect of old these statelie piles of ours?
For thrad-bare clerks, and for the ragged Muse,
Whom better fit some cotes of sad secluse?
Blush, niggard Ago, and be asham'd to see
These monuments of wiser aneestrie!
And ye, faire heapes, the Muses sacred shrines,
(In spight of times and enuious repines)
Stand still, and flourish till the worlds last day,
Vpbrading it with former loue's decay. . . .
What needes me care for anie bookish skill,
To blot white papers with my restless quill:
To poare on painted leaues: or beate my braine
With far-fetcht thought: or to consume in vaine
In latter Euen, or midst of winter nights,
Ill-smelling oyles, or some still-watching lights, &c.

He concludes his complaint of the general disregard of the literary

¹ Decker's *Guls Horne-book*, p. 22. There is *The Meeting of Gallants at an Ordinarie, or the Walkes in Powles*, 1604. Jonson says of Lieutenant Shift, *Epigr.* xiii.

"He steales to Ordinaries, there he playes
At dice his borrowed money."

And in *Cynthias Revells*, 1601: "You must frequent Ordinaries a month more, to initiate yourself." A. iii. f. i. [Edit. 1816, ii. 275.]

² [There were several editions between 1609 and 1648.]

³ Ch. ii. Again, in the same writer's *Belman of London* [1608:] signat. E. 3. "At the best Ordinaries where your only Gallants spend afternoones," &c. This piece is called by a cotemporary writer, the most witty, elegant, and eloquent display of the vices of London then extant. Fennor's *Completers Commonwealth*, 1617, p. 16. [But Fennor was probably not aware that the greater part of it had been stolen. See *Hbk. of E. E. Lit.* Art. DECKER.]

⁴ Of learning.

profession with a spirited paraphrase of that passage of Persius, in which the philosophy of the profound Arcefilaus and of the *ærum-nosi Solonis*, is proved to be of so little use and estimation.¹

In the third, he laments the lucrative injustice of the law, while ingenuous science is without emolument or reward. The exordium is a fine improvement of his original.

Who doubts? The lawes fel down fro heaves height,
Like to some gliding starre in winters night.
Themis, the Scribe of god, did long agone
Engrauce them deepe in during Marble-stone :—
And cast them downe on this vnruely clay,
That men might know to rule and to obey.

The interview between the anxious client and the rapacious lawyer is drawn with much humour: and shows the authoritative superiority and the mean subordination subsisting between the two characters at that time:

The crowching Client, with low-bended knee,
And manie Worships, and faire flatterie,
Tels on his tale as smoothly as him list;
But still the Lawyers eye squints on his fist:
If that seeme lined with a larger fee,
“Doubt not the suite, the law is plaine for thee.”
Tho² must he buy his vainer hope with price,
Disclout his crownes,³ and thanke him for aduice.⁴

The fourth displays the difficulties and discouragements of the physician. Here we learn, that the sick lady and the gouty peer were then topics of the ridicule of the satirist:

The sickly Ladie, and the gowtie Peere,
Still would I haunt, that loue their life so deare:
Where life is deare, who cares for coynded droffe?
That spent is counted gaine, and spared, losse.

He thus laughs at the quintessence of a sublimated mineral elixir:

Each powdred graine raunfometh captiue kings,
Purchafeth Realmes, and life prolonged brings.⁵

Imperial oils, golden cordials, and universal panaceas, are of high

¹ B. ii. 2, f. 28. In the last line of this satire he says,

“Let swinish Grill delight in dunhill clay.”

Gryllus is one of Ulysses's companions transformed into a hog by Circe, who refuses to be restored to his human shape. But perhaps the allusion is immediately to Spenser, *Fair. Qy.* ii. 12, 81.

² Yet even.

³ Pull them out of his purse.

⁴ B. ii. 3, f. 31. I cite a couplet from this satire to explain it:—

“Genus and Species long since barefoote went
Vpon their ten-toes in wilde wonderment.” &c.

This is an allusion to an old distich, made and often quoted in the age of scholastic science.

“Dat Galenus opes, dat Justinianus honores,
Sed Genus et Species cogitur ire pedes.”

That is, the study of medicine produces riches, and jurisprudence leads to stations and offices of honour; while the professor of logic is poor, and obliged to walk on foot.

⁵ B. ii. 4, f. 35.

antiquity: and perhaps the puffs of quackery were formerly more ostentatious than even at present, before the profession of medicine was freed from the operations of a spurious and superstitious alchemy, and when there were mystics in philosophy as well as in religion. Paracelsus was the father of empiricism.

From the fifth we learn, that advertisements of a "living wanted" were affixed on one of the doors of Saint Paul's Cathedral:

Sawest thou euer Siquis' parch'd on Pauls Church doore,
To seeke some vacant Vicarage before?

The sixth, one of the most perspicuous and easy, perhaps the most humorous, in the whole collection, and which I shall therefore give at length, exhibits the servile condition of a domestic preceptor in the family of an esquire. Several of the satires of this second Book are intended to show the depressed state of modest and true genius, and the inattention of men of fortune to literary merit:

A gentle Squire would gladly intertaine
Into his house some trencher-Chaplain:¹
Some willing man that might instruct his sons,
And that would stand to good conditions.
First that He lie vpon the Truckle-bed,
Whiles his young maister lieth ore his hed:²
Second that he do, on no default,
Euer presume to sit aboue the salt:³

¹ Siquis was the first word of advertisements, often published on the doors of Saint Paul's. Decker says, "The first time that you enter into Pauls, pass thorough the body of the church like a porter; yet presume not to fetch so much as one whole turne in the middle ile, nor to cast an eye vpon Siquis doore, pasted and plaistered vp with seruingsmens supplications," &c. *Guls Horne-book*, 1609, p. 21. And in Wroth's *Epigrams*, 1620. Epig. 93.

"A merry Greeke set vp a Siquis late,
To signifie a stranger come to towne
Who could great noses," &c.

² Or, a table-chaplain. In the same sense we have *trencher-knight*, in *Loves Labours lost*.

³ This indulgence allowed to the pupil, is the reverse of a rule anciently practised in our universities. In the Statutes of Corpus Christi College at Oxford, given in 1516, the Scholars are ordered to sleep respectively under the beds of the Fellows, in a truckle-bed, or small bed shifted about upon wheels. "Sit unum [cubile] altius, et aliud humile et rotale, et in altiori cubet Socius, in altero semper Discipulus." Cap. xxxvii. Much the same injunction is ordered in the statutes of Magdalen College, Oxford, given 1459. "Sint duo lecti principales, et duo lecti rotales, *Trookyll beddys* vulgariter nuncupati," &c. Cap. xlv. And in those of Trinity College, Oxford, given 1556, where *troccle bed*, the old spelling of the word *truckle bed*, ascertains the etymology from *troclea*, a wheel. Cap. xxvi. In *The Return from Parnassus*, 1606, Amoretto says, "When I was in Cambridge, and lay in a trundle-bed under my tutor," &c. A. ii. sc. vi.

⁴ Towards the head of the table was placed a large and lofty piece of plate, the top of which, in a broad cavity, held the salt for the whole company. One of these stately saltcellars is still preserved, and in use, at Winchester College. With this idea, we must understand the following passage, of a table meanly decked. B. vi. i. f. 83.

"Now shalt thou never see the Salt beset
With a big-bellied gallon flagonet."

In Jonson's *Cynthia's Revells*, acted in 1600, it is said of an affected coxcomb,

Third that he neuer change his trencher twife;
 Fourth that he vse all common courtesies:
 Sit bare at meales, and one halfe rise and wait:
 Last that he neuer his yong maister beat;
 But he must aske his mother to define
 How manie ierkes she would his breech should line.
 All these obseru'd, he could contented bee
 To giue fise markes, and winter liuerie.¹

From those who despised learning, he makes a transition to those who abused or degraded it by false pretences. Judicial astrology is the subject of the seventh satire. He supposes that Astrology was the daughter of one of the Egyptian midwives, and that having been nursed by superstition, she assumed the garb of Science:

That now, who pares his nailes, or libs his swine?
 But he must first take counsell of the signe.

Again, of the believer in the stars he says,

His feare or hope, for plentie or for lacke,
 Hangs all vpon his *New-yeares Almanack*.
 If chance once in the spring his head should ake,
 It was foretold: Thus says mine *Almanack*.

The numerous astrological tracts, particularly pieces called *Prognostications*, published in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, are a proof how strongly the people were infatuated with this sort of divination. One of the most remarkable was a treatise written in the year 1582 by Richard Harvey,² brother to Gabriel Harvey, [and] a learned astrologer of Cambridge, predicting the portentous conjunction of the primary planets, Saturn and Jupiter, which was to happen the next year. It had the immediate effect of throwing the whole kingdom into the most violent consternation. When the fears of the people were over, Nash published a droll account of their opinions and apprehensions while this formidable phenomenon was impending; and Elderton a ballad-maker, and Tarleton the comedian, joined in the laugh.³ This was the best way of confuting the impertinencies of the science of the stars. True knowledge must have been beginning to dawn, when these profound fooleries became the objects of wit and ridicule.⁴

"His fashion is, not to take knowlege of him that is beneath him in clothes. He never drinks *below the salt*." A. i. f. ii.

So Dekker, *Guls Horne-book*, p. 26. "At your twelue penny Ordinarie, you may giue any iustice of the peace, or young knight, if he sit but one degree towards the Equinoctiall of the Saltellar, leaue to pay for the wine," &c. See more illustrations, in Reed's *Old Plays*, edit. 1780, vol. iii. 285. In Parrot's *Springes for Woodcocks*, 1613, a guest complains of the indignity of being degraded below the salt. Lib. ii. Epigr. 188.

"And swears that he below the Salt was sett."

¹ B. ii. 6, f. 38.

² [Nash says of Gab. Harvey in his *Have with You*, &c. 1596, "The best wit-craft I can turn him too, to get three pence a weeke, is to write *Prognostications and Almanackes*, and that alone must be his best philosophers stone till hys last destiny." Sig. I. 3, 6.—Park.]

³ [Nash's *Wonderfull Prognostication for 1591* is here, it is presumed, referred to. See *Handb. of E. E. Lit.* 1867, p. 413, and *Inedited Tracts* (Second Series), Roxb. Libr. 1870.]

⁴ See Nash's *Apology of Peers Pennilets*, &c. 1593, f. 11.

SECTION LXIII.



THE opening of the first satire of the Third Book, which is a contrast of ancient parsimony with modern luxury, is so witty, so elegant, and so poetical an enlargement of a shining passage in *Juvenal*, that the reader will pardon another long quotation.

Time was, and that was term'd the time of Gold,
When world and time were young, that now are old.
(When quiet Saturne swaid the mace of lead,
And Pride was yet vnborne, and yet vnbred.)
Time was, that whiles the Autumne fall did last,
Our hungrie fires gapte for the falling mast [of the Dodonian oakes.]
Could no vnhusked Akorne leaue the tree,
But there was challenge made whose it might be.
And if some nice and licorous appetite
Desir'd more daintie dish of rare dilite,
They scal'd the stored Crab with clasped knee,
Till they had fated their delicious eye :
Or search'd the hopefull thicks of hedgy-rows,
For brierie berries, or hawes, or sower flos :
Or when they meant to fare the fin't of all,
They lick't oake-leaues besprint with hony fall.
As for the thrife three-angled beechnut-shell,
Or chesnuts armed huske, and hid kernell,
Nor Squire durst touch, the law would not afford,
Kept for the Court, and for the Kings owne bord.
Their royall Plate was clay, or wood, or stone :
The vulgar, saue his hand, else he had none.
Their onely feller was the neighbour brooke,
None did for better care, for better looke.
Was then no planing of the Brewers scape,¹
Nor greedie Vintner mixt the strained grape.
The kings pavilion was the grassy green,
Vnder safe shelter of the shadie treen.
But when by Ceres' huswifrie and paine
Men learn'd to burie the reuiuing graine :
And father Ianus taught the new found vine
Rise on the Elme, with manie a friendly twine :
And base desire bad men to deluen low
For needlesse mettals : then gan mischiefe grow.
Then farwell, fayrest age ! &c.

He then, in the prosecution of a sort of poetical philosophy, which prefers civilized to savage life, wishes for the nakedness or the furs of our simple ancestors, in comparison of the fantastick fopperies of the exotic apparel of his own age.

They naked went : or clad in ruder hide,
Or home-spun Russet void of forraine pride.

¹ Cheats.

But thou canst maske in garish gauderie,
 To suit a fools far-fetched liuerie.
 A French head ioyn'd to necke Italian,
 Thy thighs from Germanie, and breft fro' Spaine :
 An Englishman in none, a foole in all :
 Many in one, and one in feuerall.¹

One of the vanities of the age of Elizabeth was the erection of monuments, equally costly and cumbersome, charged with a waste of capricious decorations, and loaded with superfluous and disproportionate sculpture. They succeeded to the rich solemnity of the gothic shrine, which yet, amid a profusion of embellishments, preserved uniform principles of architecture.

In the second satire, our author moralises on these empty memorials, which were alike allotted to illustrious or infamous characters.

Some stately tombe he builds, Egyptian wife,
Rex Regum written on the Pyramis ;
 Where as great Arthur lies in ruder oke,
 That neuer felt none but the fellers stroke,²
 Small honour can be got with gaudie graue,
 Nor it thy rotten name from death can saue.
 The fairer tombe, the fowler is thy name :
 The greater pompe procuring greater shame.
 Thy monument make thou thy living deeds :
 No other tombe then that true vertue needs.
 What, had he nought whereby he might be knowne,
 But costly pilements of some curious stone ?
 The matter, Natures, and the workmans frame
 His purse's cost : where then is Osmonds name ?
 Deserudst thou ill ? Well were thy name and thee,
 Wert thou inditched in great secrecie ;
 Where as no passenger might curse thy dust, &c.³

The third is the description of a citizen's feast, to which he was invited,

With hollow words, and ouerly⁴ request.

But the great profusion of the entertainment was not the effect of liberality, but a hint that no second invitation must be expected. The effort was too great to be repeated. The guest who dined at this table often, had only a single dish.⁵

The fourth is an arraignment of ostentatious piety, and of those who strove to push themselves into notice and esteem by petty pretensions. The illustrations are highly humorous.

Who euer giues a paire of veluet shoes
 To th' holy Rood,⁶ or liberally allowes

¹ B. iii. 1, f. 45.

² He alludes to the discovery of King Arthur's body in Glastonbury Abbey. Lately, in digging up a barrow, or tumulus, on the downs near Dorchester, the body of a Danish chief, as it seemed, was found in the hollow trunk of a huge oak for a coffin.

³ B. iii. 2, f. 50.

⁴ Slight, shallow.

⁵ B. iii. 3, f. 52.

⁶ In a gallery over the screen, at entering the choir, was a large crucifix, or rood, with the images of the holy Virgin and Saint John. The velvet shoes were for the

But a new rope to ring the coure-feu Bell,
But he desires that his great deed may dwell,
Or grauen in the Chancel window-glasse,
Or in the lasting tombe of plated brasse.

The same affectation appeared in drefs.

Nor can good Myfon weare on his left hond
A signet ring of Bristol-diamond;
But he must cut his gloue to shew his pride,
That his trim Jewell might be better spide:
And that men mought some Burgesse¹ him repute,
With Satten sleeues hath² grac'd his sackcloth suit.³

The fifth is a droll portrait of the distress of a "lustie courtier," or fine gentleman, whose periwinkle, or peruke, was suddenly blown off by a boisterous puff of wind while he was making his bows.⁴

He lights, and runs, and quickly hath him sped
To ouertake his ouerrunning head, &c.

These are our satirist's reflections on this disgraceful accident.

Fie on all Curtesie, and vnruely windes,
Two onely foes that faire disguisement findes!
Strange curse but fit for such a fickle age,
When Scalpes are subiect to such vassalage!—
Is't not sweete pride, when men their crownes must shade
With that which ierks the hams of euery iade!⁵

In the next is the figure of a famished Gallant, or beau, which is much better drawn than in any of the comedies of those times. His hand is perpetually on the hilt of his rapier. He picks his teeth, but has dined with Duke Humphrey.⁶ He professes to keep a

feet of Christ on the crosses, or of one of the attendant figures. A rich lady sometimes bequeathed her wedding-gown, with necklace and ear-rings, to dress up the Virgin Mary. This place was called the Rood-loft.

¹ Some rich citizen.

² That is, *he* hath, &c.

³ B. iii. 4, f. 55.

⁴ In a set of articles of enquiry sent to a college in Oxford, about the year 1676, by the visitor, Bishop Morley, the commissary is ordered diligently to remark, and report, whether any of the senior fellows wore *periwigs*. I will not suppose that bobwigs are here intended. But after such a proscription, who could imagine, that the bushy grizzle-wig should ever have been adopted as a badge of gravity? So arbitrary are ideas of dignity or levity in drefs! There is an epigram in Harington, written perhaps about 1600. "Of Galla's goodly periwigge," B. i. 66. This was undoubtedly false hair. [Warton does not seem to have been aware that the term *wig*, I do not say *periwig*, was at one time occasionally used in the sense of the *natural hair*. *Wig for the hair* is now considered slang.] In Hayman's *Quodlibets or Epigrams*, printed 1628, there is one "to a Periwiggian." B. i. 65. p. 10. Again, "to a certaine Periwiggian." B. ii. 9, p. 21. Our author mentions a periwig again, B. v. 2, f. 63.

"A golden Periwig on a Blackmores brow."

⁵ B. iii. 5, f. 57.

⁶ That is, he has walked all day in Saint Paul's church without a dinner. In the body of old Saint Paul's, was a huge and conspicuous monument of Sir John Beauchamp, buried in 1358, son of Guy and brother of Thomas, earls of Warwick. This, by a vulgar mistake, was at length called the tomb of Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, who was really buried at St. Alban's, where his magnificent shrine now remains. The middle aisle of Saint Paul's is called the *Duke's gallery*, in a chapter of the *Guls Horne-booke*: "How a gallant should behaue himself in Powles Walkes." Ch. iv. p. 17. Of the humours of this famous ambulatory, the general

plentiful and open house for every "straggling cavaliere," where the dinners are long and enlivened with music, and where many a gay youth, with a high-plumed hat, chooses to dine, much rather than to pay his shilling. He is so emaciated for want of eating, that his sword-belt hangs loose over his hip, the effect of "hunger and heavy iron." Yet he is dressed in the height of fashion,

All trapped in the new-found brauerie.

He pretends to have been at the conquest of Cales, where the nuns worked his bonnet. His hair stands upright in the French style, with one long lock hanging low on his shoulders, which, the satirist adds, puts us in mind of a *native cord*, the truly English rope which he probably will one day wear.

His linnen collar Labyrinthian-set,
Whose thousand double turnings neuer met;
His sleeues halfe hid with elbow-Pineonings,
As if he ment to flie with linnen wings.²
But when I looke, and cast mine eyes below,
What monster meets mine eyes in humane show?
So [f]lender waist with such an Abbots loyne,
Did neuer sober Nature fure conioyne.
Lik't a strawne scar-crow in the new-sowne field,
Reard on some sticke the tender corne to shield.³

In the Prologue to this book, our author strives to obviate the objections of certain critics who falsely and foolishly thought his satires too perspicuous. Nothing could be more absurd, than the notion, that because Persius is obscure, therefore obscurity must be necessarily one of the qualities of satire. If Persius, under the severities of a proscriptive and sanguinary government, was often obliged to conceal his meaning, this was not the case of Hall. But the darkness and difficulties of Persius arise in great measure from his own affectation and false taste. He would have been enigmatical under the mildest government. To be unintelligible can never naturally or properly belong to any species of writing. Hall of himself is certainly obscure: yet he owes some of his obscurity to an imitation of this ideal excellence of the Roman satirists.

The fourth book breathes a stronger spirit of indignation, and abounds with applications of Juvenal to modern manners, yet with the appearance of original and unborrowed satire.

The first [satire] is miscellaneous and excursive, but the subjects often lead to an unbecoming licentiousness of language and images. In the following nervous lines, he has caught and finely heightened the force and manner of his master.

rendezvous of lawyers and their clients, pickpockets, cheats, bucks, pimps, whores, poets, players, and many others who either for idleness or business found it convenient to frequent the most fashionable crowd in London, a more particular description may be seen in Dekker's *Dead Terme*, 1608, signat. D 3.

² Barnaby Rich, in his *Irish Hubbub*, 1617, thus describes four gallants coming from an Ordinary: "The third was in a yellow-starched band, that made him looke as if he had been troubled with the yellow iaundis.—They were all four in white bootes and gylt spurres," &c. p. 36.

³ B. iii. 7, f. 62.

Who list excuse, when chaister dames can hyre
 Some snout-faire stripling to their Apple-squire,¹
 Whom staked vp, like to some stallion-steede,
 They keepe with Eggs and Oysters for the breede.
 O Lucine! barren Caia hath an heire,
 After her husband's dozen yeares despaire:
 And now the bribed Mid-wife swears apace,
 The bastard babe doth beare his fathers face.

He thus enhances the value of certain novelties, by declaring them to be

Worth little lesse than landing of a Whale,
 Or Gades spoyles,² or a churles funerales.

The allusion is to Spenser's *Talus* in the following couplet,

Gird but the Cynick's Helmet on his head,
 Cares hee for Talus, or his flayle of lead?

He adds, that the guilty person, when marked, destroys all distinction, like the cuttle-fish concealed in his own blackness.

Long as the craftie Cuttle lieth sure,
 In the blacke Cloude of his thicke vomiture;
 Who list complaine of wronged faith or fame,
 When hee may shift it to anothers name?

He thus describes the effect of his satire, and the enjoyment of his own success in this species of poetry.

Now see I fire-flakes sparkle from his eyes,
 Like to a Comets tayle in th' angry skies:
 His pouting cheeks puffe vp about his brow,
 Like a swolne Toad touch't with the Spyders blow:
 His mouth shrinks sideward like a scornful Playfe,³
 To take his tired Eares ingratefull place.
 Now laugh I loud, and breake my spleene to see
 This pleasing pastime of my posie:
 Much better than a Paris-garden Beare,⁴
 Or prating poppet on a Theatere;
 Or Mimoes whistling to his tabouret,⁵
 Selling a laughter for a cold meales meate.

¹ Some fair-faced stripling to be their page. Marston has this epithet, *Sc. Villan. B. i. 3.*

"Had I some snout-faire brats, they should indure
 The newly-found Castilion calenture,
 Before some pedant," &c.

In [Rowlands's] *The letting of Humors blood in the Head-Vayne*, 1600, we have "Some pippin-squire." *Epigr.* 33.

² Cadiz was newly taken.

³ A fish. Jonson says in the *Silent Woman*, "Of a fool, that would stand thus, with a playfe-mouth," &c. *A. i. f. ii.* See more instances in *Old Plays*, vol. iii. p. 395, edit. 1780.

⁴ "Then led they cofin [the gull] to the gase of an enterlude, or the beare-baying of Paris-Garden, or some other place of thieving." *A manifest Detection of the most wyle and detestable use of Dice play*, &c. [first printed in 1552]. D iv. Again, *ibid.* "Some ii or iii [pickpockets] hath Pauls church on charge, other hath Westminster hawle in terme time, diuerse Chepefyde with the flesh and fishe shambles, some the Borough and Bearebayting, some the Court," &c. Paris-garden was in the borough.

⁵ Piping or fising to a tabour. I believe Kempe is here ridiculed.

It is in Juvenal's style to make illustrations fatirical. They are here very artfully and ingeniously introduced.¹

The second is the character of an old country squire, who starves himself, to breed his son a lawyer and a gentleman. It appears that the vanity or luxury of purchasing dainties at an exorbitant price began early.

Let sweete-mouth'd Mercia bid what crowns she please,
For halfe-red cherries, or greene garden pease,
Or the first Artihoks of all the yeare,
To make so lauiſh coſt for little cheare.
When Lolio feaſteth in his reuelling fit,
Some ſterued Pullen ſcoures the ruſted ſpitt :
For elſe how ſhould his ſonne maintained bee
At Ins of Court or of the Chancere, &c.
The Tenants wonder at their land-Lords ſonne,
And bleſſe them² at ſo ſudden comming on,
More then who gives³ his pence to view ſome trick
Of ſtrange Moroccoes dumbe Arithmeticke,⁴
Or the young Elephant, or two-tayl'd ſteere,
Or the rig'd camel, or the Fidling freere.⁵—
Foolles, they may feede with words, & liue by ayre,⁶
That climbe to honour by the Pulpits ſtayre :
Sit ſeauen yeares pining in an Anchores cheyre,⁷
To win ſome patched threds of Miniure!⁸

He predicts with no small sagacity, that Lollio's son's distant posterity will rack their rents to a treble proportion,

And hedge in all the neighbour common-lands.

Enclosures of waste lands were among the great and national grievances of our author's age.⁹ It may be presumed that the prac-

¹ B. iv. l. f. 7.

² themselves.

³ [The old edit. has *vies*.]

⁴ Bankes's horse called Morocco. See Steevens's Note, *Shakeſp.* ii. 292.

⁵ Shewes of those times. He says in this satire,

“— ‘Gin not thy gate,
Vntill the evening Oule or bloody Bat;
Neuer vntill the lamps of Pauls beene light :
And niggard lanternes shade the Moonſhine night.”

The lamps about Saint Paul's were at this time the only regular night-illuminations of London. But see *Jeſts to make you merie*. Written by T. D. and George Wilkins. 1607. *Jeſt* 17, ſome Bucks coming drunk from a tavern, and reeling through the city, amused themselves in pulling down the lanterns which hung before the doors of the houses. A grave citizen unexpectedly came out and seized one of them, who said in defence, “I am only snuffing your candle.”

⁶ The law is the only way to riches. Fools only will seek preferment in the church, &c.

⁷ In the chair of an anchoret.

⁸ The hood of a Master of Arts in the universities. B. iv. 2, f. 19. He adds :

“And ſeuen more plod at a Patrons tayle,
To get a gelded Chappels cheaper ſayle.”

I believe the true reading is *gelded* chapel. A benefice robbed of its tythes, &c. *ſayle* is *sale*. So in the *Return from Parnassus*, a. iii. l. 1. “He hath a proper *gelded* parionage.”

⁹ Without attending to this circumstance, we miss the meaning and humour of the following lines, B. v. 1 :

tice was then carried on with the most arbitrary spirit of oppression and monopoly.

The third is on the pride of pedigree. The introduction is from Juvenal's eighth satire; and the substitution of the memorials of English ancestry, such as were then fashionable, in the place of Juvenal's parade of family statues without arms or ears, is remarkably happy. But the humour is half lost, unless by recollecting the Roman original, the reader perceives the unexpected parallel:

Or call some old church-windowes to record
The age of thy fayre Armes ———
Or find some figures halfe obliterate,
In rain-beat Marble neare to the Church-gate,
Vpon a Crosse-leg'd Toombe. What boots it thee,
To shew the rusted Buckle that did tie
The Garter of thy greatest Grand fires knee?
What, to reserue their reliques many yeares,
Their siluer spurs, or spils of b[r]looken speares?
Or cyte old Oclands verse,¹ how they did wield
The wars in Turwin or in Turney field?

Afterwards, some adventurers for raising a fortune are introduced. One trades to Guiana for gold. This is a glance at Sir Walter Raleigh's expedition to that country. Another, with more success, seeks it in the philosopher's stone:

When halfe his lands are spent in golden smoke,
And now his second hopefull glasse is broke.
But yet, if haply his third fornace hold,
Deuoteth all his pots and pans to gold.

Some well-known classcal passages are thus happily mixed, modernised, and accommodated to his general purpose:

Was neuer Foxe but wilye Cubs begets;
The Beare his feirce-nesse to his brood besets:
Nor fearfull Hare fals out of Lyons feed,
Nor Eagle wont the tender Doue to breed.
Crete euer wont the Cypresse sad to beare,
Acheron banks the palish Popelare:
The Palme doth rifely rise in Iury field,²
And Alpheus waters nought but Oliues wild;
Asopus breeds big Bul-rushes alone,
Meander heath; peaches by Nilus growne:
An English Wolfe, an Irish Toad to see,
Were as a chaff man nursd in Italy.³

In the fourth, these diversions of a delicate youth of fashion and refined manners are mentioned, as opposed to the rougher employments of a military life:

Gallio may pull me roses ere they fall,
Or in his net entrap the Tennis-ball;

" Pardon, ye glowing eares; Needs will it out,
Tho brazen wals compas'd my tongue about,
As thick as wealthy Scrobioes quicke-set rowes
In the wide Common that he did inclose."

Great part of the third satire of the same book turns on this idea.

¹ See *supr.*

² In Judea.

³ B. iv. 3, f. 26.

Or tend his Spar-hauke mantling in her mew,
 Or yelping Begles busy heeles persue;
 Or watch a sinking corke vpon the shore,¹
 Or halter Finches through a priuie doore;²
 Or lift he spend the time in sportfull game, &c.

He adds :

Seest thou the Rose-leaues fall vngathered ?
 Then hye thee, wanton Gallio, to wed.—
 Hy thee, and giue the world yet one dwarfe more,
 Svch as it got, when thou thy selfe waft bore.

In the contrast between the martial and effeminate life, which includes a general ridicule of the foolish passion which now prevailed, of making it a part of the education of our youth to bear arms in the wars of the Netherlands, are some of Hall's most spirited and nervous verses :

If Martius in boystrous Buffes be drest,
 Branded with Iron plates vpon the brest,
 And pointed on the shoulders for the nonce,³
 As new-come from the Belgian-garrisons;
 What shall thou need to enuie ought at that,
 When as thou smellest like a Ciuet Cat ?
 When as thine oyled locks smooth platted fall,
 Shining like varnisht pictures on a wall ?
 When a plum'd Fanne⁴ may shade thy chalked⁵ face,
 And lawny strips thy naked bosome grace ?
 If bragging Make-fray at ech Fayre and Size,⁶
 Picks quarrels for to show his valiantise,
 Straight pressed for an hungry Swizzers pay
 To thrust his fist to ech part of the fray;
 And piping hote, pusses towards the pointed⁷ plaine,
 With a broad Scot,⁸ or proking spit of Spayne :
 Or hoyseth sayle vp to a forraine shore,
 That he may liue a lawlesse Conquerer.⁹
 If some much desperate Hakster shall deuise
 To rouse thine Hares-heart from her cowardise,
 As¹⁰ idle children, struiuing to excell
 In blowing bubbles from an emptie shell.
 Oh Hercules, how like¹¹ to proue a man,
 That all so rath¹² thy warlike life began !
 Thy mother could for thee thy cradle set
 Her husbands rusty iron corselet;
 Whose iargling sound might rocke her babe to rest,
 That neuer 'plain'd of his vneasie nest:
 There did he dreame of dreary wars at hand,
 And woke, and fought, & won, ere he could stand.¹³
 But who hath seene the Lambs of Tarentine,

¹ Angle for fish.

² A pit-fall. A trap-cage.

³ With tags, or shoulder-knots.

⁴ Fans of feathers were now common. See Harington's *Epigr.* i. 70. And Steevens's Shakespeare, i. p. 273.

⁵ Painted.

⁶ Assise.

⁷ Full of pikes.

⁸ A Scotch broad sword.

⁹ Turn pirate.

¹⁰ It will be like, &c.

¹¹ Likely.

¹² Early.

¹³ "O Hercules, a boy so delicately reared must certainly prove a hero! You, Hercules, was nursed in your father's shield for a cradle, &c. But the tender Gallio," &c.

May gesse what Gallio his manners beene ;
 All soft as is the falling thistle-downe,
 Soft as the fumie ball,¹ or Morriions crowne.²
 Now Gallio gins thy youthful heat to raigne,
 In euery vigorous limme and swelling vaine :
 Time bids the raise thine hedstrong thoughts on hy
 To valour and aduenterous chivalry.
 Pawne thou no gloue³ for challenge of the deede, &c.⁴

The fifth, the most obscure of any, exhibits the extremes of prodigality and avarice, and affords the first instance I remember to have seen of nominal initials with dashes. Yet in his Postscript, he professes to have avoided all personal applications.⁵

In the sixth, from Juvenal's position that every man is naturally discontented, and wishes to change his proper condition and character, he ingeniously takes occasion to expose some of the new fashions and affectations :

Out from the Gades vp to the Easterne morne,
 Not one but holds his native state forlorne.
 When comely striplings with it were their chance,
 For Cenis distaffe to exchange their Lance ;
 And weare curl'd Periwigs, and chalke their face,
 And still are poring on their pocket-glasse ;
 Tyr'd⁶ with pinn'd Ruffles & Fans, and partlet strips,
 And Buskes and Verdingales about their hips :
 And tread on corked stilts a prisoners pace.

Besides what is here said, we have before seen, that perukes were now among the novelties in drefs. From what follows it appears that coaches were now in common use :⁷

¹ A ball of perfume.

² Morrion is the fool in a play.

³ He says with a sneer, "Do not play with the character of a soldier. Be not contented only to shew your courage in tilting. But enter into real service," &c.

⁴ B. iv. 4. In a couplet of this satire, he alludes to the *Schola Salernitana*, an old metrical system in rhyming verse, which chiefly describes the qualities of diet :

"Tho neuer haue I Salerne rimes profest,
 To be some Ladies trencher-criticke guest."

There is much humour in *trencher-criticke*. Collingborn, mentioned in the beginning of this satire, is the same whose Legend is in the *Mirror for Magistrates*, and who was hanged for a distich on Catelby, Ratcliff, Lord Lovel, and King Richard III., about the year 1484. See *Mirr. Mag.* p. 455, edit. 1610. Our author says :

"Or lucklesse Collingbourne feeding of the crows."

That is, he was food for the crows when on the gallows. At the end is the first use I have seen, of a witty apothegmatical comparison, of a libidinous old man :

"The maidens mocke, and call him withered lecke,
 That with a greene tayle has an hoary head."

[It is used by Boccaccio in his introduction to the second part of the *Decamerone*, and most probably was current before his time.—*Price*.]

⁵ B. iv. 6. Collybist, here used, means a rent or tax gatherer. *Κολυβιστής*, nummularius.

⁶ Attir'd, dressed, adorned.

⁷ Of the rapid increase of the number of coaches, but more particularly of Hackney-coaches, we have a curious proof in *A pleasant Dispute between Coach and Sedan*, 1636. "The most eminent places for stoppage are Pauls-gate into Cheap-

Is't not a shame to see ech homely groome
Sit perched in an idle chariot-roome ?

The rustic wishing to turn soldier, is pictured in these lively and poetical colours :

The sturdie Plough-man doth the soldier see
All scarfed with pide colours to the knee,
Whom Indian pillage hath made fortunate ;
And nowe he gins to loath his former state

side, Lud-gate and Lud-gate-hill, especially when the play is done at the Friars : then Holborne-Cunduit, and Holborne-bridge, is villainously pestered with them, Hofer-lane, Smith-field, and Cow-lane, sending all about their new or old mended *Coaches*. Then about the Stocks and Poultrye, Temple-barre, Fetter-lane, and Shoe-lane next to Fleetstreete : but to see their multitude, either when there is a Masque at White-hall, a lord Majors feast, a new play at some of the play-houses, you would admire to see them how close they stand together (like Mutton-pies in a Cookes oven"), &c. Signat. F. Marston, in 1598, speaks of the "joulting Coach" of a Messalina. *Sc. Villan. B. i. 3.* And in Marston's Postscript to *Pigmalion*, 1598, we are to understand a coach, where he says,

"Run as sweet
As doth a tumbrell through the paved street."

[But Taylor the water-poet had already devoted a pamphlet to this subject—*The World runnes on Wheels, or oddes betwixt Carts and Coaches*, 1623, 8vo. Perhaps, indeed, this "pleasant dialogue," which is anonymous, was also from his pen.]

In *Cynthia's Revels*, 1601, a spendthrift is introduced, who among other polite extravagancies, is "able to maintaine a ladie in her two carroches a day." A. iv. f. ii. However, in *Ram-Alley, or Merry-tricks*, 1611, a coach and a caroché seem different vehicles, a. iv. f. ii.

"In horfitters, [in] coaches or caroches."

Unless the poet means a synonyme for coach.

In some old account I have seen of Queen Elizabeth's progress to Cambridge, in 1564, [see Collier, *Hist. Dram. Poetr.* 1831, i. 188-90,] it is said, the Lord Leicester went in a coach, because he had hurt his leg. In a comedy, so late as the reign of Charles I. among many studied wonders of fictitious and hyperbolical luxury, a lover promises his lady that she shall ride in a coach to the next door. Cartwright's [*Siege* or] *Loves Conuert*, a. ii. f. vi. *Works*, 1651, p. 125.

"Thou shalt
Take coach to the next door, and as it were
An Expedition not a Visit, be
Bound for an house not ten strides off, still carry'd
Aloof in indignation of the earth."

Stow says, "In the yeere 1564, Guylliam Boonen, a dutchman, became the Queenes Coachmann, and was the first that brought the vse of Coaches into England. And after a while, diuers great Ladies, with as great Iealousie of the queens displeasure, made them Coaches, and rid in them vp and downe the Countries to the great admiration of all the behoulders, but then by little and little they grew vsuall among the nobilitie, and others of fort, & within twenty yeeres became a great trade of Coachmaking. And about that time began long wagons to come in vse, such as now come to London, from Caunterbury, Norwich, Ipswich, Gloster, &c. with Passengers and commodities. Lastly, euen at this time, 1605, began the ordinary vse of Caroches." Edit. 1615, p. 867, col. 2. From a comparison of the former and latter part of the context, it will perhaps appear that Coaches and Caroches were the same. [See, for a History of Coaches, the twenty-third volume of *Archæologia*.—*Rye*.]

Nowe doth he inly scorne his Kendall-greene,¹
 And his patch't Cockers now dispised beene :
 Nor list he now go whistling to the Carre,
 But sels his Teeme, and setleth to the warre.
 O warre to them that neuer tryde thee sweete :
 When his dead mate fals groueling at his feete :
 And angry bullets whistlen at his eare,
 And his dim eyes see nought but death and dreere !

Another, fired with the flattering idea of seeing his name in print, abandons his occupation, and turns poet :

Some dronken Rimer thinks his time well spent,
 If he can liue to see his name in print :
 Who when he is once fished to the Presse,
 And sees his handsell haue such fayre succeffe,
 Sung to the wheele, and sung vnto the payle,²
 He sends forth thraues³ of Ballads to the sale.⁴

Having traced various scenes of dissatisfaction and the desultory pursuits of the world, he comes home to himself, and concludes that real happiness is only to be found in the academic life. This was a natural conclusion from one who had experienced no other situation :⁵

Mong'ft all these sturs of discontented strife,
 Oh let me lead an Academicke life !
 To know much, and to thinke we nothing know,
 Nothing to haue, yet thinke we haue enough :
 In skill to want, and wanting seeke for more ;
 In weale nor want, nor wish for greater store.⁶

The last [Satire] of this Book is a satire on the pageantries of the papal chair, and the superstitious practices of popery, with which it is easy to make sport. But our author has done this by an uncommon quickness of allusion, poignancy of ridicule, and fertility of burlesque invention. Were Juvenal to appear at Rome, he says,

¹ This sort of stuff is mentioned in a statute of Richard II., an. 12, A.D. 1389.

² By the knife-grinder and the milk-maid.

³ A thrave of straw is a bundle of straw of a certain quantity, in the midland counties.

⁴ These lines seem to be levelled at William Elderton, a celebrated drunken ballad-writer. Stow says, that he was an attorney of the Sheriff's court in the city of London about the year 1570, and quotes some verses which he wrote about that time, on the erection of the new portico with images, at Guildhall. *Surv. Lond.* edit. 1599, p. 217. He has two epitaphs in Camden's *Remains*, 1674, p. 533, *seq.* Harvey in his *Four Letters*, 1592, mentions him with Greene. Nash, in his *Apology of Piers Pennileffe*, says that "Tarleton at the theater made jests of him [Harvey,] and W. Elderton consumed his ale-crammed nose to nothing, in bear-baiting him with whole bundles of ballads." Signat. E. And Harvey, *ubi supr.* p. 34.

⁵ In this Satire, among the lying narratives of travellers, our author, with Mandeville and others, mentions the *Spanish Decads*. [The work intended is Eden's translation from the Latin of Peter Martyr of The *Decades of the newe Worlde*, &c. 1555.] In the old anonymous play of *Lingua*, 1607, Mendacio says, "Sir John Mandeviles traueils, and great part of the *Decads*, were of my doing." A. ii. l. i.

⁶ B. iv. 6.

⁷ [This satire, says Mr. Singer (*Hall's Satires*, edit. 1824, 12mo. p. 119, *note*), was added in the second edition. The copy of ed. 1599, however, now before me, is complete without it.]

How his enraged ghost would stamp and stare,
 That Cefars throne is turn'd to Peters chaire :
 To see an old shorne lozel perched high,
 Crouching beneath a golden canopie !—
 And, for the lordly Fasces borne of old,
 To see two quiet crossed keyes of gold !—
 But that he most would gaze, and wonder at,
 Is, th' horned mitre, and the bloody hat ;¹
 The crooked staffe,² the coules strange form and store,³
 Saue that he saw the same in hell before.

The following ludicrous ideas are annexed to the exclusive appropriation of the eucharistic wine to the priest in the mass :

The whiles the liquorous priest spits every trice,
 With longing for his morning sacrifice :
 Which he rears vp quite perpendiculare,
 That the mid church doth spight the chancels fare.⁴

But this sort of ridicule is improper and dangerous. It has a tendency, even without an entire parity of circumstances, to burlesque the celebration of this awful solemnity in the reformed church. In laughing at false religion, we may sometimes hurt the true. Though the rites of the papistic eucharist are erroneous and absurd, yet great part of the ceremony, and above all the radical idea, belong also to the Protestant communion.

SECTION LXIV.

THE argument of the first satire of the fifth Book is the oppressive exaction of landlords, the consequence of the growing decrease of the value of money. One of these had perhaps a poor grandfire, who grew rich by availing himself of the general rapine at the dissolution of the monasteries. There is great pleasantry in one of the lines, that he
 Begd some cast Abby in the Churches wayne.

In the mean time, the old patrimonial mansion is desolated ; and even the parish-church unroofed and dilapidated through the poverty of the inhabitants, and neglect or avarice of the patron.

Would it not vex thee, where thy syres did keepe,⁵
 To see the dunged-foldes of dag-tayl'd sheepe ?
 And ruin'd house where holy things were laid,
 Whose free-stone wals the thatched rooffe vpbraid ;
 Whose shril Saints-bell hangs on his louverie,⁶
 While the rest are damned to the Plumbery ;⁶

¹ Cardinal's scarlet hat.

² Bishop's crozier.

³ And multitude of them.

⁴ B. iv. 7.

⁵ Live, inhabit.

⁶ The bells were all sold, and melted down ; except that for necessary use the saints-bell, or sanctus-bell, was only suffered to remain within its louverie, that is louver, or turret, usually placed between the chancel and body of the church. Marston has "pitch-black louveries."—*Sc. Villan.* B. ii. 5.

Yet pure deuotion lets the steeple stand,
And ydle battlements on eyther hand, &c.¹

By an enumeration of real circumstances, he gives us the following lively draught of the miserable tenement, yet ample services, of a poor copyholder.

Of one bayes breadth, God wot, a filly cote,
Whose thatched spars are furr'd with fluttish soote
A whole inch thick, shining like Black-moors brows,
Through smok that down the head-les barrel blows.
At his beds feete feeden his stalled teme,
His swine beneath, his pullen ore the beame.
A starued tenement, such as I gesse
Stand stragling on the wafts of Holderneffe :
Or such as shiuer on a Peake hill side, &c.—
Yet must he haunt his greedy Land-lords hall
With often presents at ech Festiuall :
With crammed Capons euery New-yeares morne,
Or with greene-cheefes when his sheep are shorne :
Or many Maunds-full² of his mellow fruite, &c.

The lord's acceptance of these presents is touched with much humour.

The smiling Land-lord showes a sunshine face,
Faining that he will grant him further grace ;
And lears like Æsops Foxe vpon a Crane,
Whose necke he craues for his Chirurgian.³

In the second,⁴ he reprehends the incongruity of splendid edifices and worthless inhabitants.

Like the vaine bubble of Iberian pride,
That ouer-croweth all the world beside ;⁵
Which rear'd to raise the crazy Monarchs fame,
Striues for a Court and for a Colledge name ;
Yet nought within but louzy couls doth hold,
Like a scab'd Cuckow in a cage of gold.—

¹ Just to keep up the appearance of a church.

² Maund is basket. Hence Maundy-Thursdai, the Thursdai in Passion-week, when the king with his own hands distributes a large portion of alms, &c. Maundy is Dies Sportulæ. Maund occurs again, B. iv. 2.

“With a maund charg'd with household merchandize.”

In the *Whippings of the Satyre*, [by W. J., supposed to be John Weever,] 1601, Signat. C 4.

“Whole maunds and baskets ful of fine sweet praise.”

³ B. v. 1, f. 58.

⁴ In this Satire there is an allusion to an elegant fiction in Chaucer, v. 5, f. 61.

“Certes if Pity dyed at Chaucers date.”

Chaucer places the sepulchre of Pity in the *Court of Love*. See *Court of L.*, v. 700.

“A tender creature
Is shrined there, and Pite is her name :
She saw an eagle wreke him on a fly,
And pluck his wing, and eke him in his game,
And tender herte of that hath made her die.”

[Bell's edit. iv. 156.] This thought is borrowed by Fenton in his *Mariamme*.

⁵ The Escorial in Spain.

When¹ Mauios first page of his posie
 Nayl'd to a hundred posies for noueltie,
 With his big title, an Italian mot,²
 Layes siege vnto the backward buyers grote, &c.

He then beautifully draws, and with a selection of the most picturesque natural circumstances, the inhospitality or rather desertion of an old magnificent rural mansion.

Beat the broad gates, a goodly hollow sound
 With doubled Echoes doth againe rebound ;
 But not a Dog doth bark to welcome thee,
 Nor churlish Porter canst thou chafing see :
 All dumbe and silent, like the dead of night,
 Or dwelling of some sleepey Sybarite !
 The marble pavement, hid with defart weed,
 With house-leeke, thistle, docke, & hemlock-feed.—
 Look to the towred chymneis, which should bee
 The wind-pipes of good hospitalitie :—
 Lo, there th' vnthankfull swallow takes her rest,
 And fills the Tonnell with her circled nest !³

Afterwards, the figure of Famine is thus imagined :

Grim Famine sits in their forepined face,
 All full of angles of vnequall space,
 Like to the plaine of many-sided squares
 That wont be drawne out by Geometars !⁴

In the third, a satire is compared to the porcupine.

The Satyre should be like the Porcupine,
 That shoots sharpe quills out in each angry line.⁵

This ingenious thought, though founded on a vulgar error, has been copied, among other passages, by Oldham. Of a true writer of satire, he says :

He'd shoot his quills juſt like a porcupine,
 At view, and make them ſtab in every line.⁶

In the fourth and laſt [Satire] of this Book, he [Hall] enumerates the extravagances of a married ſpendthrift, a farmer's heir, of twenty pounds a year. He rides with two liveries, and keeps a pack of hounds.

But whiles ten pound goes to his wiues new gown,
 Nor little leſſe can ſerue to ſute his owne :
 Whiles one peece payes her idle wayting-man,
 Or buyes an hooſe, or ſiluer-handled fanne :
 Or hires a Friezeland Trotter, halfe yarde deepe,
 To drag his Tumbrell through the ſtaring Cheape.⁷

¹ As when.

² In this age, the three modern languages were ſtudied to affectation. In the *Return from Parnaffus* [1606,] a fashionable fop tells his page, "Sirrah, boy, remember me when I come in Pauls churchyard, to buy a *Romard* and *Dubarias* in French, an *Aretine* in Italian, and our hardeſt writers in Spaniſh," &c.—A. [iii.] ſc. iii.

³ The motto on the front of the houſe ΟΥΑΡΙΣ ΕΙΣΙΤΩ, which he calls a fragment of Plato's poetry, is a humorous alteration of Plato's ΟΥΑΡΙΣ ΑΚΑΘΑΡΤΟΣ ΕΙΣΙΤΩ.

⁴ B. v. 3.

⁵ B. v. 3.

⁶ *Apology* for the foregoing Ode, &c.—*Works*, vol. i. p. 97, edit. 1722. 12mo.

⁷ B. v. 4.

The last Book consists, [in the first and second editions,] of one long satire only [but was enlarged in the third to two, with a prose postscript and an epilogue; the first satire] contains a humorous ironical description of the effect of his satires, and a recapitulatory view of many of the characters and foibles which he had before delineated. But the scribblers seem to have the chief share. The character of Labeo, already repeatedly mentioned, who was some cotemporary poet, a constant censurer of our author, and who from pastoral proceeded to heroic poetry, is here more distinctly represented. He was a writer who affected compound epithets, which Sir Philip Sydney had imported from France, and first used in his *Arcadia*.¹ The character in many respects suits Chapman, though I do not recollect that he wrote any pastorals.²

Tho Labeo reaches right (who can deny ?)
The true straynes of Heroicke Poesie ;
For he can tell how fury reft his sense,
And Phoebus fild him with intelligence :
He can implore the heathen deities
To guide his bold and busie enterprife ;
Or filch whole Pages at a clap for need
From honest Petrarch, clad in English weed ;
While bigge *But ohs* ech stanza can begin,
Whose trunke and tayle sluttish and hartlesse bin :
He knows the grace of that new elegance,
Which sweet Philifides fetch't of late from France,
That well beseem'd his high-stil'd *Arcady*,
Tho others marre it with much liberty,
In Epithets to ioyne two wordes in one,
Forsooth for Adiectiues cannot stand alone.

The arts of composition must have been much practised, and a knowledge of critical niceties widely diffused, when observations of this kind could be written. He proceeds to remark, it was now customary for every poet, before he attempted the dignity of heroic verse, to try his strength by writing pastorals.³

But ere his Muse her weapon learne to weild,
Or dance a sober Pirrhicke⁴ in the field ;—
The sheepe-cote first hath beene her nursery,
Where she hath worne her ydle infancy ;
And in hy startups walk't the pastur'd plaines,
To tend her tasked herd that there remains ;
And winded still a pipe of Ote or Brere, &c.

¹ We have our author's opinion of Skelton in these lines of this satire, f. 83.

"Well might these checks haue fitted former times,
And shouldred angry Skeltons breath-lesse rimes."

² It may be mentioned, as a circumstance countenancing Warton's opinion, that Chapman published a volume in 1612 which, with other matter, contained a paraphrase of *Petrarch's Seven Penitentiall Psalms*. See *Handb. of E. E. Lit.* 1867, p. 82. But on the other hand, Chapman did not profess them to be original compositions.]

³ Though these lines bear a general sense, yet at the same time they seem to be connected with the character of Labeo, by which they are introduced. By the *Carmelite*, a pastoral writer ranked with Theocritus and Virgil, he means Mantuan.

⁴ The Pyrrhic dance, performed in armour.

Poems on petty subjects or occasions, on the death of a favourite bird or dog, seem to have been as common in our author's age, as at present. He says,

Should Bandells Throffle die without a song,
Or Adamantius my Dog be laid along
Downe in some ditch, without his Exequies,¹
Or Epitaphs or mournfull Elegies?²

In the old comedy, the *Return from Parnassus*, we are told of a coxcomb who could bear no poetry "but fly-blown sonnets of his mistress, and her loving pretty creatures, her monkey and her puppet."³

The following exquisite couplet exhibits our satirist in another and a more delicate species of poetry :

Her lids like Cupids bow-case, where he hides
The weapons which doth wound the wanton-eyde.⁴

One is surprised to recollect, that these satires are the production of a young man of twenty-three. They rather seem the work of an experienced master, of long observation, of study and practice in composition.

They are recited among the best performances of the kind, and with applause, by Francis Meres, a cotemporary critic, who wrote in 1598.⁵ But whatever fame they had acquired, it soon received a

¹ In pursuance of the argument, he adds,

"Folly it selfe and baldnes may be praised."

An allusion to Erasmus's *Morie Encomium*, and the *Encomium Calvitiæ*, written at the reformation of learning. Cardan also wrote an encomium on Nero, the Gout, &c.

² In this Satire, Tarleton is praised as a poet, who is most commonly considered only as a comedian. Meres commends him for his facility in extemporaneous versification. *Wits Tr.* f. 286.

See more of Tarleton in *Supplement to Shakespeare*, i. pp. 55, 58, 59. And *Old Plays*, edit. 1780. *Preface*, p. lxii. To what is there collected concerning Tarleton as a player it may be added, that his ghost is one of the speakers, in that character, in Chettle's *Kind Harts Dreame*, printed about 1593. Without date, quarto. Signat. E 3. And that in the preface, he appears to have been also a musician. "Tarleton with his Taber taking two or three leaden frisks," &c. Most of our old comedians professed every part of the histrionic science, and were occasionally fiddlers, dancers, and gesticulators. Dekker says, Tarleton, Kempe, nor Singer, "euer plaid the Clowne more naturally." Dekker's *Guls Horne-book*, 1609, p. 3. One or two of Tarleton's Jests are mentioned in *The Discoverie of the Knights of the Poste*, &c. By E. S., 1597. In Fitz-Geoffrey's *Cenotaphia*, annexed to his *Assanie*, 1601, there is a panegyric on Tarleton. Signat. N 2. Tarleton and Greene are often mentioned as associates in Harvey's *Four Letters*, 1592. [The fullest account of Tarleton's writings is in the *Handb. of E. E. Lit.* art. TARLTON, and *Additions* for the title of his *Tragicall Treatises*, 1578, 4to. For biographical notices of this great comedian, and for a text of his *Jests*, see *Old English Jest-Books*, 1864.]

³ A. iii. sc. iv.

⁴ B. vi. Pontan here mentioned, I presume, is Jovinianus Pontanus, an elegant Latin amatorial and pastoral poet of Italy, at the revival of learning.

⁵ *Wits Treas.* f. 282. It is extraordinary that they should not have afforded any choice flowers to *Englands Parnassus*, printed in 1600.

check, which was never recovered. They were condemned to the flames, as licentious and immoral, by an order of Bishop Bancroft in 1599. And this is obviously the chief reason why they are not named by our author in the *Specialities* of his life, written by himself after his preferment to a bishopric.¹ They were, however, admired and imitated by Oldham; and Pope, who modernised Donne, is said to have wished he had seen Hall's satires sooner. But had Pope undertaken to modernise Hall, he must have adopted, because he could not have improved, many of his lines. Hall is too finished and smooth for such an operation. Donne, though he lived so many years later, was susceptible of modern refinement, and his asperities were such as wanted, and would bear, the chisel.

I was informed by the learned Bishop of Gloucester,² that, in a copy of Hall's Satires in Pope's library, the whole first satire of the sixth book was corrected in the margin, or interlined, in Pope's own hand; and that Pope had written at the head of that satire, *optima satira*.

Milton, who had a controversy with Hall, as I have observed, in a remonstrance called an *Apology for Smectymnus*, published in 1641, rather unsuitably and disingenuously goes out of his way to attack these satires, a juvenile effort of his dignified adversary, and under every consideration alien to the dispute. Milton's strictures are more farcastic than critical; yet they deserve to be cited, more especially as they present a striking specimen of those awkward attempts at humour and raillery, which disgrace his prose-works.

"Lighting upon this title of *Toothless Satyrs*, I will not conceal ye what I thought, readers, that sure this must be some sucking satyr, who might have done better to have used his coral, and made an end of breeding ere he took upon him to wield a satyr's whip. But when I heard him talk of 'scouring the shields of elvish knights,'³ do not blame me if I changed my thought, and concluded him some

¹ *Shaking of the Olive Tree, or his Remaining Works*, 1660. Nor are they here inserted.

² [Warburton.]

³ A misquoted line in the *Defiance to Envy*, prefixed to the Satires. I will give the whole passage, which is a compliment to Spenser, and shows how happily Hall would have succeeded in the majestic march of the long stanza.

"Or scour the rusted swordes of Eluifh knights,
Bathed in Pagan blood : or sheath them new
In misty morall Types : or tell their fights,
Who mightie Giants, or who Monsters slew :
And by some strange enchanted speare and shield,
Vanquisht their foe, and wan the doubtfull field.
May be the might in stately Stanzaes frame
Stories of Ladies and aduenturous knights :
To raise her silent and inglorious name
Vnto a reach-lesse pitch of prayes hight :
And somewhat say, as more vnworthie done,*
Worthie of Brasse, and hoary Marble stone."

* That is, *have* done.

desperate cutler. But why his 'scornful Muse could never abide with tragick shoes her ancles for to hide,'¹ the pace of the verse told me, that her mawkin knuckles were never shapen to that royal buskin. And turning by chance to the sixth [seventh] Satyr of his second Book, I was confirmed: where having begun loftily in 'heaven's universal alphabet,' he falls down to that wretched poorness and frigidity as to talk of 'Bridge Street in heaven,' and the 'ostler of heaven,'² And there wanting other matter to catch him a heat, (for certain he was on the frozen zone miserably benumbed), with thoughts lower than any beadle's, betakes him to whip the sign-posts of Cambridge alehouses, the ordinary subject of freshmens tales, and in a strain as pitiful. Which, for him who would be counted the first English Satirist, to abase himselfe to, who might have learned better among the Latin and Italian Satyrists, and in our own tongue from the Vision and Creede of Pierce Plowman, besides others before him, manifested a presumptuous undertaking with weak and unexamined shoulders. For a Satyr is as it were born out of a Tragedy, so ought to resemble his parentage, to strike high, and adventure dangerously at the most eminent vices among the greatest persons, and not to creep into every blind taphouse that fears a constable more than a satyr. But that such a poem should be toothless, I still affirm it to be a bull, taking away the essence of that which it calls itself. For if it bite neither the persons nor the vices, how is it a satyr? And if it bite either, how is it toothless? So that toothless satyrs, are as much as if he had said toothless teeth,"³ &c.

With Hall's satires should be ranked his *Mundus alter et idem*, an ingenious satirical fiction in prose, where, under a pretended description of the Terra Australis, he forms a pleasant invective against the characteristic vices of various nations, and is remarkably severe on the church of Rome. This piece was written about the year 1600, before he had quitted the classics for the fathers, and published some years afterwards [about 1606] against his consent. [It was printed at Frankfort, and reprinted in 1607 at Hanover. An English translation by John Healey appeared almost immediately at London.] Under the same class should also be mentioned his [*Characters of Vertues and Vices*], a set of sensible and lively moral essays, which contain traces of the satires⁴ [and which were first printed in 1608.

¹ B. i. 1.

² Hall supposes, that the twelve signs of the zodiac are twelve inns, in the high-street of heaven,

"With twelue fayre signes
Euer well tended by our Star-diuiues."

Of the astrologers, who give their attendance, some are ostlers, others chamberlaines, &c. The zodiacal sign Aquarius, he supposes to be in the Bridge-street of heaven. He alludes to Bridge-street at Cambridge, and the signs are of inns at Cambridge.

³ *Apology for Smeethynus*, Milton's prose-works, vol. i. p. 186, edit. 1698. See also p. 185, 187, 191.

⁴ *Works*, ut *supr.* p. 171. Under the character of the Hypocrite, he says, "When a rimer reads his poeme to him, he begs a copie, and perswades the presse," &c. p. 187. Of the *Vaine-glorious*. "He sweares bigge at an Ordinary, and talkes

There were later editions, and in 1691 Nahum Tate turned them into verse.

Hall produced one small work in a department of literature and inquiry which might be supposed beyond his range, if anything can be so considered in the case of so versatile a genius. We refer to his volume called *Quo Vadis? A Just Censure of Travell*, printed in 1617. A copy with MSS. notes, supposed to be in the author's own hand, is still preserved. The publication itself abounds, like nearly all Hall's pieces, with shrewd remarks, familiar illustrations, and nervous passages.] I take the opportunity of observing here, that among Hall's prose-works are some metaphrastic versions in metre of a few of David's Psalms,¹ and three anthems or hymns written for the use of his cathedral. Hall, in his Satires, had condemned this sort of poetry. [Hall's specimens of the Psalms were originally appended to his *Holy Observations*, 1607; in the title-page they are mentioned as "some fewe of Davids Psalms metaphras'd, for a taste of the rest." Bishop Hall, previously to the publication of his Satires, contributed a poem to the *Collection of Elegies on the death of Dr. Whitaker*, edited by Charles Horne, 1596, 4to. In 1603, he presented himself in a new light, as one of the writers of panegyrics on James I. at his entry into London. Hall's production purported to be an expression of sorrow for Elizabeth, and a tribute of exultation at the prospect of James's reign. It was called, *The Kings Prophecie, or Weeping Joy. Expressed in a Poeme to the Honor of Englands two great Solemnities*. Whether the author was ashamed, upon reflection, of what he had written, and suppressed it, or whatever may have been the reason, only an imperfect copy of the *Kings Prophecie* remains. In 1630, his son, Robert Hall, edited the Bishop's *Occasional Meditations*, a small volume of very pleasant remarks on familiar subjects. It seems difficult to resist the temptation of tran-

of the Court with a sharp voice. He calls for pheasants at a common inne.—If he haue bestowed but a little summe in the glazing, pauing, parieting, of gods house, you shall find it in the church window." [See *Sat. B. iv. 3.*] "His talke is, how many mourners he has furnished with gownes at his fathers funerals, what exploits he did at Cales and Newport," &c. p. 194, 195. Of the Busie Bodie: "If he see but two men talke and reade a letter in the streete, he runnes to them and askes if he may not be partner of that secret relation: and if they deny it, he offers to tell, since he cannot heare, wonders: and then falls vpon the report of the Scottish Mine, or of the great fish taken vp at Linne, or of the freezing of the Thames," &c. p. 188. Of the Superstitious: "He never goes without an Erra Pater in his pocket.—Every lanterne is a ghost, and every noyse is of chaines," &c. p. 189. These pieces were written after the Gunpowder-plot, for it is mentioned, p. 196.

¹ *Works, ut suprà.* p. 151. In the Dedication he says, "Indeed my Poetry was long sithence out of date, and yelded her place to grauer studies," &c. In his *Epistles* he speaks of this unfinished undertaking. "Many great wits haue vnder-taken this talk. Among the rest, were those two rare spirits of the Sidnyes; to whom poesie was as natrall as it is affected of others: and our worthy friend Mr. Syluester hath shewed me how happily he hath sometimes turned from his Bartas to the sweet finger of Israel. There is none of all my labours so open to all censures. Perhaps some think the verse harsh, whose nice care regardeth roundnesse more than sense. I embrace smoothnesse, but affect it not." Dec. ii. Ep. v.

scribing a few of the heads of chapters or sections, as of all the writer's works in prose or verse this is the one which brings him nearest to us. Taking these headings at random, then, some of them are as follow: *Vpon occasion of a Redbreſt comming into his Chamber: Vpon occasion of a Spider in his Window: Vpon the length of the way: Vpon occasion of the lights brought in: Vpon the blowing of the Fire: Vpon fight of a Cocke-fight: Vpon the kindling of a Charcole fire: Vpon the fight of a Crow pulling off wooll from the backe of a Sheepe:* and ſo forth. Powerful as the ſatires may be, and well-deſerved as the praiſe may be which has been conferred on them by Pope and others, this little volume is certainly an agreeable diſverſion from them, and exhibits the author as he was in mellow years and in moments of relaxation from ſeverer thoughts and ſtudies.]

An able inquirer into the literature of this period has affirmed that Hall's Epistles, written before the year 16[08],¹ are the first example of epistolary composition which England had ſeen. "Bishop Hall," he ſays, "was not only our firſt ſatiriſt, but was the firſt who brought epistolary writing to the view of the public: which was common in that age to other parts of Europe, but not practiſed in England till he published his own epiſtles;"² and Hall himſelf in the dedication of his Epistles to Prince Henry obſerves, "Your grace ſhall herein perceiue a new faſhion of diſcourſe by Epistles, new to our language, vſuall to others: and, as nouelty is neuer without plea of vſe, more free, more familiar."³

The firſt of our countrymen, however, who published a ſet of his own letters, though not in Engliſh, was Roger Aſcham, who flouriſhed about the time of the Reformation; and when that mode of writing had been cultivated by the beſt ſcholars in various parts of Europe, was celebrated for the terſeneſs of his epistolary ſtyle. I believe the ſecond published correſpondence of this kind, and in our own language, at leaſt of any importance after Hall, will be found to be *Epistolæ Hoeliane*, or the letters of James Howell, a great traveller, an intimate friend of Jonſon, and the firſt who bore the office of the royal hiftoriographer: which diſcover a variety of literature, and abound with much entertaining and uſeful information.⁴

¹ See *Works*, ut ſupr. p. 275.

² See Whalley's *Inquiry into the Learning of Shakeſpeare* [1748], p. 41.

³ *Works*, ut ſupr. p. 172. The reader of Hall's *Satires* is referred to *Dec. vi. Epist. vi. p. 394.*

⁴ "*Epistolæ Hoeliane*, Familiar Letters, Domeſtic and Foreign, divided into ſundry ſections partly hiſtorical, political, and philoſophical." Lond. 1645, 4to. They had five editions from 1645 to 1673, incluſive. A third and fourth volume was added to the laſt impreſſion. I muſt not diſmiſs our ſatiriſt without obſerving, that Fuller has preſerved a witty encomiaſtic Engliſh epigram by Hall, written at Cambridge, on Greenham's Book of the Sabbath, before the year 1592. *Church-Hiſtory*, B. ix. Cent. xvi. § vii p. 220, edit. 1655. I find it alſo prefixed to Greenham's *Works*, 1601.

SECTION LXV.



IN the same year (1598), soon after the appearance of Hall's *Satires*, John Marston, probably educated at Cambridge, a dramatic writer who rose above mediocrity, and the friend and coadjutor of Jonson, published *The Metamorphosis of Pigmaliions image. And Certain Satyres. By John Marston.* I have nothing to do with *Pigmaliions Image*,¹ one of Ovid's transformations heightened with much paraphrastic obscenity. The Satires here specified are only four in number. In Charles Fitzgeoffrey's *Affanie*, a set of Latin epigrams, printed in 1601, he is not inelegantly complimented as the second English Satirist, or rather as dividing the palm of priority and excellence in English satire with Hall.²

In general it is not easy to give a specimen of Marston's satires, as his strongest lines are either openly vitiated with gross expression, or pervaded with a hidden vein of impure sentiment. The following humorous portrait of a sick innamorato is in his best, at least in his chafest, manner of drawing a character :

¹ He seems to have written it in ridicule of Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis*. He offers this apology, B. i. 6. (*ut supr.*) :

"Know I wrot
Those idle rimes, to note the odious spot
And blemish that deforms the lineaments
Of moderne poesies habiliments
Oh that the beauties of inuention
For want of iudgements disposition,
Should all be spoil'd ! O that such treasure,
Such straines of well-conceited poesie,
Should moulded be in such a shapelesse forme
That want of art should make such wit a scorne !"

The author of the Satires appears in stanzas x. xiv. xix. I have thought that this poem suggested to Shakespeare what Lucio says in *Measure for Measure*, act. iii. l. ii. [Dyce's edit. 1868, i. 484 *et seqq.*]

² [Satire iii. Marston's *Works*, ed. 1856, iii. 224-5.]

"*Ad Johannem Marstonium.*

Gloria Marstoni satyrarum proxima primæ,
Primaque, fas primas si numerare duas :
Sin primam duplicare nefas, tu gloria saltem
Marstoni primæ proxima semper eris.
Nec te pœniteat stationis, Jane : secundus,
Cum duo sunt tantum, est neuter, et ambo pares."

Lib. ii. sign. F 4. In Davies's *Scourge of Folly*, there is an Epigram to "The acute Mr. John Marston," on his comedy of the *Malecontent*, p. 105.

[In a curious MS. described by Mr. Todd in his edition of Milton, the following couplet occurs, which may be surmised to glance at this comedy :

"John Marstone bad his friends unto a play ;
But being come, they bad themselves away."—*Park.*]

For when my eares receau'd a fearefull sound
 That he was sicke, I went, and there I found
 Him layde of loue,¹ and newly brought to bed
 Of monstrous folly and a franticke head.
 His chamber hang'd about with elegies,
 With sad complaints of his lounes miseries:
 His windows strow'd with sonnets, and the glasse
 Drawne full of loue-knotts. I approacht the asse,
 And straight he weepes, and sighes some sonnet out
 To his faire loue! And then he goes about
 For to perfwme her rare perfection
 With some sweet smelling pinck epitheton.
 Then with a melting looke he writhes his head,
 And straight in passion riseth in his bed;
 And hauing kist his hand, stroke vp his haire,
 Made a French congè, cryes, O cruell faire,
 To the antique bed-post!

In these lines there is great elegance of allusion and vigour of expression. He addresses the objects of his satire, as the sons of the giants:

Is Minos dead, is Radamanth a sleepe,
 That yee thus dare vnto Ioues pallace creepe?
 What, hath Ramnusia spent her knotted whip,
 That yee dare striue on Hebes cup to sip?
 Yet know Apolloes quiuer is not spent,
 But can abate your daring hardiment.
 Python is slaine, yet his accursed race
 Dare looke diuine Aftrea in the face.²

In the same satire he calls himself

A beadle to the worlds impuritie!

Marlton seems to have been the poetic rival of Hall at Cambridge, whom he repeatedly censures or ridicules. In the fourth satire, he supposes Hall's criticisms on *Du Bartas*, the versions of David's *Psalms* by Sternhold, [*St. Peter's Complaint and Mary Magdalen's Funeral Tears*,] the *Mirror for Magistrates*, and other pieces of equal reputation, to be the production of pedantry or malignity; and the remainder of this satire is no unpleasant parody of Hall's prefatory stanzas against envy.³

¹ The midwife's phrase.

² Sat. 5.

³ It appears from the *Scourge of Villanie*, that Hall had caused a severe Epigram to be pasted on the last page of every copy of Marlton's *Pigmaliions Image*, that was sent from London to the booksellers of Cambridge, B. iii. 10. The Epigram is there cited. This tenth satire of the third Book was added in the second edition, in 1599. It is addressed "to his very friend maister E[dward] G[uilpin.]"

It appears from this Satire, that the devices on shields and banners, at tournaments, were now taken from the classics.

"He who upon his glorious scutcheon,
 Can quaintly show wits newe inuention,
 Advancing forth some thirstie Tantalus,
 Or els the vulture on Prometheus,
 With some short motto of a dozen lines," &c.

Peacham says, that of Emblems and Impresses, "the best I have seen have been the devices of tilting, whereof many were till of late reserved in the private gal-

A Thrafonical captain, fresh from the siege of Cadiz, is delineated in this lively colouring :

Great Tubrio's feather gallantly doth waue,
Full twenty falls doth make him wondrous braue.
Oh golden jerkin ! royall arming coate !
Like ship on sea, he on the land doth flote.—

What newes from Rodio ?

Hote seruice, by the lord, cries Tubrio.
Why do'st thou halt ? Why six times through each thigh
Pusht with the pike of the hote enemie.
Hote seruice, hote, the Spaniard is a man ;—
I say no more, and as a gentleman
I serued in his face. Farwell. Adew.
Welcome from Netherland, from steaming stew.¹

Marston's allusions often want truth and accuracy. In describing the ruff of a beau, he says,

His ruffe did eate more time in neatest setting,
Than Woodstock-worke in painfull perfecting.

The comparison of the workmanship of a laced and plaited ruff to the laboured nicety of the steel-work of Woodstock is just. He adds, with an appearance of wit,

It hath more doubles farre than Ajax shield.

This was no exaggeration. The shield of Ajax was only sevenfold. To say nothing of one of the leading ideas, the delicacy of contexture, which could not belong to such a shield.

But Marston is much better known as a satirist by a larger and a separate collection, yet entirely in the strain of the last, called the *Scourge of Villanie*, published the same year, [and, in 1599, reprinted twice with corrections, and the addition of the tenth satire.] He here assumes the appellation of Kinsayder, by which he is recognised among other cotemporary poets in the *Return from Parnassus*. In his metrical introduction, he wishes all readers of fashion would pass over his poetry, and rather examine the play-bills pasted on every post, or buy some ballad about the fairy king, and king Cophetua and the female beggar. Instead of a Muse, he invokes Reproof, in this elegant and animated address :

I inuocate no Delian deitie,
No sacred offspring of Mnemosyne:
I pray in aid of no Castalian muse,
No nymph, no femal angell, to infuse
A sprightly wit to raise my flagging wings,
And teach me tune these harsh discordant strings.
I craue no syrens of our halcion times,
To grace the accents of my rough-hew'd rimes:
But grim Reproofe, stearne hate of villany,
Inspire and guide a Satyres poesie.

lery at White-Hall, of Sir Philip Sydney, the Earl of Cumberland, Sir Henry Leigh, the Earl of Essex, with many others; most of which I once collected with intent to publish them, but the charge dissuaded me."—*Compl. Gent.* Ch. xviii. p. 277, edit. 1661.

¹ Sat. i. [*Works*, ut supr. p. 216.]

Faire Detestation of foule odious sinne,
 In which our swinish times lye wallowing,
 Be thou my conduct and my genius,
 My wits inciting sweet-breath'd Zephirus.
 O that a Satyres hand had force to pluck
 Some fludgate vp, to purge the world from muck !
 Would God I could turne Alpheus riuer in,
 To purge this Augean oxstall from foule sinne !
 Well, I will try : awake, Impuritie,
 And view the vaile drawne from thy villany.¹

The passage reminds us of a witty line in Young's *Universal Passion*, I know not if borrowed from hence :

And cleanse the Augean stable with thy quill.²

Part of the following nervous paragraph has been copied either by Dryden or Oldham :

Who would not shake a Satyres knotty rod,
 When to defile the sacred seate of God,
 Is but accounted gentlemens disport ?
 To snort in filth, each hower to resort
 To brothell pits : alas, a veniall crime,
 Nay royall, to be last in thirtieth slime ?³

In an invocation to Rime, while he is not inelegantly illustrating the pleasingness of an easy association of consonant syllables, he artfully intermixes the feverities of satire :

Come prettie pleasing symphonie of words,
 Ye well-matcht twins (whose like-tun'd tongs affords
 Such musically delight) come willingly,
 And daunce levoltos⁴ in my poesie.
 Come all as easie as spruce Curio will,
 In some court-hall to shew his capring skill :—
 As willingly as wenches trip a round,
 About a may-pole after bagpipes found.—

Let not my ruder hand
 Seeme once to force you in my lines to stand :
 Be not so fearefull (prettie foules) to meete
 As Flaccus is the sergeants face to greete :
 Be not so backward loth to grace my sense,
 As Drusus is to haue intelligence
 His dad's aliue : but come into my head,
 As iocundly as (when his wife was dead)
 Young Lelius to his home. Come, like-fac't rime,
 In tunefull numbers keeping musicks time !
 But if you hang an arse, like Tubered,
 When Chremes dragd him from his brothell bed,
 Then hence, base ballad stuffe, My poetry
 Disclaimes you quite. For know my libertie

¹ B. iii. *Proem*. [*Works*, ut *supr.* iii. 285.]

² There is a thought like this in Dekker's *Guls Horne-book*, 1609, p. 4 : "To purge [the world] will be a forer labour, than the cleansing of Augeas' stable, or the scouring of Mooreditch."

³ B. i. 2 [ut *supr.* p. 252.]

⁴ [A kind of dance for two persons, consisting a good deal in high and active bounds. By its name it should be of Italian origin ; but Florio, in *Volta*, calls it a French dance, and so Shakespeare seems to make it.—*Nares*. See further, *Gloss.* edit. 1859, v. *Lavolta*.]

Scornes riming lawes. Alas, poore idle found!
 Since I first Phœbus knew, I neuer found
 Thy interest in sacred poesie :
 Thou to inuention addst but surquedry,¹
 A gaudie ornature, but hast no part
 In that soule-pleasing high infused art.²

He thus wages war with his brother-bards, especially the dreamers in fairy land :

Heres one muſt inuocate ſome loſe-leg'd dame,
 Some brothel drab, to helpe him ſtanzaes frame.
 Another yet dares tremblingly come out,
 But firſt he muſt inuoke good Colin Clout.³
 Yon's one hath yean'd a fearful prodigy,
 Some monſtrous miſhapen Balladry.⁴—
 Another walkes, is lazie, lies him downe,
 Thinkes, reades : at length ſome wonted ſlepe doth crowne
 His new-falne lides, dreames : ſtraight, ten pound to one,
 Out ſteps ſome fayery with quick motion,
 And tells him wonders of ſome flowry vale ;
 Awakes, ſtraight rubs his eyes, and prints his tale.⁵

The following line is a ridicule on the poetical language of his time, which ſeems rather intended for certain ſtrains of modern poetry :

Thou nurſing mother of faire Wiſdomes lore,
 Ingenuous Melancholy !⁶

He ſuppoſes himſelf talking with Eſop, and alludes to the ſtory of his coming into the ſtreets of Athens to look for a man.⁷ This idea introduces ſeveral ridiculous characters. Among the reſt a fine lady :

Peace, Cynick ſee : what yonder doth approach,
 A cart ? a tumbrell ? No, a badged coach,⁸
 What's in't ? Some man. No, nor yet woman kinde,
 But a celeftiall angel, faire, refine.
 The diuell as ſoone. Her maſke ſo hinders me,
 I cannot ſee her beauties deitie.
 Now that is off, ſhe is ſo vizarded,
 So ſteep in lemon-iuyce, ſo ſurphuled,⁹

¹ Pride, falſe pomp.

² B. ii. *Ad ritumum* [ut ſupr. p. 269-70.]

³ Spenser as a paſtoral writer.

⁴ An alluſion to ſome late ballad with a print of a monſter or incredible event. A ballad-monger is a character in [Braithwaite's] *Whimſies*, 1631, p. 9, where ſays the writer, "For want of truer relations, for a neede, he can finde you out a Suffex-dragon, ſome ſea or inland monſter," &c. For this Suffex dragon ſee the Harleian miſcellany.

⁵ B. ii. 6 [ut ſupr. p. 275].

⁶ *Proem*. B. i. [ut ſupr. p. 247.]

⁷ The introductory line, ſuppoſed to be ſpoken by Eſop, is no unhappy parody on a well-known line in Shakeſpeare's *Richard III.*, then newly published :

"A Man, a Man, my kingdom for a man."

⁸ A coach painted with a coat of arms. [See above.]

⁹ The word is often uſed by Hall and Marſton. Our author ſuppoſes that the practice came, with other corruptions, from Venice.—*Cert. Sat.* 2 :

"Didſt thou to Venis goe ought els to haue
 But buy a lute, and vie a curtezan ?—
 And nowe from thence what hether doſt thou bring,

I cannot see her face. *Under one hood
Two faces*: but I neuer vnderstood,
Or sawe one face under two hoods till nowe.
Away, away, hence, coach-man, goe inshrine
Thy newe-glas'd puppet in port Esqueline.¹

He thus nervously describes the strength of custome:

For ingrain'd habits, died with often dips,
Are not so soon discoloured. Young flips
New set are easily mou'd, and pluck't away;
But elder rootes clip faster in the clay.²

Of the influence of the drama, which now began to be the most polite and popular diversion, on conversation, we have the following instance:

Lufcus, what's plaid to day? Faith, now I know,
I set thy lips abroach, from whence doth flowe
Nought but pure Juliet and Romeo.
Say who acts best? Drusus or Roscio?
Nowe I have him, that nere of aught did speake
But when of playes or players he did treat:
Hath made a common-place booke out of playes,
And speakes in print: at least what ere he sayes,
Is warranted by curtaine plaudities.
If ere you heard him courting Lesbias eyes,
Say (curteous sir) speakes he not movingly
From out some new pathetique tragedy?³

He appears to have been a violent enemy of the puritans.

But thou, rank Puritan,
I'll make an ape as good a Christian:
I'll force him chatter, turning vp his eye,
Looke sad, go graue. Demure civilitie
Shall seeme to say, good brother, sifter deere!
As for the rest, to snort in belly cheere,
To bite, to gnaw, and boldly intermell
With sacred things, in which thou dost excell,
Vnforc't he'll doe. O take compassion
Euen on your soules. Make not Religion
A bawde to lewdnesse. Civill Socrates,
Clyp not the youth of Alcibiades
With vnchast armes. Disguised Messaline,
I'll teare thy maske, and bare thee to the eyne, &c.⁴

But furphulings, new paints and poysoning,
Aretine's pictures," &c.

[*Ut supr.* p. 222. But the text of 1856, I regret to say, is not very trustworthy.] I find the word used for a meretricious styptic lotion. "This mother baud hauing at home, a well paynted manerly harlot, as good a maid as Fletcher's mare, that bare three great foles, went in the morning to the apothecaries for halfe a pint of swete water, that commonly is called Surfulyng water, or Clyncckerdeuice," &c.—*Detection of the most vyle and detestable vse of dice play*, &c. [1552.] "Apothecaries would have Surphaling water, and potatow rootes, lie dead on their hands.—The suburbs should have a great misse of vs, and Shoreditch would complaine to dame Anne a Clear," &c.—[Greene's] *Thieues falling out*. True men come by their goods, 1615, Signat. C 3. See Steevens's *Shakespeare*. ix. 168.

¹ B. ii. 7. The classical reader recollects the meaning of this allusion to the Porta Esquilina at Rome.

² B. i. 4.

³ B. iii. 11.

⁴ B. iii. 9.

In passing, I will illustrate a few passages in Marston's satires; he says :¹

Praise but Orchestra and the skipping art.

This is an allusion to Sir John Davies's *Orchestra*, a poetical dialogue between Penelope and one of her wooers, on the antiquity and excellency of dancing [1596]. This piece occasioned a humorous epigram from Harington:²

A few lines afterwards Marston says :

Roome for the spheres, the orbs celestiall
Will daunce Kemps jigge.

Of Kemp, the original performer of Dogberry, I have spoken before. In Kemp's *Nine Daies Wonder*, 1600, is the character of an innkeeper at Rockland, which could not be written by Kemp, and was most probably a contribution from his friend and fellow-player, Shakespeare. He may vie with our host of the Tabard.³

He was a man not ouer spare,
In his eyebals dwelt no care:
Anon, Anon, and Welcome friend,
Were the most words he vsde to spend :
Saue sometime he would sit and tell
What wonders once in Bullayne fell;
Closng each period of his tale
With a full cup of Nut-browne Ale.
Turwin and Turneys siedge were hot,
Yet all my Hoast remembers not :
Kets field, and Muselborough fray,
Were battles fought but yesterday.
O, twas a goodly matter then,
To see your sword and buckler men!
They would lye heere, and here and there,
But I would meet them euery where—
By this some guest cryes *Ho, the house!*
A fresh friend hath a fresh caroufe :
Still he will drinke, and still be dry,
And quaffe with euery company.
Saint Martin send him merry mates
To enter at his hostree gates!
For a blither lad than he
Cannot an Inkeeper be.



In the same strain, is a description of a plump country lass, who officiates to Kemp in his morris-dance, as his Maid Marian.⁴ Jonson alludes to Kemp's performance of this morris-dance from London to Norwich in nine days :⁵

or which

Did dance the famous morrifle vnto Norwich.⁶

But to return to Marston :

He'll cleanse himself to Shoreditch puritie.

I have before observed that Shoreditch was famous for brothels. He just before speaks of a "White friers queane. We have a

¹ Sat. xi. lib. 3.

² Epigr. cxxxiv.

³ Epigr. B. ii. 67.

⁴ [Edit. 1840, p. 13.]

⁵ [Jonson's Works, ed. 1816, viii. 242.]

⁶ Signat. B 3.

Shoreditch baulke."¹ In his *Certain Satyres* (Sat. ii.) he mentions the gallants trooping to "Brownes common." In Goddard's *Maistif Whelp*, [circa 1615,] Sat. 27:

Or is he one that lets a Shoreditch wench
The golden entrails of his purse to drench.

In Dekker's *Jests to make you merie*, 1607, Jest 59: "Sixpenny signets that lay in the Spittle in Shoreditch." In Middleton's *Inner Temple Masque*, 1619:

Tis in your charge to pull down bawdy houses,
— cause spoile in Shoreditch, deface Turnbull.²

And in the Preface to *The Letting of Humours blood in the head vaine*, 1600, [by S. Rowlands,] signat. A 2:

Some coward Gull
That is but Champion to a Shoreditch Drabbe.

I know not whether it will illustrate the antiquity of the Ballad of George Barnwell to observe, that the house of the Harlot, the heroine of the story, is in Shore-ditch. The Curtain, one of our old theatres, was in Shoreditch.³

With tricksey tales of speaking Cornish dawes.

Tricksey, I think, is an epithet of Ariel in the *Tempest*.⁴ A *tricksey* strain occurs.⁵

What though some John-a-stile will basely toyle.

This is the first use I remember of John a Stiles. But we have below, B. ii. 7:

Looke, yon comes John a noke and John a stile.

He means two lawyers.

Of a gallant,
Note his French herring-bones.⁶

His band-strings. Wood says, that Dr. Owen, dean of Christ Church, and Cromwell's vice-chancellor at Oxford, in 1652, used to go, in contempt of form, "like a young scholar, with powdred hair, *snakebone* bandstrings, or bandstrings with very large tassels, lawn band, a large set of ribbands, pointed, at his knees, and Spanish-leather boots with large lawn tops, and his hat mostly cocked."⁷

He is speaking of a judge, in his furred "damaske-coate."

He's nought but budge.⁸

That is, fur. So Milton in *Comus*, v. 707:

Those budge doctors of the stoick fur.

He alludes to the furred gown of a graduate.⁹

He speaks of a critic abusing Mortimer's numbers. I believe he means Drayton's epistle of *Mortimer to Queen Isabel*. Drayton's *Epistles* appeared in 1597. Or perhaps Drayton's *Mortimeriados*, 1596.

¹ B. iii. 11.

[² *Works*, edit. 1840, v. 147.]

³ B. ii. *Proem*. ft. 3.

⁴ [Act v. sc. i. edit. Dyce, 1868, i. 233.]

⁵ B. iii. 9.

⁶ B. ii. 7.

⁷ *Athen. Oxon.* ii. 738. Num. 57a.

⁸ B. ii. 7.

⁹ See *Life of Sir T. Pope*, p. 285, edit. 2.

Lothsome brothell rime,
That stinks like Ajax froth, or muck-pit slime.¹

He means Sir John Harington's *Ajax*, which gave great offence to Queen Elizabeth. [Jonson says :

And I could wish for their eternized fakes,
My Muse had plough'd with his that sang *A-jax*.]²

He now is forc't his paunch and guts to pack
In a faire tumbrell.³

That is, To ride in a Coach.

Her seate of sence is her rebato set.⁴

The set of her rebato is the stiffness of her ruff newly plaited, starched, and poked. To set a hat, is to cock a hat, in provincial language. The ruff was adjusted or trimmed by what they called a poking-stick, made of iron, which was gently heated. A pamphlet is entered to W. Wright, Jul. 4, 1590, called, "Blue starch and poking-stickes."⁵ Jonson says of a smoking coxcomb: "The other opened his nostrils with a poaking-sticke, to giue the smoake more free deliuerie."⁶

In Goddard's [*Maistif Whelp*, (circa 1615),] Satire 29, a lady says, whose ruff was discomposd :

Lord ! my ruffe ! set it with thy finger, Iohn !

And our author, *Sc. Vill. i. 2.*

Lucia, new set thy ruffe.

In the *Guls Horne-book*, p. 7. "Your stiff-necked rebatoes, that have more arches for pride to rowe vnder, than can stand vnder fiue London bridges, durst not then set themselves out in print." And hence we must explain a line in Hall : ⁷

His linnen collar Labrinthian set.

A Crabs bakt guts, a lobsters butterd thigh, &c.⁸

So in Marston's *Malcontent*, 1604.⁹ "Crabs guts baked, distilled ox-pith, the pulverized hairs of a lions upper lip," &c.

I saw him court his mistress looking-glass,
Worship a busk-point.¹⁰

A buske was a flexile pin or stick for keeping a woman's stays tight before. Marston's context too clearly explains the meaning of the word. So in *Pigmaliions Image*, ft. xix. :

Loue is a child contented with a toy,
A busk-point or some favour stills the boy.

But see [Doddley's] *Old Plays* [edit. 1780] v. 251.

Ye Granta's white nymphs, come !¹¹

White was anciently used as a term of fondling or endearment. In the *Return from Parnassus*, 1606, Amoretto's Page says, "When he returns, I'll tell twenty admirable lies of his hawk: and then I shall be

¹ B. iii. 11.

² See Harington's *Epigrams*, B. i. 51. And Jonson, *Epigr. cxxxiv.* [*Works*, edit. 1816, viii. 248.]

³ B. ii. 7.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Registr. Station. B. f. 260, 2.*

⁶ *Every Man out of his Humor*, Act iii. sc. iii.

⁷ B. iii. 7.

⁸ B. i. 3.

⁹ A. ii. sc. ii.

¹⁰ *Sat. iii. 8.*

¹¹ *Satyres*, Sat. iv.

his little rogue, his white villain, for a whole week after.”¹ Doctor Busby used to call his favourite scholars, his *white boys*. I could add a variety of other combinations. [All the preceding extracts have been collated.]

It is not that I am afraid of being tedious, that I find myself obliged to refrain from producing any more citations. There are however a few more passages which may safely be quoted, but which I choose to reserve for future illustration.

There is a carelessness and laxity in Marston’s versification, but there is a freedom and facility, which Hall has too frequently missed by labouring to confine the sense to the couplet. Hall’s measures are more musical, not because the music of verse consists in uniformity of pause, and regularity of cadence. Hall had a correcter ear; and his lines have a tuneful strength, in proportion as his language is more polished, his phraseology more select, and his structure more studied. Hall’s meaning, among other reasons, is not always so soon apprehended, on account of his compression both in sentiment and diction. Marston is more perspicuous, as he thinks less and writes hastily. Hall is superior in penetration, accurate conception of character, acuteness of reflection, and the accumulation of thoughts and images. Hall has more humour, Marston more acrimony. Hall often draws his materials from books and the diligent perusal of other satirists, Marston from real life. Yet Hall has a larger variety of characters. He possessed the talent of borrowing with address, and of giving originality to his copies. On the whole, Hall is more elegant, exact, and elaborate.

It is Marston’s misfortune, that he can never keep clear of the impurities of the brothel. His stream of poetry, if sometimes bright and unpolluted, almost always betrays a muddy bottom. The satirist who too freely indulges himself in the display of that licentiousness which he means to proscribe, absolutely defeats his own design. He inflames those passions which he professes to suppress, gratifies the depravations of a prurient curiosity, and seduces innocent minds to an acquaintance with ideas which they might never have known.

The satires of Hall and Marston were condemned to the same flame and by the same authority. But Hall certainly deserved a milder sentence.² Hall exposes vice, not in the wantonness of description, but with the reserve of a cautious yet lively moralist. Perhaps every censurer of obscenity does some harm, by turning the attention to an immodest object. But this effect is to be counteracted by the force and propriety of his reproof, by shewing the pernicious consequences of voluptuous excesses, by suggesting motives to an opposite conduct, and by making the picture disgusting by dashes of deformity. When Vice is led forth to be sacrificed at the shrine of Virtue, the victim should not be too richly dressed.

¹ A. ii. sc. ii.

² [And obtained it, as it has been shown : for his book was allowed to circulate.]

SECTION LXVI.



JOHN CHAMBERLAIN, in a letter to his correspondent Dudley Carleton, dated Dec. 8, 1598, observes : " I send you likewise such pedlarie pamphlets, and three-halfpenny ware as we are served with ; make the best use you can of them and use your own censure, but if I be not deceived, some of the satires are passable."] The popularity of Hall's and Marston's Satires, notwithstanding their proscription or rather extermination by spiritual authority, produced an innumerable crop of satirists, and of a set of writers—differing but little more than in name, and now properly belonging to the same species—Epigrammatists.

In 1598 appeared [Edward Guilpin's] *Skialetheia, or a shadowe of Truth in certaine Epigrams and Satyres*.¹ This form was an imitation of the *Semaines* of Du Bartas, just translated into English by Delisle [and Sylvester. About the same time was published Marlowe's version of some of Ovid's Elegies, in a volume with Sir John Davies's² Epigrams.]³ In 1598 also was published *Tyros Roring*

¹ [Guilpin's volume has been reprinted twice, at the Beldornie Press, 1843, and by Mr. Collier, 1868.]

² [The author in *Skialetheia* is styled our English Martial, and at that period the appellation seems not to have been misapplied.—*Price*.]

³ [*Epigrammes and Elegies. By I. D. and C. M.* At Middleborough [London] 8vo, 26 leaves. On E occurs a new title : *Certaine of Ovids Elegies. By C. Marlowe.* At Middleborough. There were several later impressions.]

Davies's Epigrams are commended in Jonson's Epigrams, xviii. And in Fitzgeoffry's *Affanie*, lib. ii. signat. E 4.

"Davifios lædat mihi, Jonfonioſque laceſſat."

[The following specimen [of Davies's Epigrams] becomes interesting from its allusions to remarkable persons and events :

"Geron his mouldy memory corrects
Old Holinshed, our famous chronicler,
With morall rules and policy collectts
Out of all actions done these fourescore yeare :
Accounts the time of every old event,
Not from Christs birth, nor from the princes raigne,
But from some other famous accident,
Which in mens generall notice doth remaine :
The siege of Bulloigne and the plaguy sweat,
The going to saint Quintins and Newhaven,
The rising in the North, the frost so great,
That cart wheele prints on Thamys face were seene ;
The fall of money and burning of Pauls steeple,
The blazing starre, and Spaniards overthrow :
By these events, notorious to the people,
He measures times, and things forepast doth show.

Megge. Planted against the Walles of Melancholy. One book cut into two Decads.] The author appears to have been of Cambridge. Tyro is [almost certainly a mere *nom de plume*.]¹ The dedication is to Master John Lucas.

In the year 1598 was also published, under the general title of *Chrestoleros*, seven Books of Epigrams by Thomas Bastard.² Bastard, a native of Blandford, in Dorsetshire, was removed from a fellowship of New-College, Oxford, in 1591, being, as Wood says, "much guilty of the vices belonging to the poets," and "given to libelling."³ Harington, the translator of *Aristo*, has an Epigram addressed to "Master Bastard, a minister, that made a pleasant Booke of English Epigrams."⁴ Wood, in his manuscript Collection of Oxford libels and lampoons, which perhaps he took as much pleasure in collecting as the authors in writing, now remaining in the [Bodleian Library,] and composed by various students of Oxford in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, has preserved two of Bastard's satirical pieces.⁵ By the patronage or favour of Lord-treasurer Suffolk, he was made vicar of Bere-regis, and rector of Hamer, in Dorsetshire; and from writing smart epigrams in his youth, [he] became in his graver years a quaint preacher.⁶ He died a prisoner for debt in Dorchester gaol, April 19, 1618. He was an elegant classic scholar, and appears to have been better qualified for that species of the occasional pointed Latin epigram established by his fellow-collegian John Owen, than for any sort of English versification.

In 1599, appeared *Microcynicon*, Sixe Snarling Satyres, [most probably by Thomas Moffat or Muffet, but sometimes (very questionably) ascribed to Thomas Middleton.⁷ A few years later, William

But most of all he chiefly reckons by
A private chance—the death of his curst wife!
This is to him the dearest memory
And th' happiest accident of all his life."

Epigrammes by J. D. No. 20.—Park. Dyce's Marlowe, 1850, iii. 237-8.]

¹ [At the end, and forming part of the same volume, is a second portion with a fresh title: *Tyronis Epistole, &c.* See *Handb. of E. E. Lit.* 1867, in v.] Compare Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* F. i. 219.

² Entered to Joane Brome, Apr. 3, 1598. *Ibid.* f. 38, b.

³ *Ath. Oxon.* i. 431.

⁴ Harington's *Epigrams*, B. ii. 64. See also B. ii. 84. They are also mentioned with applause in Goddard's *Mastif*, Sat. 81. And in Parrot's *Springs for Woodcocks*. Lib. i. Epigr. 118.

⁵ One of them is entitled, *An Admonition to the City of Oxford, or Mareplates Bastardine*. In this piece, says Wood, he "reflects upon all persons of note in Oxford, who were guilty of amorous exploits, or that mixed themselves with other men's wives, or with wanton housewives in Oxon." The other is a disavowal of this lampoon, written after his expulsion, and beginning *Jenkin, why, man, &c.* See Meres, *Wits Tr.* f. 284.

⁶ There are two sets of his sermons, [printed in] 1615. The three first of these are called the *Marigold of the Sun*.

⁷ [And republished in Middleton's *Works*, 1840, vol. v. The initials "T. M., Gent." are at the end of *The Defiance to Envy* (a manifest imitation of Hall).

["On account of the concluding couplet of the *Defiance to Envy*:

Goddard, who seems to have settled in the Low Countries, or at least to have been taken there by his professional pursuits, published three works, all of a satirical complexion.¹ One of these, probably printed at Dort about 1615, is entitled:] *A Mastiff Whelp, with other ruff-i-land-like Currs fetcht from amongst the Antipedes, which bite and barke at the fantasticall humourists and abusers of the time. Imprinted amongst the Antipedes, and are to bee [sould] where they are to be [bought].* It contains eighty-five satires. To these is added, *Dogges from the Antipedes*, containing forty-one.²

"I, but the author's mouth, bid thee avaunt!

He more defies thy hate, thy hunt, thy haunt;"

and because that Defiance is followed by what bears expressly the title of 'The Author's Prologue,' Mr. J. P. Collier suspects that T. M. was only the author's friend. . . . That T. M. and the author of *Micro-cynicon* were the same person, I have very little doubt; but that he was Thomas Middleton, I feel by no means confident."—*Dyce*.]

¹ [*Handb. of E. E. Lit.* 1867, art. GODDARD.]

² The name of the author, who appears to have been a soldier, is added in the Dedication, to some of his flatt-cappe friends at the Temple. The satires were written after Baftard's *Epigrams*, which are [thus] commended, sat. 81:

"Talke you with Poet Aske, sitting in's seate,
You'll heare him ex'lent Epigrames repeate;
Demaund him whose they bee, they runn soe fine?
He answers straight—Fruits of this brayne of myne;
Yet let a well-read Poet heare the vaine,
Hee'll finde they came out of a Baftardes braine."

Thomas Baftard has a copy of Latin verses, "In laudem Annæ Comitissæ Oxoniensis Carmen." *Lansd. MSS.* 104.—*Park*.] I will give a specimen from the second part, sat. 5:

"To see Morilla in her coach to ride,
With her long locke of haire vpon one side;
With hatt and feather worn in swagging guise,
With buttred boddice, skirted dubblett-wife,
Vnmaskt, and sit i' th' booth without a fanne;
Speake, could you iudge her lesse than be some manne," &c.

Here is the dress of a modern amazon, in what is called a riding-habit. The side-lock of hair, which was common both to men and women, was called the French lock. So Freeman of a beau, in *Rub and a Great Cast*, 1614, Epigr. 32:

"Beside a long French locke."—

And Hall, Sat. iii. 7.

"His haire French-like stares on his frighted head,
One locke, amazon-like, disheveled."

Hence may be illustrated a passage in a *Letting of Humours blood*, &c. 1600. Epigr. 27.

"Aske Humors why a feather he doth weare,—
Or what he doth with such a horse-tail locke."

See also Parrot's *Springs for Woodcocks*, 1613, lib. i. Epigr. i. Of a beau:

"And on his shoulder weares a dangling locke."

In B. Rich's *Opinion deified*, 1613, &c., "Some by wearing a long locke that hangs dangling by his eare, do think by that louzie commoditie to be esteemed by the opinion of foolery." Ch. xxix. p. 53. Again, in the *Return from Paraffus*, 1606, A. iii. sc. ii.

"Must take tobacco, and must weare a lock."

Compare Warburton's note on *Much ado about Nothing*, 2. v. sc. i. "He wears a key in his ear, and a long lock hanging by it," &c. I add but one more instance,

A fatirical piece in fanzas, which has considerable merit, called *Pasquills Mad-Cappe and his Message*, was [twice] printed in 1600. [The author was Nicholas Breton, one of the most prolific penmen of his time. He began to write in 1575, and continued busy with his pen till far into the seventeenth century. He was probably a native of London, but the dates of his birth and death are alike unknown. Besides *Pasquills Madcappe*, he published *The second Part of Pasquills Mad Cap*, intituled *the Fooles Cap. With Pasquills Passion. Begun by himself, and finished by his friend Marphorius*, 1600, and *Pasquills Mistresse, or the Worthy and Unworthy Woman*, also printed in 1600.¹ The dedication to the second part of the *Mad-Cap* is signed N. B.

In 1601, appeared the first volume of what seems to have been a literary controversy between Weever, Marston, and Breton. In that year one W. I., suspected to be John Weever² the epigrammatist with his initials reversed, printed *The Whipping of the Satyre*, an attack on Jonson, Marston, and Breton. To this a second writer, supposed from internal evidence to be Marston, launched a coarse and violent rejoinder, which he called *The Whipper of the Satyre, his penance in a white sheete*; or, *The Beadles Confutation*. Then, if not by Breton, very much in his manner, followed *No Whippinge nor trippinge, but a kinde friendly Snippinge*. All these temporary productions came from the press within the year. They are in the same small octavo size.]

About the same time, as I conjecture, were published [*Humors Antique Faces, drawne in proportion to his severall antique Festures*, 1605, and *Epigrammes served out in 52. severall Dishes, for every man to tast without surfeting*. By I. C. gent. In 1608, [April 11, was licensed to John, or Joseph, Busby and W. Holme,] *Epigrams, or Humours Lottery*. The same year [was published] *A Century of*

from the character of a ruffian, or bully. "When without money, his gingling spurre hath lost his voyce, his head his locke," &c. [Brathwaite's] *Whimzies*, 1631, p. 136.

¹ He says, p. 36,

"And tell prose writers, Stories are so stale,
That penie ballads make a better sale."

He mentions country-players, p. 31. *Pasquills Mad-cap* is applauded in *The Whippinge of the Satyre*, 1601, signat. F 3,

"That *Mad-cap* yet superiour praise doth win," &c.

In Decker's *Gul's Horne-book*, 1609, we have, "I am the *Pasquills Mad-cappe* that will doot."—p. 8. *Pasquills lefts, with the merriments of mother Bunch*, were published [in 1604, and are reprinted in *Old English Jest Books*, 1864.]

² The writer's initials are I. W. I believe this piece to be a reply to Rowlands. But in one place he seems to attack Marston, signat. D 3,

"But harke, I heare the Cynicke Satyre crie,
A man, a man, a kingdom for a man!"

He mentions the fatness of Falstaff, signat. D 3,

"That sir John Falstaffe was not any way
More grosse in body, than you are in brayne."

Epigrams, by R. W[est],¹ Bachelor of Arts, Oxon, and [*Epigrams and Satyres made by Richard Middleton, of Yorke, Gentleman.*] In 1619, *Newe Epigrams, having in their Companie a mad satyre*, by Joseph Martin, [were licensed to George Eld, but no edition earlier than that of 1621 is known at present,] and this bears a somewhat different title. In 1613, were published two books of epigrams, written by Henry Parrot, entitled, *Laquei ridiculosi, or Springes for Woodcockes. Caveat emptor.*² Many of them are worthy to be revived in modern collections. I am tempted to transcribe a specimen:

A Welshman and an Englishman disputed,
Which of their Lands³ maintain'd the greatest state:
The Englishman the Welshman quite confuted;
Yet would the Welshman nought his brags abate;
"Ten cookes in Wales (quoth he) one wedding fees;"
"True (quoth the other)—Each man toasts his cheefe."⁴

[In 1617, one W. B. produced the earliest attempt at an English Juvenal in a paraphrase of the tenth Book, under the fantastic title of *That which seems best is worst. Exprest in a Paraphrastical transcript of Juvenals Tenth Satyre.*

It might have been stated before that] John Weaver, the antiquary who wrote *Antient Funeral Monuments*, published a book of epigrams in 1599.⁵ [Some specimens of this rare volume are annexed from a copy which at one time belonged to Mr. Combe, of Henley.]

IN AUTHOREM.

I with my rough hewne lines might gratifie
The first born of thy pleasing poesie;
These be but blossomes, what will be the fruite
When time and age hath made thee more acute?
Meanwhile, however Momus bite the lippe,
Each man will praise the Weevers workmanship,
When witte [wittie] verbe is worthily regarded,
Then shall thy verbe be thankfully rewarded.

The following sonnet, a tribute to our great dramatic poet, was unexplored by his [earlier] commentators.

¹ I find *Merry Jest, concerning popes, monks, and fryers*, from the French, by R. W. Bachelor of Arts, of H. H. [Hart-Hall] Oxon, assigned to John Barnes. *Registr. Station.* D. f. 11, a. [They were published in 1617, 8vo, and among Mr. Pigott's books there seems to have been a 4to ed. without date. The *News from Bartholomew fayre*, I believe to have been by the R. West, who wrote *The Court of Conscience*, 1607.]

² In the Latin dedication, it appears they were written in 1611. [Parrot wrote several other volumes of the same description, one or two of which will be noticed hereafter.] *Shakeſp.* vol. viii. 409.

³ Countries.

⁴ Lib. i. Epigr. 9. Taylor, the water poet, has mentioned Parrot's Epigrams, in *Epigrams*, p. 263, fol. edit., Epigr. vii.

"My muse hath vow'd reuenge shall haue her swinge,
To catch a Parrot in the woodcockes springe."

See also p. 265, Epigr. xxxi.

⁵ They are cited in *Englands Parnassus*, 1600.

Tenth Week. Epig. 22.

AD GULIELMUM SHAKESPEARE.

Honie-tong'd Shakespeare, when I saw thine issue,
 I swore Apollo got them, and none other,
 Their rose-tainted features clothed in tissue,
 Some heaven-born goddesse said to be their mother.
 Rose-cheek't *Adonis*, with his amber tresses,
 Faire fire-hot Venus charming him to love her :
 Chaste *Lucretia*, virgine-like her dresses,
 Proud lust-stung Tarquin seeking still to prove her.
Romeo, *Richard*, more whose names I know not,
 Their sugred tongues and power attractive beauty,
 Say they are saints, although that saints they shew not,
 For thousand voves to them subjective dutie,
 They burn in love, thy children : Shakespeare ! let them,
 Go, wo thy Muse, more nymphish brood beget them.^{1]}

Weever's *Epigrams* are ranked among the best by Jonson.² Thomas Freeman, a student in Magdalen College, Oxford, about the year 1607, who appears to have enjoyed the friendship and encouragement of Owen, Shakespeare, Daniel, Donne, Chapman, and Heywood the dramatist, printed *Rub and a great Cast: Epigrams*, 1614. [On F 2 occurs : *Explicit Rub and a Great Cast. Sequitur Run and a great Cast*; and on the *verso* of the following leaf there is a half-title :] *Rub and a great Cast. The second Bowl*. Both sets are dedicated to Thomas Lord Windfor.

I am tempted to give the following specimen of our author's humour, more especially as it displays the growing extent of London, in the year 1614. Sign. B 3, Epigr. 13.

LONDONS PROGRESSE.

Quo ruis, ah demens ?

Why how nowe, Babel, whither wilt thou build ?
 I see old Holborne, Charing-crosse, the Strand,
 Are going to Saint Giles's in the field.
 Saint Katerne she takes Wapping by the hand,
 And Hogsdon will to Hygate, ere't be long.
 London is got a great way from the streame,
 I thinke she meanes to go to Idlington,
 To eate a dishe of strawberries and creame.
 The City's sure in progresse I surmise,
 Or going to revell it in some disorder,
 Without the walls, without the Liberties,
 Where she neede feare nor Mayor nor Recorder.
 Well, say she do, 'twere pretty, yet tis pittie,
 A Middlesex Bailiff should arrest the Citty."

This poetical rant has been verified far beyond the writer's imagination.

[For this odd title, which would seem to have travelled from the bowling-green, the author assigns a fanciful reason in the following lines :

Sphæra mihi calamus ; mundi sunt crimina nodi,
 Ipse sed est mundus sphæromachia mihi :
 Sive manere jubes, lector, seu currere sphæram,
 Lufori pariter, curre maneque placent.

¹ [Mr. Park's addition.]² Epigr. xviii. [*Works*, edit. 1816, viii. 161.]

Thomas Freeman was a Gloucestershireman, and born near Tewkesbury about 1590. At the age of sixteen, he became a student at Magdalen College, Oxford, where he took the degree of B.A. Retiring from thence to London, he set up for a poet, says Wood,¹ and was shortly after held in esteem by Daniel,² Donne, Shakespeare, Chapman, and others. To the poets here named, and also to Spenser's *Fairy Queen*, and Nash, he appears to have addressed epigrams; but it is not hence to be affirmed that he was personally acquainted with all of them. The specimen here given of our author's humour acquaints us that, even in his time, "London itself seemed going out of Town."]

Thomas Wroth, of Gloucester Hall, Oxford, about 1603 [annexed to his translation of a portion of Virgil, 1620, some epigrams, which he called:] *An Abortive of an idle Hour, or a century of Epigrams*.³

To [the year 1615 belongs Henry Parrot's⁴ other volume in this class of literature:] *The Mastive or young Whelpe of the old dogge. Epigrams and Satyres*. The advertisement to the reader is subscribed H. P. We are sure that they were at least written after Churchyard's death [in 1604]; for in the third Epigram the writer says, that Heywood was held for Epigrams the best, when Churchyard wrote.

Some of the critics of the author's days are thus described :

The mending poet takes it next in hand ;
 Who hauing oft the verses ouerscan'd,
 " O filching ! " straight doth to the stat'ner say,
 " Here's foure lines stolen from my last newe play."—
 Then comes my Innes of court-man in his gowne,
 Cryes, *Mew !* What hackney brought this wit to towne ?
 But soone again my gallant youth is gon,
 Minding the kitchen⁵ more than Littleton.
Tut what cares he for law, shall haue inough
 When's father dyes, that canker'd miser-chuffe.
 Next after him the countrey farmer⁶ views it,
 " It may be good, saith he, for those that vse it :
 " Shewe me king Arthur, Beuis, or Sir Guy," &c.⁷

In these days the young students of the Inns of Court seem to have been the most formidable of the critics.⁸

¹ *Athen. Oxon.* i. 398.

² [Mr. Park's addition. "In the last edition (1811) of Mr. Ellis's specimens, a more favourable instance has been shown of Freeman's poetical talent."—*Park*.]

³ They are mentioned with applause in Stradling's *Epigrammata*, 1607. [See *Handb. of E. E. Lit.* 1867, art. VIRGIL.]

⁴ [Parrot also wrote the *Mous-Trap*, 1606, 4to; *Epigrams*, by H. P. 1608; and *VIII. Cures for the Lich. Characters, Epigrams, Epitaphs*. By H. P. 1626. A ballad-maker is one of the characters.]

⁵ They were famous for their entertainments at the inns of court.

⁶ Country gentleman, yeoman.

⁷ Old romances. *Sat.* ii. Signat. H 3.

⁸ Hence, among a variety of instances, says Marston in the second preface to his *Scourge of Villany* :

"Some pedant spruce, or some span-new-come fry,
 Of Inns a-court, striving to vileſe
 My darke reproofes," &c.

The figure and stratagems of the hungry captain, fresh from abroad, are thus exposed :

Marke, and you love me. Who's yond' marching hither?
Some braue Low-Country Captain with his feather
And high-crown'd hat. See, into Paules¹ he goes,
To shoue his doublet and Italian hose.
The whiles his Corporal walkes the other ile,
To see what simple gulls he can beguile.²

The wars in Spain and the Low Countries filled the metropolis with a set of needy military adventurers, returning from those expeditions, who were a mixture of swaggering and submission, of flattery and ferocity, of cowardice and courage; who assumed a sort of professional magnanimity, yet stooped to the most ignominious insults; who endeavoured to attract the attention of the public by the splendour of martial habiliments, were ready for any adventures of riot and debauchery, and insinuated themselves into favour by hyperbolical narrations of their hazardous achievements. Jonson's Bobadil was of this race of heroic rakes. We have seen one of them admirably described by Marston.³

In 1600⁴ appeared a mixture of Satires and Epigrams, *The Letting of humours blood in the Head-Vaine. With a new Morisco daunced by Seauen Satyres, upon the bottome of Diogenes Tubbe*, written by Samuel Rowlands, [a prolific and very able writer of fugitive pieces during the reign of James I. He commenced authorship, however, as it here appears, while Elizabeth was still on the throne; and in

¹ The aides of Saint Paul's church were the fashionable walk.

² Sat. iii. signat. I 2.

³ And in another place, B. ii. 7 :

"What, meanst thou him, that in his swaggering flosps
Wallowes vnbraced all along the streete?
He that salutes each gallant he doth meete,
With *farewell capitaine, kind heart*, adew!
He that the last night, tumbling thou didst view,
From out the great man's head,* and thinking still,
He had been sentinell of warlike Brill," &c.

The *great man's head*, if the true reading, must be a cant word for the sign of some tavern. Harington has an Epigram of one getting drunk at the *Saracens head*. B. i. 52. Fennor mentions the Saracen's head, without Newgate, and another without Bishopsgate, both famous for ferocity of feature.—*The Completers Commonwealth*, &c., 1617, p. 3. Brill, which we now call The Brill, is a town in the Netherlands. See also Hall, *Sat.* iv. 4 :

"And pointed on the shoulders for the nonce,
As new come from the Belgian garriçons."

⁴ [This was issued in 1600 under that title, and was reprinted twice without date, but perhaps in 1601, under the title of *Humors Ordinarie*, &c., once in 8vo. and once in 4to. Reprinted by Sir Walter Scott in 1814. See the full particulars, and a copious list of the author's other works, in *Handb. of E. E. Lit.* art. ROWLANDS.] He praises Tarleton, the comedian, for his part of the Clowne and his Clownlike *sloppe*, Epigr. 30. And Pope for his part of the Clowne, *Sat.* iv. Singer the player is also mentioned, *ibid.*

* A sign.

1598 his maiden effort, a volume of sacred poems, entitled *The Betraying of Christ, &c.*, passed through two impressions.]

In a panegyric on Charnico, a potation mentioned by Shakespeare, he alludes to the unfortunate death of three cotemporary poets, two of whom are perhaps Greene and Marlowe, or perhaps George Peele : ¹

And for nine Worthies on his Hostis wall,²
He knowes three worthy drunkards passe thē alle :
The first of them, in many a Tauerne tride,
At last, subdued by *Aquavite*, dide.
His second Worthies date was brought to fine,
Feasting with Oysters and braue Renish wine.
The third, whom diuers Dutchmen held full deare,
Was stabbd by pickeld Herrings & strong beere.
Well, happie is the man doth rightly know,
The vertue of three cuppes of *Charnico* !³

The rotation of fashionable pleasures, and the mode of passing a day of polite dissipation in the metropolis, are thus represented. The speaker is Sir Revell, who is elegantly dressed in a dish-crowned hat and square-toed shoes :

Speake, Gent[l]emen, What shall we doe to day ?
Drinke some braue health vpon the Dutch carouse,⁴
Or shall we to the *Globe*, and see a Play ?
Or visit *Shorditch* for a Baudie house ?⁵
Let's call for Cardes, or Dice, and haue a Game :
To sit thus idle, &c.⁶

In another we have the accomplished fashion-monger :⁷

¹ It is called a *sparkling* liquor, in Goddard's *Mastif-Whelp*, Sat. 63. [See Notes to *Sec. P. Henr. VI.* act. ii. l. 3 :]

"I will steepe

Thy muddy braines in sparkling CHARNICO."

See Reed's *Old Plays*, iii. 457.

² Pictures on the walls of the tavern.

³ Sat. vi. Again, Epigr. 22. Marlow's end has been before related. Robert Green was killed by a surfeit of pickled herrings and Rhenish wine. This was in 1592. At which fatal banquet Thomas Nash was present. Meres says, that Peele died of the venereal disease.—*Wits Tr.* f. 285, p. 2. He must have been dead before, or in, 1598.

⁴ Marston asks, what a traveller brings from Holland, *Cert. Sat.* ii. :

"From Belgia what, but their deep bezing,
Their boote-carouse, and their beere-buttering."

Again, *Sc. Villan.* B. i. 3 :

"In Cyprian dalliance, and in Belgick cheere."

⁵ See George Wither's *Abuses stript and whipt*, 1615; *The Scourge*, p. 277 :

"But here approaches

A troop, with torches hurried in their coaches,
Stay, and behold, what are they ? I can tell,
Some bound for Shoreditch, or for Clarkenwell.
O, these are they which thinke that fornication," &c.

See above.

⁶ Epigr. 7.

⁷ I will subjoin the same character from Marston's *Scourge of Villanie*, which is more witty, but less distinct and circumstantial. B. iii. 11 :

Behold a most accomplished Caualeere,
That the worlds Ape of fashions doth appeare !
Walking the streetes his humors to disclose,
In the French Doublet and the German Hose:
The muffs, Cloake, Spanish Hat, Toledo blade,
Italian Ruffe, a Shoe right Flemish made :
Like Lord of misrule, where he comes he'le reuel, &c.¹

In another, of a beau still more affected, he says :

How rare his Spurs doth ring the Morris-dance !²

One of the swaggerers of the times who, in his rambles about the town, visits the Royal Exchange as a mercantile traveller, is not un- luckily delineated :

Sometimes into the *Reall Exchange* hee'le drop,
Clad in the ruines of a Brokers shop :
And there his tongue runs by as on affaires,
No talke but of commodities and Wares.
If Newes be harken'd for, then he preuailes,
Setting his Mint a worke to coyne false tales.³
Heele tell you of a Tree that he doth know,
Vpon the which Rapiers and Daggers grow,
As good as Fleetstreet hath in any shop,
Which being ripe, downe into Scabbards drop.
His wondrous trauels challenge such renowne,
That fir *John Mandiuel* is quite put downe.⁴

" This fashion-mounger, each morne, fore he rise,
Contemplates sute shapes, and once from out of bed,
He hath them straight full lively portrayed :
And then he chukes, and is as proude of this,
As Taphus when he got his neighbours blisse.
All fashions, since the first yeare of this queene,
May in his study fairely drawne be seene ;—
The long fooles coat, the huge slop, the lugd boote,
From mimick Pyso all doe claime their roote.
O, that the boundlesse power of the soule
Should be coup't vp in fashioning some roule ! "

See above, a fantastic beau by Hall.

¹ Epigr. 26.

² Epigr. 33. Boots were a mark of dignity or elegance, *ibid.* Epigr. 2 :

" He scornes to walke in *Paules* without his Bootes."

³ Hall has a character partly resembling this, Sat. vi. 1 :

" Tatteliu, the new-come traeller,
With his disguised coate, and ringed ear,
Trampling the bourses marble twice a day,
Tells nothing but starke truths, I dare well say," &c.

The *bourses marble* is the pavement of the Royal Exchange, now newly erected by Sir Thomas Gresham. The Royal Exchange seems to have been frequented by hungry walkers as well as Saint Paul's from Hayman's *Quodlibets*, &c., 1628. Epigr. 35, p. 6.

TO SIR PEARCE PENNILESSE.

" Though little coyne thy purselesse pockets lyne,
Yet with great company thou'rt taken vp ;
For often with duke Humfray thou dost dyne,
And often with Sir Thomas Gresham sup."

⁴ Hall alludes to Sir John Mandevill's *Travells*, a book not yet out of vogue. Sat. B. iv. 6 :

Men without heads, & *Pigmires* hand-breadth hie,
 Those with one legge, that on their backs do lie;
 And¹ do the weathers iniurie disdaine,
 Making their legges a penthouse for the raine.²

There is also a collection of satirical poems [by Rowlands] published originally in a kind of series before or in 1600, but not at present known except in comparatively late reprints. These publications were considered by the authorities to be objectionable, and were proscribed. They were entitled: *The Knaue of Clubbs*. *The Knaue of Harts*, *More Knaues yet?* *The Knaues of Spades and Diamonds*. *A Payre of Spy-knaues*. Of the three former, *The Knaue of Clubbs* and the *More Knaues Yet?* bear his initials;³ so does *A Payre of Spy-Knaues*, of which no perfect copy appears to have been preserved.

[The⁴ first of them [the Knaues] consists of satirical characters. The second is undesignated, and comprises Knaues of all kinds, with several sarcastic appendages. The third has an introductory epistle, and chiefly is composed of epigrams on proverbs, but not at all on the chief of ancient Heywood. The following specimen, though very hyperbolic, will exhibit the prevalence of certain fashions in the age of our first James:

[To *Madame MASKE* or *Francis FAN*.]

When men amazed at their busines stood,
 A speech was used, Faith, I am in a wood.
 To make an end of that same wooden phrase,
 There's order taken for it now a daies,
 To cut downe wood with all the speed they can,
 Transforming trees to maintaine Maske and Fan:
 So that the former speech being errorr tryed,
 A new way turn'd it must be verified.
 My ladies worship even from head to foot
 Is in a wood (nay, scarce two woods will doo't),
 To such a height Lucifer's sinne is growne,
 The Devill, pride, and Maddam are all one.
 Rents raisd, woods sold, house-keeping laid aside,
 In all things sparing, for to spend on pride.
 The poore complaining country thus doth say:
 Our fathers lopt the boughs of trees away:

"Or whetstone leefings of old Mandeuille."

And in the *Irish Banquet, or the Mayors feast of Youghall* (*Certain pieces of this age parabolized*, in Scot's *Philomythie*, 1616, signat. M 2.)

"Of Ladies loues, of Turnaies, and such fights
 As Mandeuille nere saw."

I have *The Spanish Mandeville of Miracles*, translated from the Spanish, Lond. 1618. The Dedication to Lord Buckhurst is dated 1600, [and the book was first published in the same year.]

¹ [And] those, who having legs, and lying on their backs, &c.

² Sat. i. In these Satires, Monsieur Domingo a drunkard is mentioned, Epigr. i. See Shakefp. *Sec. P. H. IV.* act v. l. 3.

³ [The *Four Knaues* were republished for the *Percy Society*, 1843. His *Greene's Ghost Haunting Cony-catchers* was reprinted in 1860 by Mr. Halliwell, and his *Humors Looking Glass*, 1608, has been quite lately reproduced by Mr. Collier.]

⁴ [This paragraph was added by Mr. Park.]

We, that more skill of greedy gaine have found,
Cut downe the bodies leuill with the ground :
The age that after our date shall succcede,
Will dig up rootes and all to serue their neede." Sig. F 1.

The Knave of Harts is made to say, that "the idle-headed French devis'd cards first."]

Gabriel Harvey, in his [*Four Letters and certaine Sonnets, &c.*], 1592, quotes some English hexameters, from "those unsatyrical satyres, which M. Spencer long since embraced in an overlooving sonnet."¹ This passage seems to indicate a set of satires, now unknown, to which Spenser had prefixed the undeserved honour of a commendatory sonnet, now equally forgotten.

Meres, who wrote in 1598, observes, "As *Horace, Lucilius, Iuuenall, Persius, & Lucullus*, are the best for Satyre among the Latines: so with vs in the same faculty these are chiefe: *Piers Plowman, Lodge, Hall of Imanuel Colledge* in Cambridge; the Author of *Pigmaliions Image and Certaine Satyrs*,² the Author of *Skialetheia*."³ And in another place, having cited some of Marston's satires, he adds Rankins as a satirist.

[The last-mentioned, who had published his *Mirror of Monsters* in 1587, and his *English Ape* in 1588, published, in 1598, *Seauen Satyres applyed to the weeke, including the worlds ridiculous follies. True Foelicity described in the Phoenix*. Maulgre. *Whereunto is annexed the wandring Satyre*. Rankins eventually followed the profession of a dramatist which, in his *Mirror*, 1587, he had vehemently decried. Gosson and Lodge, after writing for the stage, abandoned the occupation, and the former turned round, and vituperated the art and its followers.]

Wood also, a great dealer in the works of our old minor poets, yet at the same time a frequent transcriber from Meres, says, that [Thomas] Lodge, after he left Trinity College at Oxford, about the year 1576, and "had spent some time in exercising his fancy among the poets in the great city, was esteemed, not Joseph Hall of Emanuel college excepted, the best for satyr among English men."⁴ [Wood is referring to Lodge's well-known volume of Eclogues and Satires, *A Fig for Momus*, 1595.] Lodge was fitted for a different mode of composition. He was chiefly noted for pastorals, madrigals, and sonnets; and for his *Euphuus golden Legacy* [1590], which furnished the plot of the *As you like it* of Shakespeare. In an extended acceptance, many of the prose-pamphlets written about this period by Greene and Decker, which paint or expose popular foibles and fashions, particularly Decker's *Guls Horne-book*, a manual or directory for initiating an unexperienced spendthrift into the gaieties of the metropolis, might claim the appellation of satires. That the rage of writing satires and satirical epigrams continued

¹ Let. iii. p. 44.

² Marston's *Scourge of Villanie* had not yet appeared.

³ *Ath. Oxon.* i. 498.

⁴ Fol. 282, 2.

long, will appear from [Abraham Holland's] *Inquisition against Paper-persecutors* [printed in 1624].

Harington in his Epigrams mentions the satires of a poet whom he often attacks under the name of Lynus:¹

His Distickes, Satyres, Sonnets and Hexameters,
His Epigrams, his Lyrics, and Pentameters.

And again he has an Epigram "Against a foolish Satyrist, called Lynus."²

[Abraham Holland, in the work above cited, says:]

And shall it still be so? Nor is't more hard
To repaire Pauls, than to mend Pauls Churchyard?
Shall still the Youths that walke the Middle Ile,
To whet their stomacks before meales, compile
Their suddenn volumes, and be neuer barr'd
From scattering their Bastards through the Yard?
It is no wonder,
That Pauls so often hath beene strucke with Thunder;
Twas aimed at these Shops, in which there lie
Such a confus'd World of Trumpery,
Whose Titles each Terme on the Posts are rear'd,
In such abundance, it is to be fear'd
That they in time, if thus they goe on, will
Not only Little but Great Britaine fill
With their infectious Swarmes, whose guilty sheetes
I haue obserued walking in the streets;
Still lurking neare some Church, as if hereby
They had retired to a Sanctuarie,
For murdering Paper so.
Each driueling Lozel nowc,
That hath but scene a Colledge, and knows how, &c.

After having censured those who versified the Bible, and made it all Apocryphal, but with a compliment to the translators of Du Bartas, he adds:

Others that nere search'd newe borne Vice at all,
But the Seuen deadly Sinnes in generall,
Drawne from the Tractate of some cloyster'd Frier,
Will needs write Satyrs, and in raging fire
Exasperate their sharpe Poeticke straine;
And thinke they haue toucht it, if they raile at Spaine,
The Pope and Deuill.

The reader will recollect, that Saint Paul's Church-Yard and its environs, in which was Little Britain, abounded with shops and stalls of booksellers: that its steeple was thrown down by lightning in 1561; and that a general reparation of the church was now become a great object of the nation.

[One of the foregoing extracts contains a fly thrust at Thomas Bastard, author of *Chrestoleros*, 1598. It is singular enough that when Bastard published his volume, he thought that at all events the novelty of the subject would prove attractive, for in his dedication to Lord Mountjoy, he has this passage: "My Lorde, Epigrammes

¹ B. i. 67.

² B. i. 14. See also B. i. 41.

are a scarce worke, they haue euer had but fewe writers, and yet too many. If my booke please not, yet this, I shalbe sure of rare commendations, the greatest aduenture that I knowe : is to write," &c.] Randolph, in his *Strange Shew* (as he calls it) of "The Pedler," annexed to his *Arisippus*, 1630, ridicules the epigrammania still raging, where he speaks of a courtier buying of the pedlar :

A dainty Epigram on his Spaniels tail.

[Tofte's translation of *Ariosto's Satyres* appeared in 1608, as has been stated ; it is possible that they may have given rise to Anton's *Philosopher's Satyrs*, 1616. Anton was of Magdalen College, Cambridge, and is a writer of some merit. His satires were re-issued in 1617 under an altered title.]

For the sake of juxtaposition, I will here anticipate in throwing together the titles of some others of the most remarkable collections of satires and satirical epigrams, published between 1600 and 1620, meaning to consider hereafter those that best deserve, more critically and distinctly. *The Court of Conscience, or Dick Whippers Sessions* [by Richard West] appeared in 1607. *More fooles yet*, a collection of Epigrams, by [Roger Sharpe], in 1610. *The most elegant and witty Epigrams* of Sir [John] Harington, the translator of Ariosto [imperfectly], in 1615. Many of Harington's Epigrams were certainly written before. In Fitzgeoffrey's *Affania*, 1601, there is an epigram to Harington with these lines, preferring him to Heywood or Davies, as an English epigrammatist :¹

Sive arguta vago flectas epigrammata torno,
Sive Britannia magis sive Latina velis.
At tu Biblidicis malis comes ire Camenis,
Illis Haywoodos Davisiisque præis.

And in Sir John Stradling's Epigrams, 1607, there is one to Harington with this title,² "Ad D. I. Harrington, Equitem doctissimum, de quibusdam epigrammatis Stradlingo, equiti, dono missis, 1590;" and in Stradling's Epigrams we have two of Harington's translated into Latin.

[A MS. copy of Harington's *Epigrams*, in the Public Library, Cambridge, contains nine or ten epigrams which had not appeared in print till they were inserted by Mr. Reed in the *European Magazine* for Jan. 1789. The above MS. copy bears date 1600. Some of Harington's *Epigrams* were printed with *Alcilia, Philoparthen's Loving Folly*, &c., 1613 and 1628. The edition of them, published separately in 1615, is very imperfect. The collection was printed more completely in 1618.]

Jonson's *Epigrams* appeared [with his *Works*] in 1616.³ Henry Fitz-

¹ Sig. B 3, edit. 1618.

² Lib. i. p. 32.

³ Jonson's epigrams, as we have seen, are mentioned with Davies's, by Fitzgeoffrey, 1601. *Affan.* Lib. ii. signat. E 4.

"Davisiis lædis mihi, Jonsoniosque laceffis."

Of Davies, Harington says, "This Haywood [the epigrammatist] for his

geoffrey's *Satires* in 1617.¹ *Philomythie or Philomythologie, wherein outlandish birds, beasts, and fishes, are taught to speake true English plainly, by T. Scot, gentleman, including satires in long English verse, in 1610. The second part of Philomythie, [and two editions, much enlarged, of the first], by the same, 1616. Certaine pieces of this age parabolized, by the same, in 1616. George Wither, of [Bentworth, near Alton], in Hampshire, educated at Magdalen College in Oxford, and at Lincoln's Inn, afterwards an officer in Cromwell's army, and popular even among the puritans as a poet, published *Abuses stript and whipt, or Satyricall Essayes. Divided into two Bookes, in 1613. For this publication [of which there were at least eight separate impressions, and] which was too licentious in attacking establishments, and has a vein of severity unseasoned by wit, he suffered an imprisonment for many months in the Marshalsea [yet the volume itself was so popular, that it went through at least five editions in the same year]. Not being debarred the use of paper, pens and ink,² he wrote during his confinement an apology to James I. under the title of *A Satyre*, for his censures of the government in his first book. [This was published in 1615, and frequently afterwards: it procured his release.] But, like Prynne in the pillory railing at the bishops, instead of the lenient language of recantation and confession, in this piece he still perseveres in his invectives against the court. Being taken prisoner in the rebellion by the royalists, he was sentenced to be hanged; but Sir John Denham the poet prevailed with the king to spare his life, by telling his majesty, "So long as Wither lives, I shall not be the worst poet in England." The revenge of our satirist was held so cheap, that he was lampooned by Taylor the water poet.³ Richard Brathwaite, a**

prouerbs and epigrams is not yet put down by any of our country though one [Davies in the margin] doth indeede come neare him, that graces him the more in saying he put him downe," &c.—*Metamorphosis of Ajax*, &c. 1596. Signat. D 2. Again, "But as my good friend M. Dauies saide of his Epigrams, that they were made like doublets in Birchen-lane, for euery one whom they will serue," &c. *Ibid.* signat. I.

¹ In Hayman's *Quodlibets*, 1628, there is one, "To the reverend, learned, and acute, Master Charles Fitz-Geoffrey, bachelor in diuinity, my especiall kind friend, and most excellent poet." He compares him to Homer, being blind of one eye. B. i. 111, p. 18. This was Charles the author of the Latin Epigrams, above mentioned.

² [Such was the unsubdued addition of Wither to poetical composition, that when he was debarred the use of paper, pens, and ink, during a subsequent confinement in the Tower, he continued to write verses with ochre on three trenchers, which he afterwards printed in a tract entitled *A Proclamation*, &c. See the *Brit. Bibliogr.* p. 434.—*Price*.]

³ The titles of Wither's numerous pieces may be seen in Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* i. 392, *seq.* He was born in 1588, and died in 1667. He has left some anecdotes of the early part of his life, in the first book of his *Abuses. The Occasion*, p. 1. *seq.* In Hayman's *Epigrams*, 1628, there is one, "To the accute Satyrift, Master George Wither," Epigr. 20. And 21, p. 61.

Here might be mentioned "*Essayes and Characters, ironickall and instructive, &c.* By John Stephens the younger, of Lincolnes inn, Gent." 1615. Mine is a second impression. Many of the Essayes are Satires in verse. [Of Stephens

native of [Westmoreland], admitted at Oriel College, Oxford, in 1604, and afterwards a student at Cambridge, chiefly remembered, if remembered at all, as one of the minor pastoral poets of the reign of James I. published in 16[21], *Natures embassie, or the Wildemans Measures, Danced naked, by twelve Satyres, with sundry others,*¹ &c.

[John Davies of Hereford, the author of a large variety of dull, but once popular, effusions in verse, thus ridicules the minute commemorations of unhistorical occurrences in the Chronicles of Holinshed and Stow :

Some Chroniclers that write of Kingdomes States,
Doe so absurdly fableize my White
With Maskes, and Enterludes, by day and night,
Balld Maygames, Beare-baytings, and poore Orations,
Made to some Prince by some poore Corporations.
And if a Bricke-bat from a Chimney falls,
When puffing Boreas nere so little bralls
Or wanton Rig, or letcher dissolute,
Doe stand at Paules-Crosse in a Sheeten Sute :
All these, and thousand such like toyes as these,
They clap in Chronicles like Butterflies
And so confound graue Matters of Estate
With plaies of Poppets, and I wot not what.
Ah good Sir Thomas Moore (fame be with thee,)
Thy Hand did blesse the English Historie !
• • • • •

As also when the Weather-cock of Poules
Amended was, this Chronicler enroles, &c.²

Owen's idea of an epigram points out the notion which now prevailed of this kind of composition, and shows the propriety of blending the epigrams and satires of these times, under one class. A satire, he says, is an epigram on a larger scale. Epigrams are only satires in miniature. An epigram must be satirical, and a satire epigrammatical ;³ and Jonson, in the Dedication of his Epigrams to Lord Pembroke, who was so far from viewing this species of verse in its original plan, as the most harmless and inoffensive species of verse, that he supposes it to be conversant above the "likenesse of vice and facts," and is conscious that epigrams "carry danger in the sound." Yet in one of his epigrams, addressed *To my meere English*

Characters there were two editions in 1615, greatly differing, and a third in 1631.]

[Warton here enumerates some of Rowlands's tracts (*The Four Knaves*), which are much more copiously described in the *H. of E. Lit.* in voce, and *supr.*]

¹ In his satire on *Adulterie*, are these lines, p. 30 :

And when you haue no favours to bestow,
Lookes are the lures which drawe Affection's bow.

To these pieces is annexed *The Second Section of Divine and Morall Satyres*, &c. This is dedicated to S. W. C. by R. B. See also Brathwaite's *Strappado for the Devil*, 1615.

² [*Scourge for Paper-Persecutors*, 1624, sign. B 4.]

³ Hayman above quoted thus recommends his own epigrams. *Quodlibets*, B. iv. 19, p. 61.

"Epigrams are like Satyrs, rough without,
Like chesnuts sweet ; take thou the kernell out."

Censurer, he professes not exactly to follow the track of the late and most celebrated epigrammatists :

To thee my way in Epigrammes seemes newe,
When both it is the old way and the true.
Thou saist that cannot be: for thou hast seene
Davis, and Weever, and the best have beene,
And mine come nothing like, &c.

This, however, discovers the opinion of the general reader.¹
Freeman also celebrates Davies :

Haywood wrote Epigrams, and so did Davis,
Reader, thou doubtst *utrum horum major*.²

[The following celebration of the same epigrammatists occurs in Sloane MS. 1889 :

Haiwood and Davis, I avouch your writt
Famous for art, invention, and witt.
In you itt seem'd, by each your learned scrowle,
Successively descended Martiall's soule.
Compard to you, wee fluttish are and fowle,
Fearing the light, like the deformed owle :
Our bastard eglets dare not see the sun
So boldlv as your true-borne babes have donne.
Yet bee it knowne, wee dare look tow'rds the light,
Though not like you, nor in so great a height.]

In Dunbar's Latin Epigrams, 1616, there is a compliment to Davies of Hereford, author of the *Scourge of Folly*, as a Satyrift or Epigrammatist.³

[Heath, in his *Claraftella*, 1650, has the following odd tribute addressed "To one that asked me why I would write an English epigram after Ben Jonson :

How! dost thou ask me why my ventrous pen
Durst write an English epigram after Ben ?
Oh ! *after* him is manners :—though it would
Fore him have writ, if how it could have told.—*Park*.]

Of the popularity of the epigram about the year 1600, if no specimens had remained, a proof may be drawn, together with evidences of the nature of the composition, from Marston's humorous character of *Tuscus*, a retailer of wit :

But roome for Tuscus, that iest-mounging youth,
Who nere did ope his apish gurning mouth,
But to retaile and broke anothers wit.
Discourfe of what you will, he straight can fit
Your present talke, with, *Sir, I'll tell a iest*,—
Of some sweet ladie, or graund lord at least.
Then on he goes, and nere his tongue shall lie,
Till his ingrossed iests are all drawne dry :
But then as dumbe as Maurus, when at play
Hath lost his crownes, and paun'd his trim array.

¹ Epigr. xviii. [*Works*, edit. 1816, viii. 161.]

² [*Run and a Great Cast*, 1614, Epigr. 100.]

³ [*Epigramm.* p. 66.]

He doth nought but retaile iests : breake but one,
 Out flies his table-booke : let him alone,
 He'le haue it i' faith. Lad, haft an epigram,
 Wil't haue it put into the chaps of fame ?
 Giue Tufcus copies ; sooth, as his owne wit,
 (His proper issue) he will father it, &c.¹

And the same author says, in his postscript to *Pigmalion* :

Now by the whyps of *Epigramatists*,
 Ile not be lasht.

One of Harington's epigrams is a comparison of the Sonnet and the Epigram :

Once by mishap two poets fell a squaring,
 The Sonnet and our Epigram comparing,
 And Faustus hauing long demur'd vpon it
 Yet at the last gaue sentence for the Sonnet,
 Now, for such censvre, this his chiefe defence is,
 Their sugred tast best likes his likrous senses.
 Well, though I grant fugar may please the tast,
 Yet let my verse haue salt to make it last.²

In the *Return from Parnassus* [printed in 1606, acted] some time before, Sir Roderick says, "I hope at length England will be wise enough : I hope so i' faith ; then an old knight may haue his wench in a corner, without any *Satires* or *Epigrams*."³ In Decker's [*Poetaster*, 1602,] Horace, that is Jonson, exclaims in a passion, "Sirrah ! I'll compose an Epigram vpon him shall go thus—"⁴

[The reign of Elizabeth, which abounded in maritime enterprises and triumphs, added to our poetical annals, as a natural consequence, a larger number of ephemeral productions in the shape of welcomes, congratulations, and valedictions by writers, whose very names were, in some cases, unknown to our earlier writers. The omission of these obscure specimens of versification might be of no consequence at all, if it did not happen occasionally that they threw light on the biography of a distinguished man.]

It appears from Kempe's *Nine Daies Wonder*, 1600,⁵ that Anthony Munday was famous for writing ballads. In *The request to the impudent generation of Ballad-makers*, Kempe calls him, "one whose employment for the Pageant was vtterly spent, he being knowne to be Eldertons immediate heyre." He seems to have been much employed by the booksellers as a compiler both in verse and prose,⁶

¹ *Sc. Villan.* B. iii. 11.

² *Epigr.* B. i. 37.

³ A. ii. sc. 2.

⁴ Edit. 1602. Sign. C 2. Again, *ibid.* "Heere be *Epigrams* vpon Tucca." E 3. "They are bitter Epigrams composd on you by Horace." F 3. "A gentleman, or honest citizen, shall not sit in your pennie-bench theaters with his squirrell by his side cracking nuttes, but he shall be satyred and epigrammed vpon," &c. H 3. "It shall not be the whippinge o' th' satyre nor the whipping of the blind beare," &c. L 3. "He says here, you diuulged my epigrams." H. "And that same Pasquills-madcap nibble," &c. A.

⁵ [Edit. 1840, p. 21. The matter here lifted up into the text formed, in all the former editions, a hopelessly confused mass of blundering notes, thrust into a wholly inappropriate place.]

⁶ [See *Handb. of E. E. Lit.* 1867, art. MUNDAY, where as complete a list of his

and he contrived several of the city-pageants between 1605 and 1616. It is probable that Meres, when he called him the best plotter, had an eye, however, to his more strictly dramatic performances, of which several are extant, while others seem to be lost. Webbe, in his *Discourse of English Poetrie*, 1586, may refer to Munday's unrecovered work licenced in 1583, under the title of *The Sweete Sobbes and amorous Complaints of Sheppardes and Nymphs, in a fancye*,¹ where he speaks of him as "an earnest traueeller in this art," by whom he has seen "very excellent works, especially upon nymphs and shepherds, well worthy to be viewed, and to be esteemed as rare poetry." In Jonson's play entitled *The Case is altered*, 1609,² written many years before, Munday is ridiculed under the name of *Antonio Balladino*, and probably in allusion to what Meres had said in 1598, it is added: "You (meaning *Balladino*) are in print already for the best plotter." With his city-pageants, I suppose he was dumb-show maker to the stage. One of the *Addresses* prefixed to Chettle's *Kind Harts Dreame* (1593), is an ironical Admonition to the Ballad-fingers of London, from *Antonie Now Now*, or *Anthony Munday*. From this it seems that the ancient and respectable profession of ballad-making as well as ballad-finging was in high repute about the metropolis, and in the country fairs.³ "When I was liked," says *Antonie*, "there was no thought of that idle vpstart generation of ballad-fingers, neither was there a printer so lewd that would set his finger to a lasciuious line. But now," he adds, "ballads are abusively chanted in every street; and from London this evil has overspread Essex and the adjoining counties. There is many a tradesman of a worshipful trade, yet no stationer who, after a little bringing vpe apprentices to finging brokerie, takes into his shoppe some fresh men, and trustes his olde seruauntes of a two months standing with a dosen groates worth of ballads. In which if they prove thriftie, he makes them pretty chapmen, able to spred more pamphlets by the state forbidden, than all the booksellers in London." The names of many ballads are here also recorded, *Watkins Ale*,⁴ the *Carmans Whistle*, *Chopping Knives*, and *Frier Fox-Taile*. Out-roaring Dick and Wat Wimbers, two celebrated trebles, are said to have got twenty shillings a day by finging at Braintree Fair in Essex.

writings as could be made will be found. His two dramatic compositions on the subject of Robin Hood are reprinted in Mr. Collier's *Suppl. to Dodley*, 1833; and specimens of his *Fidele and Fortunio* are given in Mr. Halliwell's "Literature of the 16th and 17th centuries illustrated," 1851. The Shakespeare Society printed his *John A Kent and John A Cumber* from the Mostyn MS. in 1851, and some of his miscellaneous tracts are reprinted *ibidem*. The editor of that volume has prefixed a memoir of Munday's, with a catalogue of his works, which latter is neither accurate nor complete. Gifford, in his edit. of Jonson's *Works*, 1816, vi. 325, has a notice of Munday. Warton's bibliography is of course very imperfect.]

¹ [*Handb. of E. E. Lit.* 1867, v. *Munday*.]

² [*Works*, edit. 1816, vi. 325.]

³ Signat. C.

⁴ [Mr. Huth's *Ancient Ballads and Broadfides*, 1867, p. 370, where this ballad is reprinted.]

Munday was bred at Rome, in the English College, and was thence called the Pope's scholar. The information which he collected during his sojourn there he utilized in his tract entitled *The English-Romayne Life*, of which there were two editions, one in 1582, the other in 1590.

Munday's *Discoverie of Edmund Campion and his Confederates*, printed in 1582, gave great offence to the Catholics, and produced two replies, one by George Ellyot,¹ the other by an anonymous Popish priest.² At the end of the latter is a *Caveat* containing some curious anecdotes of Munday:—"Munday was first a stage player; after an aprentise, which time he well served by with deceeving of his master. Then wandring towards Italy, by his owne reporte, became a cosener in his journey. Coming to Rome, in his shorte abode there, was charitably relieved, but neuer admitted in the Seminary, as he pleased to lye in the title of his booke; and being wery of well doing, returned home to his first vomite, and was hift from his stage for folly. Being thereby discouraged, he set forth a balet against playes,—tho he afterwards began again to ruffle upon the stage. I omit among other places his behaviour in Barbican with his good mistres and mother. Two things however must not be passed over of this boyes infelicitie two feuerall wayes, of late notorious. First, he writing upon the death of Everard Haunfe was immediately controled and disproued by one of his owne hatche. And shortly after setting forth the Aprehenzion of Mr. Campion—"

In 1618 Munday re-edited Stow's³ *Survey of London*, with additions which he alleges that he received from the author's own hands. He prepared a still more complete impresson, but did not live to see it through the press, dying on the 10th August, 1633.⁴ He was a member of the Drapers' Company, and lies buried in Coleman Street churchyard. His collections of Middlesex Arms, formerly in Sir Simeon Stuart's possession, are now in the British Museum.

Besides his original productions, Munday was an industrious translator from the French of many works of a romantic and popular character.⁵

I do not recollect to have seen any of [Henry] Chettle's comedies, [of which, however, he wrote several, chiefly in conjunction with other dramatists.] He produced a little romance with some verses

¹ [*Handb. of E. E. Lit.* 1867, v. ELLYOT.]

² [*Ibid.* v. CAMPION.]

³ [See Shakespeare Society's edition of *John-a-Kent and John-a-Cumber*, 1851, lxix-xxii.]

⁴ [It was published in the same year in folio, with the names of Munday and H[umphrey] D[yson], on the title-page as the editors, Dyson having taken up the work where his colleague was obliged to relinquish it.]

⁵ [See *Handb. of E. E. Lit.* 1867, arts. BORDELOIS. It appears from a passage in Chettle's *Kind Hearts Dreame* (1593), that the epistle prefixed to the Second Part of *Gerileon of England* was wrongly given at the time to T. Nash.]

intermixed, entitled: *Piers Plainnes seu en yeres Prentiship*, 1595; also, another pamphlet containing anecdotes of the petty literary squabbles, in which he was concerned with Greene, Nash, Tarlton, and the Players, under the title of *Kind-Harts Dreame* (1593). In the Epistle prefixed to the Gentlemen Readers, and signed by him, he says: "About three moneths since [in September, 1592,] died M. Robert Greene, leauing many papers in sundry Booke-sellers handes, among others his *Groats Worth of Wit*, in which a letter written to diuers Play-makers is offensively by one or two of them taken." The work consists of four or five Addresses, of which the first has just been cited. Another is from Robert Greene to Pierce Pennilefs; a third from Tarlton to all maligners of honest mirth. "Is it not lamentable," says he, "that a man should spende his two pence on plays in an afternoone!—If players were suppressed, it would be to the no smal profite of the Bowlinge Alleys in Bedlam and other places that were wont in the afternoones to be left empty by the recourse of good fellowes vnto that vnprofitable recreation of stage-playing. And it were not much amisse would they ioine with the Dicing-houses to make sute againe for their longer restrainte, though the Sicknesse cease—While Playes are vſide, halfe the day is by most youtthes that haue libertie spent vpon them, or at least the greatest company drawne to the places where they frequent." This is all in pure irony. The last *Address* is from William Cuckoo, a famous master of legerdemain, on the tricks of jugglers.]

In *Englands Helicon*, [1600,] are [four] pieces, signed *H. C.* [that is,] Henry Constable,¹ a noted sonnet-writer of these times. I have *Diana, or the excellent conceitfull Sonnets of H. C. Augmented with diuers quatorzains of honourable and learned personages*. Diuided into viij. Decads. *Vincitur a facibus qui jacit ipse facies*. [1594.] 16mo.² [These are by Henry Constable. The last sonnet is *A calculation upon the birth of an honourable ladies daughter, borne in the yeere 1588, and on a Friday* :

Fayre by inheritance, whom born we see
Both in the wondrous yeere and on the day
Wherein the fairest planet beareth sway :
The heavens to thee this fortune doe decree :
Thou of a world of hearts in time shalt be
A monarch great, and with one beauties ray
So many hots of hearts thy face shall slay,
As all the rest for love shall yeeld to thee.
But even as Alexander when he knewe
His fathers conquests, wept, least he should leave
No kingdome unto him for to subdue :
So shall thy mother thee of praise bereave :

[¹ Constable's genuine works were collected by the present writer in 1859, 8vo. They were first partially published in 1592, 4to. A second edition appeared in 1594, with several pieces from other pens. An edition of 1597 has been mentioned, but never seen. One of 1604, also inserted in catalogues, is certainly supposititious.]

[² The copy is now in the Bodleian Library, having been given to Malone by Joseph Warton. See Prior's *Life of Malone*, 1860, pp. 177-8.]

So many hearts already thee hath slaine,
As few behind to conquer do remaine.¹

It would not at all be difficult to select some very favourable and pleasing specimens of Constable's skill in versification. If he had not in any high degree the true genius of poetry, at least he may be said to have possessed a large share of poetical taste and enthusiasm, and while he steered clear of two cardinal vices of the age, coarseness and insipidity, to have produced a considerable number of sonnets of uncommon elegance and even beauty. The following may be offered in justification of this criticism.² The first is headed *To his Mistress, upon occasion of a Petrarch he gave her, shewing her the reason why the Italian commenters dissent so much in the exposition thereof*:

Miracle of the world! I never will denye
That former poets prayse the beautie of theyre dayes;
But all those beauties were but figures of thy prayse,
And all those poets did of thee but prophesye.
Thy coming to the world hath taught us to descrie
What Petrarch's Laura meant—for truth the lips bewrayes—
Loe! why th' Italians, yet which never saw thy rayes,
To find oute Petrarch's sence such forged glosses trye.
The beauties which he in a vayne enclos'd beheld,
But revelations were within his surest heart
By which in parables thy coming he foretold;
His songes were hymnes of thee, which only now before
Thy image should be funge; for thou that goddesse art
Which only we withoute idolatry adore.

The next specimen, with which we must conclude our sketch, is headed, *To the King of Scots, whome as yet he had not seene*:

Bloome of the rose! I hope those hands to kisse
Which yonge, a scepter, which olde, wisdom bore;
And offer up joy-sacrifice before
Thy altar-throne for that received blisse.
Yet, prince of hope! suppose not for all this
That I thy place and not thy guifts adore;
Thy scepter, no thy pen, I honoure more;
More deare to me then crowne thy garland is:
That laurell garland which, if hope say true,
To thee for deeds of prowesse shall belong,
And now allreadie unto thee is due,
As to a David for a kinglie throne.
The pen wherewith thou dost so heavenly singe³
Made of a quill pluck't from an angells winge.

It is an opinion generally received among poetical antiquaries, that Constable belonged to an ancient Roman Catholic family of that name in Yorkshire.⁴ The place and date of his birth are alike uncertain; but we shall not perhaps be far from the truth in assigning the latter to the year 1555 or 1556. Constable finished his educa-

¹ [Edit. 1859, p. 18. There is a copy in MS. Ashmole 38.]

² [Edit. *ut supra*, p. 27.] ³ [*Ibid.* p. 33.]

⁴ [To the notice of Constable here introduced may be added a capital memoir of the poet in the first number of the *Register*, from the pen of Mr. Thompson Cooper.]

tion at St. John's College, Cambridge; and in 1579, according to Mr. Malone, he was admitted to the degree of B.A. During the greater part of Elizabeth's reign, the poet appears to have passed his time between England and Scotland; but it is probable that he chiefly resided at his mother university. The talents of Constable, aided by the respectability of his connections, gradually introduced him to the acquaintance of several distinguished persons both at Cambridge and about the Court; among others, the Earl of Essex, the Earl and Countess of Shrewsbury, and Mr. Anthony Bacon: and his intercourse with them, in many cases, ripened into intimacy. His religious opinions, however, which were, of course, opposed to the Established Church, eventually involved him in serious trouble. He was suspected of being a party to certain disloyal proceedings against the government of the Queen by opening a treasonable correspondence with France:¹ and he was obliged to avoid the consequences of ulterior proceedings against him by leaving the country.² He sought refuge in France, where he appears to have had friends; this happened in 1595. On the 6th of October of that year, we find him writing from Paris to Anthony Bacon. On the 7th of December following, he addressed a communication to Lord Essex from the same place, in which he writes: "I beseech your Lordship to let me know by some means, which in your wisdom you may think good, how I stand in your gracious opinion, and what I may do (my duty to God and my religion reserved) to wish or encrease it." Soon afterwards the exile removed to Rouen, where he certainly remained till October, 1596.

The mind of Constable, though agreeably distracted by a tour round the continent, in the course of which he informs us that he visited Poland, Italy, and the Low Countries, was by no means easy in his banishment; and he was unceasing in his endeavours to procure leave to return home. For this purpose he addressed several letters to Lord and Lady Shrewsbury, praying them to exert their influence in his favour. But, all his applications having proved unsuccessful, he adopted, about 1601 or 1602, the desperate resolution of coming in a clandestine manner to England. The result was, that he was soon discovered, and committed to the Tower, from which, after repeated petitions to the Privy Council, he obtained his release only toward the close of 1604. Mr. Park appears to have thought, that he was liberated in the preceding year; but that such was not the case a letter, addressed to Lord Shrewsbury, on the 1st of May, 1604, from the Tower, furnishes conclusive evidence.

Subsequently to 1604, no information of a tangible kind can be discovered respecting the subject of the present notice. In 1606,

¹ He complains that his letters were intercepted and opened.

² There is some reason to conclude that Constable spent no inconsiderable portion of his time in Scotland during his earlier life, and it is surmised that he obtained some employment about the person of the Queen; after whose death he continued to enjoy the esteem of her son, to whom some of his sonnets are addressed.

however, the author of the *Returne from Pernassus; or the Scourge of Simony*, a play, speaks of him as follows:

Sweet Constable doth take the wond'ring ear,
And lays it up in willing prisonment.

And ten years later, Edmund Bolton observes, in his *Hypercritica*: "Noble Henry Constable was a great master of the English tongue: nor had any gentleman of our time, a more pure, quick, or higher delivery of conceit." With less felicity, he continues: "Witness, among all other, that Sonnet of his before His Majesty's *Lepanto*."

Constable has experienced a fate not uncommon to authors, whose writings are very little known. By some he has been unduly extolled as "the first Sonneteer" of his time, and so forth, while from others he has received a degree of censure, which is more than equally unwarrantable. Webbe and Meres make not the least mention of him: Winstanley treats him with almost equal brevity; and by Edward Phillips, in his *Theatrum Poetarum*, he is dismissed as a writer "who has been thought by some not unworthy to be remembered and quoted." On the other hand, Bolton, in the work already cited, is disposed to commend him as "a rare gentleman," and "a great master of the English tongue;" but the latter, with strange want of taste, selected, as a sample of the rest, the Poet's commendatory Sonnet prefixed to the *Poetical Exercises of James I.*, which is assuredly not one of his most meritorious effusions. Perhaps he, in this case, too blindly followed Sir John Harington who, many years before, had printed the same piece in the notes to his *Orlando Furioso*, 1591, taking that occasion to speak of its author as "his very good friend." Again, Ben Jonson, in his *Underwoods*, pays the following compliment to the author of *Diana*:

Hath our great Sydney Stella set,
Where never star shone brighter yet?
Or Constable's ambrosiac muse
Made Diana not his notes refuse?

Another graceful tribute to the muse of Constable was offered to the poet by one of his contemporaries in two sonnets which will be found printed elsewhere.¹

In his translation of Varchi's *Blazon of Jealousie*, 1615, 4to, the celebrated Robert Tofte has made some extracts from the writings of Constable, whom he commemorates as his "old acquaintance." Constable's sixty-three Sonnets occur among Francis Davison's memoranda of "MSS. to get;" this number nearly corresponds with that of his pieces in a MS. which once belonged to Todd, the editor of Spenser.

Drayton also, in an edition of his poems published in 1603, cursorily alludes to our poet in illustrating the variety of taste, which prevailed in respect to poetical literature at the time of his writing. The passage is short, and may be here fitly quoted:

[¹ *Poems*, edit. 1859, p. xvii.]

Many there be excell'g in this kind
 Whose well-trick'd rhymes with all invention swell;
 Let each commend as best shall like his mind:
 Some Sydney, Constable, some Daniel.¹

Independently of the character of Constable as a poet, some estimate may be formed from his letters, several of which have been fortunately preserved, and which refer almost exclusively to matters of personal history, of his character as a man. Our poet appears to have been gifted with a patriotic spirit and a liberal mind, to have possessed more than a common share of shrewdness and good sense, and to have entertained wide and enlarged views on religious and political questions. Constable's talents introduced him to the friendship of many persons of rank and power; but they also procured for him the unenviable, and perhaps unjust, distinction of being a man dangerous to the safety and peace of the State. So much does this seem to have been the case that, while the poet was at Rouen, in Oct. 1596, Lord Shrewsbury took occasion, in a letter which he addressed to Sir R. Cecil, to apprise him of the movements of the exile, and to assure Mr. Secretary of his earnest desire to avoid all communication with him.

Among the State Papers relating to Scotland, preserved in the Public Record Department, occur a few other letters, principally addressed to Sir R. Cecil by his Scottish correspondents, in which Constable is mentioned by name, and from a perusal of which it becomes clear that his movements were watched with singular interest by that minister's agents at Edinburgh and elsewhere. The letters in question are in most cases, it is true, merely corroborative of points which have been already treated at sufficient length: yet, at the same time, there are one or two instances in which they throw some additional light on the poet's proceedings as a diplomatist, as well as on other features of his personal history. For instance, from a comparison of several letters written to Cecil by George Nicholson between March, 1599, and September, 1600, it is to be collected that, in the former year, Constable having quitted France, went to Scotland, accompanied by the Laird of Boniton, "a great papist," as Nicholson terms him, with the twofold design of offering his services to King James, and of effecting some negotiation on behalf of the Pope, an interview with whom had probably formed a leading object in Constable's recent visit to Italy. The poet was not at all successful. The king, naturally reluctant to incur Elizabeth's displeasure, at this particular juncture, by lending open encouragement to a person who had so lately been banished by the English government, not only refused him the audience, which it appears by a letter from Roger Aston to Cecil (March 6, 1599) he had solicited, but caused him to be cited before the Lords of Session to answer for his conduct. The simple consequence was, that Constable was

¹ There is a passing mention of our poet in Sam. Holland's *Romancio-Mastrix*, 1660; but it is too unimportant to call for particular notice.

obliged to return in the same year to France. Again, from *Advices from Scotland*, preserved in the repository already indicated, we learn that in April, 1600, he had found his way into Spain, and had written to the king from Arragon. Lastly, on the 22nd of September following, Nicholson wrote Cecil word that His Majesty had just then received "a book written by Henry Constable."

Thomas Watson, whose name has already been incidentally mentioned as one of the literary ornaments of the Elizabethan era, remains to be noticed as one of the best sonneteers of a period more than usually rich in writers of sonnets. Watson was a native of London, according to Wood, and spent some time at Oxford. He appears to have devoted himself to the study of the common law. Scarcely any particulars of his life are known. The date of his birth is uncertain: he appears to have been dead in 1593. Watson's earliest appearance in print, so far as is at present known, was as the author of a Latin version of the *Antigone* of Sophocles, published in 1581; but in the following year he gave to the press his *Passionate Century of Love*, a collection of sonnets composed on a variety of themes. These were the productions which George Steevens somewhat fantastically and arbitrarily preferred to the sonnets of Shakespeare; their inferiority is so palpable that it is to be regretted, on Watson's account, that a comparison injurious to his real merits and justly deserved reputation should ever have been made. Placed even side by side with Shakespeare, his genius is dwarfed almost to extinction, while the works which he has left to us, judged by a fair standard, and in connection with the sonnet literature of his day, acquire a strong claim to attention and admiration. It is as a sonneteer that Watson has gained his laurels among such few as happen to feel an interest in our early literature, and to devote any moments of leisure to a study of the minor authors of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Among these Watson must undoubtedly be regarded as entitled to take high rank, for not only has he displayed great versatility of talent and much elegance of accomplishments as a contributor to the various branches of English poetical literature,¹ but in the very school of composition which excited in his favour the enthusiasm of Steevens, he has left a volume excelling greatly in merit the much-vaunted *Ecatompathia*, and possessing for us the interesting and valuable feature of presenting the latest and maturest efforts of Watson's genius. The book, of which no perfect copy has yet been recovered, was entitled *The Tears of Fancie, or Love Disdained*, and originally consisted of sixty sonnets, of which eight are unfortunately missing in the unique copy which was once in the Heber collection. But more than enough remains to shew conclusively the mastery of the author over this style and class of poetry, and to secure for him by virtue of a work unknown to Steevens nearly as high a place in the sonnet literature of England as that

¹ See a list of his works in *Handb. of E. E. Lit.* 1867, art. WATSON, and his *Poems*, edit. 1870, Introd.]

critic somewhat inconsiderately and rashly demanded for him on the unseconded strength of the *Ecatompathia*. The *Tears of Fancy* appeared in 1593, and is supposed to have been a posthumous publication. Where the great merit and literary value of the contents of this work are insisted on, it is scarcely necessary perhaps to mention that even here there is no approach to the superlative excellence of Shakespeare; but at the same time, in endeavouring to fix his place among his contemporaries, it might be a difficult task to select from the writings of Barnfield, Constable, Griffin, or any other author in the same group or series, specimens which should surpass sonnets taken at random from the *Tears of Fancy*, not to say many selected from the earlier and inferior volume. A new labourer in the field of early English literature has recently made all Watson's principal works accessible,¹ so that a single specimen from the *Tears of Fancy*, 1593, may perhaps be sufficient to illustrate the preceding remarks, and to make the reader wish for more. But it cannot be denied that it would be impossible to choose any sonnet which should be absolutely free from false sentiment, phraseology, or imagery. Even Shakespeare could not completely throw off the shackles of that school of conceit which had set in before his time, and outlived him. The following is the introductory sonnet, or *Envoy*:

Goe, idle lines, vnpolisht, rude, and base:
Vnworthy words to blason beauties glory:
(Beauty that hath my restles hart in chaise,
Beauty the subiect of my ruefull story)
I warne thee shunne the bower of her abiding,
Be not bold ne hardy as to view her:
Least thee iraged with thee fall a chiding,
And so her anger proue thy woes renewer.
Yet if thee daigne to rew thy dreadfull smart,
And reading laugh, and laughing so mislike thee:
Bid her desist, and looke within my hart,
Where thee may see how ruthles thee did strike mee.
If thee be please, though thee reward thee not,
What others say of me, regard it not.

When the foregoing sonnet had been almost transcribed, it was discovered that it had been selected elsewhere² as a favourable specimen of the book, and of Watson's poetical powers.

Some mention has already occurred incidentally of Richard Barnfield, a graduate of Oxford, and one of the most prominent of the minor literary luminaries of the age of Elizabeth. But as Barnfield's writings have more than an ordinary share of merit, and as his name has been associated, in a manner which could not be but flattering to his memory, with that of Shakespeare, it seemed to be desirable to introduce in the present pages a somewhat more copious account of this author and his works. Such a tribute to the memory of Barnfield seemed to be due to one who, of all the minor poets of

¹ [Watson's *Poems*, edit. Arber *ut suprà*. 1870. A copy of the *Amyntas*, 1585, is in the British Museum].

² [Collier's *Bibl. Cat.* 1865, ii. 491.]

Elizabeth's reign, may perhaps be fairly regarded as occupying the first place. The most remarkable feature about Barnfield is, that an author of such undoubted genius should have so little courted publicity. In his earliest production, the *Affectionate Shepherd*, 1594, his name nowhere appears; and all his works were ushered unostentatiously into the world without encomiastic verses by acquaintances or admirers, and with dedications prompted, so far as one can judge, by friendship or affection, rather than by the sense of interest or the desire to flatter.

Barnfield was a native of Staffordshire,¹ and was born in 1574. When he was fifteen years of age he entered at Brasenose College, Oxford, where he became B.A. February 5, 1591-2; but although he performed the exercise for the M.A. degree, it does not appear that he proceeded to it. Hardly anything more is known of his life, nor has the period of his death been ascertained. Meres, absurdly enough, classes him with Abraham Fraunce.² That Meres and Barnfield were acquainted seems to be shown by the quotation by the former of a distich "by my friend Master Richard Barnefelde" — two of the worst lines probably which that friend ever committed to writing. Meres, however, admits that Barnfield was one of the best for *Pastoral*. That the men with whom he associates him, Sir Thomas Chaloner, Stephen Gosson, and Fraunce, do not at present rank high in that class of composition, we might ascribe to the fact that the pastorals, on which Meres founded his judgment, have not come down to our time; but surely Gosson and Fraunce were incapable of producing poetry in any way comparable with that which we possess from Barnfield's pen? Meres was, doubtless, a very indifferent critic, but that he should not have known that the "Authour of *Amyntæ Gaudia* and *Walsingham's Melibæus*" was his own countryman, and the writer of English poems of great power and beauty, is barely credible. Nor does Meres include in his list of English Bucolics the charming lyrics of Breton and Lodge, or Constable's *Song of Venus and Adonis*. That Barnfield was living in 1605, may be surmised, perhaps, from the circumstance that in that year a new edition of his miscellaneous poems, with what bear the aspect of an author's rather than a bookseller's changes, came from the press. In 1598, two poems by Shakespeare had been improperly given to Barnfield; in the following year they were assigned to their true author in the *Passionate Pilgrim*, and when the productions of the less famous poet re-appeared in 1605, the pieces inserted by mistake were left out.

The following ode, which was originally published in Barnfield's *Cynthia*, 1595, was transferred to the well-known poetical miscellany, *Englands Helicon*, in 1600. It would be vain to search in the extant writings of Constable and Watson for a piece so full of equal

¹ [For a fuller account than seemed to be necessary or desirable here, see Wood's *Athenæ*, by Bliss, vol. i. pp. 683-4.]

² [*Ancient Critical Essays*, ii. 155.]

beauty and power, unless we may except Constable's *Shepheards Song*
of *Venus and Adonis*:

Nights were short, and dayes were long,
Blossomes on the Hawthorne hong,
Philomell (Night-Musiques King)
Told the comming of the Spring:
Whose sweete-siluer-sounding-voyce,
Made the little birds reioyce,
Skipping light from spray to spray,
Till Aurora shew'd the day.
Scarfe might one see, when I might see
(For such chaunces suddenn be)
By a Well of Marble-stone,
A Shepheard lying all a-lone.
Weepe he did, and his weeping
Made the fading flowers spring.
Daphnis was his name I weene,
Youngest Swaine of Sommers Queene.
When Aurora saw t'was he
Weepe she did for companie:
Weepe she did for her sweet Sonne
That (when antique Troy was wonne)
Suffer'd death by lucklesse Fate,
Whom she now laments too late:
And each morning (by Cocks crewe)
Showers downe her siluer dewe,
Whose teares falling from their spring,
Giue moisture to each liuing thing
That on earth encrease and grow,
Through power of their friendly foe.
Whose effect when Flora felt,
Teares, that did her bosome melt,
(For who can resist teares often,
But the whom no teares can soften?)
Peering straite about the banks,
Shew'd her selfe to giue her thanks.
Wondring thus at Natures worke
(Wherein many meruailes lurke)
Me thought I heard a dolefull noyse,
Conforted with a mournfull voyce,
Drawing neere, to heare more plaine,
Heare I did, vnto my paine,
(For who is not pain'd to heare
Him in griefe whom hart holds deere?)
Silly Swaine with griefe ore-gone
Thus to make his pitteous mone.
Loue I did, alas the while,
Loue I did but did beguile
My deere Loue with louing so,
Whom as then I did not know.
Loue I did the fairest boy
That these fields did ere enioy.
Loue I did faire Ganimede,
Venus darling, beauties bed:
Him I thought the fairest creature,
Him the quintessence of Nature.
But yet (alas) I was deceau'd,
Loue of reason is bereau'd)
For since then I saw a Lasse,

Lasse that did in beauty passe,
 Passe faire Ganimede as farre
 As Phœbus dooth the smallest starre.
 Loue commaunded me to loue,
 Fancie bade me not remoue
 My affection from the Swaine
 Whom I neuer could obtaine:
 (For who can obtaine that fauour
 Which he cannot graunt the crauer?)
 Loue at last (though loth) preuail'd,
 Loue that so my hart assail'd,
 Wounding me with her faire eyes
 Ah how Loue can subtilize?
 And deuise a thousand shifts
 How to worke men to his drifts.
 Her it is, for whom I mourne,
 Her, for whom my life I scorne.
 Her, for whom I weepe all day,
 Her, for whom I sigh, and say
 Eyther she or else no creature
 Shall enioy my loue: whose feature
 Though I neuer can obtaine,
 Yet shall my true loue remaine:
 Till (my body turn'd to clay)
 My poore soule must passe away,
 To the heauens; where I hope
 It shall finde a resting scope.
 Then since I loued thee alone,
 Remember me when I am gone.
 Scarfe had he these last words spoken,
 But me thought his hart was broken,
 With great greefe that did abound,
 (Cares and greefe the hart confound.)
 In whose hart thus riu'd in three,
Eliza written I might see
 In Characters of crimson blood,
 Whose meaning well I vnderstood.
 Which, for my hart might not behold:
 I hied me home my Sheepe to fold.

Of the *Encomion of Lady Pecunia* and the other poems which were published with it in a volume in 1598 and 1605, some account has been furnished elsewhere.¹ A recent writer has also dwelt at some length on the merits of the *Affectionate Shepherd* and *Cynthia*.² Yet a collected edition of Barnfield's surviving works is a want in English literature, and would only form an appropriate and deserved tribute to the genius of so graceful and so neglected a poet. Barnfield is apparently a Dutch or Flemish name; so little is known of our author's personal history, that it may be worth while to preserve even slight circumstances of identification. A person of his name, in the reign of Elizabeth, married into a Suffex family, as appears from one of the Harleian MSS. The initials of his name occur at the end of some encomiastic verses prefixed to Verstegan's *Restitution of De-*

¹ [Collier's *Bibl. Cat.* 1865, vol. i. pp. 47-50. See also the present work, p. 290, *supra*.]

² [Corser's *ColleBanea*, i. 184-6.]

cayed *Intelligence*, 1605.¹ Verstegan himself came from Flanders; possibly the two were brought into acquaintance in that way. But in Barnfield's case, the change of residence must have been less immediate, for surely no author, whom we could name, has fairer pretensions to be regarded as a writer of genuine, untainted vernacular English.

The subject and groundwork of the *Affectionate Shepherd*, rather than the treatment of that remarkable poem, are open to exception. Still it is a somewhat delicate task to select a specimen, which will afford a fair idea of Barnfield's style and abilities, without introducing allusions of an equivocal tendency. The following stanzas have, after some consideration, been transcribed:

Wilt thou set springes in a frostie night
To catch the long-bill'd woodcocke and the snype,
By the bright glimmering of the starrie light
The partridge, phœsant, or the greedie grype;
I'll lend thee lyme-twigs and fine sparrow-calls
Wherewith the fowler filly birds inthralls.
Or in a myttie morning if thou wilt
Make pitfalls for the lark and pheldifare,
Thy prop and sweake shall be both overguilt,
With Cyparissus selfe thou shalt compare
For gins and wyles, the oozeles to beguile,
Whilst thou under a bush shalt sit and smile.²

¹ [*Handb. of E. E. Lit.* 1867, p. 29. There it is pointed out that the copy in MS. of Barnfield's *Lady Pecunia*, preserved in the Ashmole MS. has the title in cipher.]

² [*Affect. Sheph.* edit. Dyce, 1845, p. 17.]



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